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CONTENTS.

PAGE

ART. I.—TWO ENGLISHMEN WHO SERVED WITH DISTINCTION ABROAD 1

A brief *résumé* of the "Conquest of Granada"—An English Volunteer in the Spanish ranks: interest aroused in him: who was he?—Proofs that he was Sir Richard Wydville—Account of Sir Thomas Arundell; his service under Rodolph II. against the Turks, authorised by Queen Elizabeth—His sufferings for the Faith.

ART. II.—RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES, LORD HOUGHTON . . 22

Comparatively small interest of Houghton as a politician—His ancestry: education and effects of prolonged residence in Italy: fondness for Rome: friendship with Cardinal Weld: Lines on Rome—Conversational powers: some sayings: his poems.

ART. III.—THE TEACHING OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY . . 35

Divisions of the Globe for the purposes of commercial or economic Geography—Commercial value of different zones—Effect of international intercourse on national habits—The Highways of Commerce—The supreme importance of the herring—The Hanseatic monopolies—Tendency of modern Trade is cosmopolitan—Practical study of commercial geography.

ART. IV.—THE MAID OF ORLEANS BY THE LIGHT OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS 54

Recent editions and works on the Trial, &c.—Present aim, is to draw a *faithful picture* of the trial at Rouen, based *throughout upon the original* documents.

PAGE

ART. V.—SCOTT'S JOURNAL 72

The pleasant and edifying character of Sir Walter Scott's Journal—When it opens Scott was a Clerk of Sessions: uniformity of his life at that time—His money affairs: failure: the rest of his life spent in unremitting efforts to work off his debts: nobility of his conduct—Sympathy of friends—His life at Abbotsford—Diffidence as to the excellence of his literary work—Loss of his wife: hard work: illness: death—Gratitude which Catholics especially owe Sir W. Scott.

ART. VI.—THE JACOBIN MOVEMENT IN IRELAND . . . 95

Purpose of article to sketch, making use of Mr. Lecky's two last volumes, the course of Irish Affairs from 1793 to the present time—The French Revolution and Irish efforts for Reform—Efforts for Emancipation: disastrous effects of recall of Lord Fitzwilliam—Results from the rebellion of 1798—Large degree in which the passing of the Union was due to Catholics: their policy dictated by confidence in the Government, to abolish their disabilities, &c.—The Irish movement of present century, the advance of Jacobinism.

ART. VII.—ENGLISH CATHOLICS AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION . 110

Failure of political economy in face of modern problems of Socialism due to its lack of Christianity; economic science a branch of morals—Catholic teaching developing: helped by such meetings as the Social Congress at Liège—Work which English Catholics ought to do in accordance with the suggestions of the Congress—The International regulation of labour—Poor Law and Prison Reform—Resolutions on Labour and Labour contracts—Necessity for union among Catholics on Social questions.

ART. VIII.—THE LINCOLN JUDGMENT, &C. 121

Broad Church welcome to the Archbishop's Judgment is not surprising; as, however, *is* the welcome accorded by High Churchmen—The singular position of High Churchmen: which is rendered still more singular by their acquiescence in the Lincoln Judgment—Noteworthy feature of the Judgment: making a vital point of the "*visibility*" of the Prayer of Consecration—The

PAGE

condemnation on this point the only one which touches doctrine—Anglicans acquiesce in a condemnation which would crush Catholics, from a mistaken idea of just preserving "essentials"—The Judgment which the High Churchmen acquiesce in is of itself sufficient to disprove the darling High Church theory of "continuity": special significance of this—Urgent need for a doctrinal decision as to the Eucharist, which no Catholic bishop would have hesitated to give: the Judgment settles nothing: from want of authority to teach—Compares unfavourably with the Eastern (Schismatic) Church.

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF ITALY 147

SCIENCE NOTICES 157

The motion of Nebulæ—Scientific Ascent of Mont Blanc—The Rotation of Venus—Dr. Koch's remedy for Tubercular diseases—The South London Electric Railway—The Magneto-Optical Generation of Electricity—Physical Tests in Competitive Examinations—The Meteorology of Influenza.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION 169

Wanderings in Western China—The White Wax Insect—Overland Trade between Russia and China—Antarctic Expedition—The Trans-Sahara Railway—British East Africa—Kashmir—Indian Ghost Dances—The First British Warship in the Zambesi.

NOTES ON NOVELS 178

Sidney—Mademoiselle—Miss Blake of Monkshalton—A Cigarette Maker's Romance—An Australian Girl—My shipmate Louise—A Bride from the Bush—The Dead Man's Gift—A Waif of the Plains—A Daughter of King Solomon.

NOTICES OF CATHOLIC CONTINENTAL PERIODICALS . . . 184

NOTICES OF BOOKS 193

Canon Brownlow's Memoir of Sir James Marshall—Père Clair's Vie de S. Ignace — Father A. Baker's Holy *Wisdom*—*Mr. O. Shipley*'s edition of Dynock's Great

PAGE

Sacrifice of the New Law—Some Priests' Books—Cardinal Moran's Occasional Papers—Father Russo's Moral Philosophy—D. Bikelas's Christian Greece—L. Ausberger's Christian Eschatology—Vie de S. Hughes, Evêque de Lincoln—Father Bridgett's Life of B. John Fisher—Father Tickell's Life of B. Margaret Mary—Pere Didon's Jesus Christ—Abbé Vigouroux's New Testament et Decouvertes Modernes—Motais's Origine du Monde et Tradition — Catholic Directory and Annuals, 1891—Pustet's Breviarum Romanum—Abbé Fillion's Atlas Géographique de la Bible—Padre A. la Montefeltro's Conferences—Father Cornely on the 1st Ep. to Corinthians — Dom U. Berlière's Monasticon Belge—Dr. Schürer's Jews in the Time of Christ—T. Nisard's Vrai Plain Chant—Story of the Nations: Switzerland and Mexico—Mrs. Fisher's Through Magic Glasses—M. Rousset's French in Algeria—Doctor Driver's Notes on Hebrew Text of Books of Samuel—Father Gietmann's Commentaries—Stolz's Mixed Marriage—Fr. Werner's Orbis Catholicus—Rev. J. Jenkin's Christian Schools, and Rev. J. Conway's Rights of Little Ones—Forgotten Heroines—T. Murphy's Life of Our Lord—Howatt's Agnostic Fallacies—Fr. Mazzolini's St. Luke Versified—Crelli's Prophecies of Isaiah—Bishop Egger's Catholic Young Men—Mr. Parson's Thomas Rileton—Collectio Lacensis: Concilium Vaticanum—Rev. C. Rae's Kingdom of God—Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica — The Hereafter — Dr. Stirling's Philosophy and Theology—Father Hughes's Anthropology and Biology—J. S. Wilson's Geological Mechanism — Hergenroether's Continuation of Hefele's Conciliengeschichte.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING . . . 237

RECORD OF ROMAN DOCUMENTS (*at end*).

CONTENTS.

PAGE

ART. I.—HYPNOTISM 241

After being long the toy of conjurers and quacks, Animal Magnetism or Hypnotism, studied by Elliotson, and Braid of Manchester—Finally Charcot and Liébeault found the two great and rival schools of Paris and Nancy—Divergent teaching of the two schools on the *means* of hypnotising, and on the various hypnotic *stages*—Professor Heidenhain's probable hypothesis, explaining the relation of hypnotism to mental phenomena—Its testimony to "unconscious cerebration"—The practise of hypnotising: its dangers—Conclusions: human will impregnable to hypnotic agencies, except by its own consent.

ART. II.—THE SCHOLASTIC MOVEMENT AND CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY 255

A practical difficulty with regard to the Pope's recommendation of the philosophy of St. Thomas, is: How can Catholics combine the study of it with active interest in contemporary philosophy: How show that it is intended as a drill-master, not a prison-warder?—The solution of the difficulty will be helped by a study of the characteristics of the age of scholasticism—Freedom of discussion: energetic and thorough study of non-Christian thought of their time—Cardinal Newman quoted on this—Previous dread of dialectics and of Aristotle and conduct of Church authorities: change effected by St. Thomas Aquinas—The "wisdom," not the mere letter of St. Thomas recommended by the Holy Father: application of it to condition of our own day—The example of Father Maher's Psychology—Results.

ART. III.—THE POPE AND CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLAND 272

The Pope's letter to the Bishop of Salford on the report he gave the Holy See on the progress of philosophical *studies at Stonyhurst*—The advantages of a thorough

PAGE

grounding in the principles of sound philosophy for our young men: the necessity of it, from the conditions of the modern Anti-Christian and Anti-Catholic warfare —The peculiar danger from the quality and methods of popular periodical literature—Dangers of the Lending Library: Matthew Arnold's opinion—Text-books of the Medical and Law Student—An objection against a course of philosophy on the ground of its raising doubts it may not allay, answered—The value of a philosophical training as completing the religious training—Where is it to be got?—It must be well done; its characteristics: Courses, Lectures, Manuals—The Future.

ART IV.—TALLEYRAND'S DIPLOMATIC LETTERS . . . 290

Talleyrand's lately published Memoirs should be checked or confirmed by his letters—His early diplomatic career—The English alliance favoured by Mirabeau and his party—The effect of Burke's Reflections—Talleyrand sent to London, January 24, 1792—Interviews with Pitt and Grenville—War declared by France against Austria and Prussia—England's declaration of neutrality—The fall of the French monarchy, August 10—Talleyrand's defence of the Revolution—Accused by the Convention—Expelled from England and goes to America—Returns to Paris and is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 16, 1797—Correspondence with the plenipotentiaries at Lille and Leoben—The Egyptian expedition—Relations with Bonaparte.

ART V.—THE INSURRECTION IN CHILE 308

Previous exemption of Chile from revolutionary movements of South America; causes, its dearth of mineral wealth and the preservation of race purity—Position, climate, and nitre-wealth—Agricultural development: exports—The labouring class: sordid domestic surroundings—Population—Material development and British enterprise—Railways—The present insurrection and its consequences.

ART VI.—THE HOMAGE OF CHRIST THE KING . . . 327

State of Corinth when St. Paul came to it: his success—His Epistle to the Corinthians and the passage now to be discussed (1 Cor. xv. 28)—Father Cornely's Commentary on it: St. Thomas's view preferable—A commentary in detail on the verses dealing with the *homage of* Christ there spoken of.

PAGE

ART. VII.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE 351

Significance of the absence from this newly discovered treatise of references to the arguments and conclusions of Aristotle's "Politics"—Inequality of treatment and want of order—Quotations from it, as being Aristotle's—Absence of his genius from it; with much in it due to him: how it came to be considered his—Historical value of the treatise for future Histories of Greece, as to incidents, and as to characters—The verbal style shows that writer had a large body of Aristotle's memoranda before him, and had acquired a considerable trick of his style—Indebtedness of literary world to Mr. F. G. Kenyon.

ART. VIII.—THE ANGLICAN CLAIM TO HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY 371

The claim of High Anglicans to historic primitiveness; their test of Episcopal independence, it is proposed here to test by the four first centuries: of Mr. Allies's "Formation of Christendom"—With the help of his work, propose to show that Anglican theory of Church government has no standing-point in the historical Christianity of first three centuries and a half—St. Clement's authoritative intervention with disputes of Corinth; Bishop Lightfoot's attempts to minimise its significance refuted—The early Popes had no programme of temporal usurpation—Early recognition of Roman supremacy: how appeals grew more frequent: the Papal claim in possession in the first three centuries—Witness of the Council of Nicæa—Results.

LETTERS OF POPE LEO XIII. 402

On the Government of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation—On the Abolition of Slavery.

SCIENCE NOTICES 413

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION 425

NOTES ON NOVELS 433

Mademoiselle Ixe—Lady Merton—A Born Coquette—Kirsteen—The Prince of the Glades—A Life Sentence—The Wages of Sin—Stand Fast Craig Royston.

NOTICES OF *CATHOLIC CONTINENTAL* PERIODICALS . . . 439

PAGE

NOTICES OF BOOKS 447

Father Bridgett's Life of B. Sir Thomas Moore—Father John Pollen's Acts of English Martyrs—Bagwell's Ireland under the Tudors—Griffiths' Translation of Abbé Fouard's Life of Christ—Mr. Allies's Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood—Professor Gilmartin's Manual of Church History—Letters of Cardinal Newman—Abbé Perie's Faculté de Droit dans l'Université de Paris—The Century Dictionary—Mr. Keary's Vikings of Western Christendom—Dom Doreau's Les Martyrs de la Chartreuse—Dr. Bright's Three Great Fathers—Père Maumus's S. Thomas et la philosophie cartesienne—J. H. Kennedy's Natural Theology and Modern Thought—Père Bliard's Saint Simon et Père le Tellier—Memoir of A. R. Mackonochie—H. Leech's Registration of Title—D. G. Hogarth's Devia Cypria—Black is White—German Hymnological publications—M. Bargilliat's Jus Canonicum—Cardinal Gonzale's History of Philosophy—Father Eyre's edition of Médaille's Meditations—The C. T. S.'s publications—Index to Schürer's Jewish People—Dr. M. Schneid's Naturphilosophie—Delitzsch's Commentary on Isaiah—A. Prince's Of Joyous Gard—W. Bond's The Immortals—E. Gosse's Translation of Ibsen's Hedda Gabler—J. H. Blackie's Love's Victory—F. Leyton's The Shadows of the Lake—Abbé Lasausse's A Happy Year—Monsabré's Conferences: Marriage—P. J. O'Reilley's Ober-Ammergau in 1890—Four volumes of the Granville Popular Library—C. Ransome's Elementary History of England—The Catholic Child's History of England—Theological Influence of the Blessed Virgin.

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JANUARY, 1891.

ART. I.—TWO ENGLISHMEN WHO SERVED WITH DISTINCTION ABROAD IN THE CAUSE OF CHRISTENDOM—SIR EDWARD WYDVILLE AND SIR THOMAS ARUNDELL.

IN these days when it is said a generation has grown up which has ceased to read the Waverley Novels and "Bracebridge Hall," I may doubt whether the valuable history of the "Conquest of Grenada," compiled by Washington Irving from various sources, to which he had access during his residence in Spain, will be familiar to the reader. I shall not, therefore, I think be far wrong in giving a *résumé* of the history—the interest of which, however, lies in the incidents and episodes, previous to the introduction on the scene of the principal hero of the present inquiry.

When the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy had reached the point to which it had been tending during many centuries, and all Spain, excepting the Moorish kingdom of Grenada, had become absorbed and united in contented obedience to the sceptre of Ferdinand and Isabella, the ultimate fate of the comparatively small kingdom of Grenada seemed foredoomed. Yet its conquest took ten years of somewhat chequered success, and has been compared not without some points of resemblance by its local historians to the siege of Troy.

Although a mere province, Grenada was locked off by a natural barrier of mountains, contained a hardy and warlike population, with a fertile and well-watered plain, rich in its abundance of corn and cattle, and in other directions smiling to the eye in the beauty of its orchards and groves of pomegranate, citron, mulberries, and vines, and, not the least of its advantages, with an

extensive seaboard which kept it in communication with the kindred Moorish populations on the African coast.

But as Troy, if we may be permitted to believe in the existence of Troy, might have continued to exist to this day, had it not been for the delinquencies of Paris and Helen, so, too, might the kingdom of Grenada possibly have preserved its fourteen cities and ninety-seven fortified towns if Muley Aben Hassan had not refused to pay the tribute, like his predecessors, to the crown of Castile, and in the year A.D. 1478 sent the haughty reply:

"Tell your Sovereign that the kings of Grenada who used to pay tribute to the Castilian crown are dead."

The first overt act of hostility, moreover, and the first success of the war was on the side of the Moors in the successful storming of the esteemed impregnable castle of Zahara, which was shortly afterwards avenged by the siege and capture of the important castle and town of Alhama by the great Christian hero of the ten years' war, Don Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, with the aid of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. This success induced a tone of overweening confidence among the Spanish cavaliers, and disasters followed the abortive attempt to lay siege to a city of great strength, Loxa, with insufficient forces, the Christian army meeting with signal discomfiture through a desperate onset of the fierce old Moor, Ali Atar, then in his nineteenth year, who had entrapped them by a skilful "ruse"—a defeat which, however, was insignificant when compared with the massacre of the following year, 1483, of the flower of the chivalry of Andalusia in the defiles of the mountains of Malaga.

On the other hand, a singular event, the capture of the young Moorish king, Boabdil el Chico, by the Count of Cabra at the battle of Lucana, had a very decisive effect upon the fate of the war; and it was one of the most remarkable features of this war that throughout all the subsequent campaigns there was internecine strife within the city of Grenada between the partisans of the rival claimants to the throne of the Alhambra.

In the subsequent campaigns with almost uniform success the lines gradually closed round the devoted city of Grenada. Fortress after fortress, placed on apparently impregnable situations on the pinnacles of rocks, and defended desperately to the last, one by one succumbed, Zahara retaken, Ronda Illora, Cambil and Allahan.

The fall of the city of Malaga closed the chance of relief from the side of the sea and Africa, till in the tenth year, after desperate resistance, and only when the struggle became hopeless, the city of Grenada, which had been in the hands of the Moors during 800 years, fell in accordance with the predictions of their own

alfagins, when the sceptre came to the hands of Boabdil el Zogoybi, or the Unfortunate.

It was in the fifth or sixth year of the war, after the news of the capture of the important town of Alhama and the storming of Zalea by the Knights of Calatrava had spread through Christendom, in the spring of 1486, that among other cavaliers who had been attracted to the fray, there arrived in the ancient city of Cordova, where the chivalry of Spain had collected preparatory to the fresh campaign, an Englishman whose presence caused much excitement.

The most conspicuous of the volunteers who appeared in Cordova on this occasion was an English knight of royal connection. This was the Lord Scales, Earl of Rivers, related to the Queen of England, wife of Henry VII. He had distinguished himself in the preceding year, at the battle of Bosworth field. . . . . That decisive battle having left the country at peace, the Earl of Rivers, retaining a passion for warlike scenes, repaired to the Castilian Court to keep his arms in exercise in a campaign against the Moors. He brought with him a hundred archers, all dexterous with the long bow and the cloth yard arrow, also two hundred yeomen, armed *cap-à-pie*, who fought with pike and battle-axe ; men robust of frame and of prodigious strength. The worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida describes this stranger knight and his followers with his accustomed accuracy and minuteness. "This cavalier," he observes, "was from the island of England, and brought with him a train of his vassals ; men who had been hardened in certain civil wars which had raged in their country. They were a comely race of men, but too fair and fresh for warriors, not having the sunburnt martial hue of our old Castilian soldiery. They were huge feeders also, and deep carousers, and could not accommodate themselves to the sober diet of our troops, but must fain eat and drink after the manner of their own country. They were often noisy and unruly in their wassail, and their quarter of the camp was prone to be a scene of loud revel and sudden brawl. They were withal of great pride ; yet it was not like our inflammable Spanish pride ; they stood not much upon the 'pundonor' and high punctilio, and rarely drew the stiletto in their disputes, but their pride was silent and contumelious. Though from a remote and somewhat barbarous island they yet believed themselves the most perfect men upon earth, and magnified their chieftain, the Lord Scales, beyond the greatest of our grandees. With all this it must be said of them that they were marvellous good men in the field, dexterous archers, and powerful with the battle-axe. In their great pride and self-will they always sought to press in the advance and take the post of danger, trying to outvie our Spanish chivalry. They did not rush forward fiercely or make a brilliant onset like the Moorish and Spanish troops, but they went into the fight deliberately *and persisted* obstinately, and were slow to find *out when they were beaten.* Withal they were much esteemed, yet

little liked by our soldiery, who considered them staunch companions in the field, yet coveted but little fellowship with them in the camp."

"Their commander, the Lord Scales, was an accomplished cavalier of gracious and noble presence and fair speech. It was a marvel to see so much courtesy in a knight brought up so far from our Castilian Court. He was much honoured by the king and queen, and found great favour with the fair dames about the Court, who indeed are prone to be pleased with foreign cavaliers. He went always in costly state, attended by pages and esquires and accompanied by noble young cavaliers of his country, who had enrolled themselves under his banner, to learn the gentle exercise of arms. In all pageants and festivals the eyes of the populace were attracted by the singular bearing and the rich array of the English Earl and his train, who prided themselves in always appearing in the garb and manner of their country, and were indeed something very magnificent, delectable, and strange to behold." ("Conquest of Grenada," Washington Irving, Works, v. pp. 145–6.)

The principal achievement of the Earl of Rivers (Lord Scales) was at the second and victorious siege of Loxa, important, not only from the strength and position of the place, but because it held the young Moorish king behind its walls. The battle was going wrong, "the troops in the valley were gradually driven back . . . . the situation of the Marquis of Cadiz was critical in the extreme." It was at this moment that King Ferdinand emerged from the mountain with the main body of the army. "By his side was the noble English cavalier, the Earl of Rivers." With the king's permission he instantly threw himself and his followers into the fray, crying "St. George for England."

They soon made their way into the midst of the enemy; but when engaged in the hottest of the fight they made no shouts or outcries. They pressed steadily forward, dealing their blows to right and left, hewing down the Moors and cutting their way with their battle-axes like woodmen in the forest; while the archers pouring into the opening they made, plied their bows vigorously and spread death on every side. When the Castilian mountaineers beheld the valour of the English yeomanry they would not be outdone in hardihood . . . . and gave a brave support to those stout islanders. The Moors were confounded by the fury of these assaults, and disheartened by the loss of Hamet-el-Zagri . . . . they gradually fell back upon the bridge; the Christians followed up their advantage and drove them over it tumultuously. The Moors retreated into the suburbs and Lord Rivers and his troops entered with them pell-mell . . . . King Ferdinand came up to the scene of action with his royal guard, and the infidels were all driven within the city walls. Thus *were the suburbs* gained by the hardihood of the English lord with*out such an event having* been premeditated ("Cura de los Palacios

MS."). The Lord Rivers, notwithstanding he had received a wound, still urged forward to the attack. He penetrated almost to the city gate, in defiance of a shower of missiles that slew many of his followers. A stone hurled from the battlements checked his impetuous career. It struck him in the face, dashed out two of his front teeth, and laid him senseless on the earth. He was removed to a short distance by his men; but recovering his senses, refused to permit himself to be taken from the suburb.

We hear little more of the English Earl. He was rewarded by Queen Isabella with many rich gifts. On the occasion of the reception of the queen in camp, he followed after the king, "taking precedence of all the rest," mounted on a superb chestnut horse with trappings of azure silk, long stirrups, mulberry housings powdered with stars of gold, accompanied by five pages apparelled in silk brocade—but for the further description the reader must have recourse to the pages of Washington Irving, who tells us that the description of Antonio Agapida agrees with that of Andrea Bernaldes. Queen Isabella, who during the whole campaign had shared the dangers of the camp, complimented him on his courageous conduct and condoled with him upon his disfiguring wound caused by the loss of his teeth; to which the Earl replied "that our Blessed Lord who had built all that house had opened a window there that he might see more readily what passed within" (p. 164).

After this he disappears from the scene and it now remains for us to discover who he was. English history ignores his existence. His exploits, so far as I am aware, are not mentioned in any contemporary chronicle, and his fame has not survived in English literature or tradition. We are forcibly reminded of the question the hero of "Hyperion" asked of the old sexton concerning a marble statue which alone stood erect in a ruined church. "I do not know," replied the old man, "but I have heard my grandfather say it was the statue of a great warrior": —and it inclines one very much to say with Shakespeare: "I would give all my fame for a pot of beer"!

Washington Irving gives us one clue. He says (p. 164), "The English Earl, as it appears from various histories, returned in the course of the year to England. In the following year his passion for fighting took him to the Continent, at the head of four hundred adventurers, in aid of Francis, Duke of Brittany, against Louis XI. of France. He was killed in the same year (1488) in the battle of St. Albans (St. Aubin), between the Bretons and the French."

We will presently pursue this clue, but in the first place let us see if we can identify the Earl of Rivers who was in Spain in 1487-8 with *any member of* the Wydville family according to

the information, which in fact constitutes the foundation and subsoil of this period of English history—the dates and records found in the "Extinct Peerages."

The Wydvilles or Wydevilles or Woodvilles, descend from Richard de Wydvill, who was Sheriff of Northampton and governor of the Castle in 27 Ed. III. His descendant was created Earl of Rivers in 1466. He married Jacqueline of Luxemburg, widow of John, Duke of Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., and his daughter Elisabeth was married to Edward IV. (her first husband was Lord Grey of Groby, beheaded in 1469). His son Anthony, second Earl of Rivers, married the only daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Scales, but had no children, and was therefore the only Earl of Rivers who *jure uxoris* was also Lord Scales, but he could not have been the Earl of Rivers and Lord Scales who fought in Spain in 1486, as he was beheaded at Pontefract by order of Richard III. in 1483. It appears clear then that there could have been no Lord Scales at that date, but there may have been an Earl of Rivers.

The last-mentioned Anthony, Earl of Rivers, had four brothers: John who was murdered with his father in 1469, Lionel who was Bishop of Salisbury, and Edward and Richard. It will be only necessary therefore to discuss the claims of the two younger brothers, Edward and Richard.*

Richard figures in all the Peerages as the third and last Earl of Rivers, but he could not have succeeded as Earl of Rivers during the lifetime of his elder brother Edward, and Edward Wydville's lifetime covers the whole period with which we are concerned, unless Lingard is in error in stating that it was Sir Edward Wydeville who was slain at the disastrous battle of St. Aubin.† I shall presently adduce independent evidence of the

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* In the above *résumé*, I have followed the lines of Sir Burnard Burke, in his valuable "Extinct Peerage." Unfortunately, the scheme of Mr. James E. Doyle's comprehensive and monumental work, "The Official Baronage of England," excludes the consideration of the collateral branches, and is necessarily confined to the actual holder of the title, and thus there is no mention of Edward Wydville; but it will be presently seen that Mr. Doyle gives important information in other directions.

† "Francis of Bretagne reiterated his solicitations to Henry, but the king trusted to the chances of events. Parliament had granted him two-fifteenths, and advised him to assist his friend. He acquainted the French Court with the proceedings in Parliament in the vain hope that Charles might be terrified into forbearance; he refused to English adventurers the royal permission to serve in the army of Francis, and when Sir Edward Wydevile with four hundred men privately sailed from the Isle of Wight for Bretagne, he not only discovered the expedition to the French Government, but consented to an armistice. It was not, however, long before he saw reason to doubt the *policy of such vacillating* conduct. In the disastrous battle of St. Aubin, *Sir Edward Wydeville was slain* with all his countrymen and seventeen hun-

existence of Edward Wydeville, with the presumption that he was as stated the elder brother, as he succeeded to the family position, in the Isle of Wight, which again would identify him (*vide* extract from Lingard, "sailed from the Isle of Wight") with the Wydville who was slain at the battle of St. Aubin.

On the contrary, I find that a contemporary writer (who, although a foreigner, must have been in the way of knowing the facts, as he is said to have been the "Richmond King of Arms"), Roger Machado,* in his journal of the first Embassy to Brittany calls him Richard Woodville—"Monsieur Richard d'Oudeville," —and says, "the next day which was the 21st, I went to sleep at Hennebon. And then I heard the sad news that Master Richard Woodville had been killed at Nantes by the people of Monsieur d'Albret, for which I was very sorrowful." Assuming that the same occurrence is referred to, there are two discrepancies —Lingard calls the Wydvile or Woodville who was killed, Edward, and the foreign contemporary historian, Richard. According to Lingard the disaster occurred on July 28, 1488, but Machado gives the date August 20, 1490.

Mr. J. E. Doyle in his "Official Baronage of England" says, "Richard Wydvile succeeded his brother Anthony as third Earl of Rivers," "de jure from A.D. 1482." "Summoned to Parliament as Earl Rivers, September 15, A.D. 1485."

But this can only have been on the assumption that Edward Wydeville was non-existent or was a younger brother. Sir Bernard Burke makes him the elder brother, and I know nothing to the contrary.

I find this presumption strengthened by the fact that Sir

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dred Bretons, who, to deceive the enemy, had adopted the white coats and red crosses of the English soldiery."—Lingard Hist. 4th ed. v. 296. In a "History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey, 1742," I find an account of this battle which gives additional details (i. 92): "Whilst they were preparing on both sides, a rumour being spread among the Bretons that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were going to betray them, they were on the point of disbanding, but the two princes removed their fears by going among them to charge on foot. On the 28th July, 1488, both armies came to a general engagement, which proved fatal to the Duke of Brittany. Though the Breton infantry performed well, yet the horse abandoned them at the first charge, which determined the victory on the side of the French. The four hundred English brought over by the *Lord Woodville* were almost all killed with their leader in the field of battle. As the English were then distinguished by a red cross, one thousand two hundred Bretons were joined to them with the same badges to make the French believe that fresh succours were arrived from England; but that would not do."

* "Et la (à Hennebon) je eus les nouvelles comme Msr. Richard d'Oudeville fut tué a Nantes des gens de Monsieur d'Albret des quelles j'estoie bien dollent."—"Hist. *Regis Heni.* Septimi à Bernard Andrea Tholosata conscripta." *Ed. Jas. Gairdner*: Longmans, 1858, pp. 212, 380.

Edward Wydeville was appointed to the family honours* in the Isle of Wight (and it will be remembered that Lingard says that Sir Edward Wydeville sailed from the Isle of Wight for Brittany) on September 16, 1485—viz., the day after Mr. Doyle says Richard Wydeville was summoned to Parliament, September 15, 1485. It must be noted that in 1488 or 1490 neither brother is referred to as Earl of Rivers either by Lingard or M. Machado. The grants to Sir Edward Wydeville will be found in "Materials for the History of Henry VII."

September 16, 1485.—"Grant in tail made to Edward Wideville, Knt., of the Isle of Wight, the Castle and Lordship of Carisbrooke, &c."

September 16, 1485.—"Grant for life to Edward Wideville, Knt., of the office of Keeper of the castle and town of Portsmouth, and forest and warren there, also of the survey and government of Portsmouth and the King's place there, &c."

February 10, 1486.—"A mandate directed to Edward Wydeville, Knt., commanding an inquisition in the affair of the ship 'Christofe of Croswyk in Brittany.'"

March 10, 1487.—"Grant to Edward Widwill, Knt., of the Manors of Swanston, Thorley, Wilowe, and Brenton in the Isle of Wight, which are of the inheritance of Edward, Earl of Warwick, and are in the King's hand during his 'non-age' or minority."

That Richard Wydevile was the younger brother appears clear from the following grant, September 24, 1485,—"Grant to Sir Edward Wydvill of £50 out of the issues of the Lordships and Manors of Kyrttynton, with the appurtenances in Co. Oxon, Bucks, Hereford, Lancaster, &c." "If the said Edward should die without such heirs, then the said £50 shall remain to Sir Richard Wydeville, brother to the said Edward, &c., and then to Anne, Margaret, and Joan, daughters of Jacquette, late Duchess of Bedford."

It will be observed again that Richard Wydeville is here only designated as Knt., at a later date than that at which he is said to have been "summoned to Parliament."

Quite naturally, however, if, as Lingard states, Sir Edward Wydeville was killed at the battle of St. Aubin, July 28, 1488. We find commissions issued "to Richard, Earl Ryvers, to Northampton, December 23, 1488, and another commission, June 12, 1487."

I can only come to the conclusion that although we might suppose that the battle of Bosworth must, *ipso facto*, have

* I am indebted to Mr. Doyle's "Official Baronage of England" for the *information that the* Second Earl of Rivers was "Lord of the Isle of *Wight*," "*Governor of* Portsmouth," and "of Porchester Castle."

reversed the attainders of Richard III.,* yet that the attainder of the Earldom of Rivers must have remained unreversed or the title unclaimed during the lifetime of Edward Wydeville, but that on his death it was revived in the person of his younger brother Richard, who was the "third" and last Earl Rivers, and who, dying Feb. 20, 1491, after a previous bequest for "an obit for his soul," desires that Thomas Marquis of Dorset his heir, "to whom he devised all his lands whatsoever, should cut so much underwood as would purchase a bell, to be a tenor to the bells at Grafton, for a remembrance of the last of his blood."

But although he might not have been legally Earl Rivers, yet we can, I think, understand that when he went into foreign parts, even if reluctant, that he would not have been able to resist the impulse of his followers to give him the title which he possessed "de jure;" and the acclaim of his soldiers that he was Earl Rivers, must be the explanation of the Spanish chroniclers regarding him as such.

It would seem strange, on one side, if in the reversal of attainders Henry had excluded the uncles of his Queen. On the other hand, it is said that "Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect, and that in his estimation neither the beauty of her person nor the sweetness of her disposition could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the House of York,"—(Lingard, v. 279; who, however, adds that this can only apply to the first years of his reign); and this neglect may have extended to her relatives, and this may have been among the reasons which induced Sir Edward Wydeville to leave for Spain.

The rapid advance of the Wydevilles during the reign of Edward IV. was the cause of much jealousy in the ranks of the nobility; but that they were individually men of mark and popular with the nation is attested by several contemporary documents; and I have a further reason for referring to them as in the descriptions the reader will, I think, recognise the lineaments of the knight or earl who served in Spain as we have already seen him pictured by the Spanish chroniclers.

"Anthony, second Earl Rivers, acquired great fame in a tournament in London, wherein he contested successfully with the brother of Charles, Duke of Burgundy" (Burke, "Ex. Peerage"). Walpole assigns Lord Rivers a place in his noble authors . . . . "there flourished about the same period a noble person, Anthony Earl Rivers, by no means inferior to him (Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester) in learning and politeness, in birth his equal, by alliance his supe-

* In Henry VII.'s first Parliament (1485), all who had been disinherited by Richard were *by one Act restored* to their former rights. Separate bills were, *however, passed in favour of* individual peers (Lingard, v. 276).

rior, greater in feats of arms, and in *pilgrimages* more abundant." This phrase in "pilgrimages more abundant" suggests a passing surmise whether by possibility it might be this Anthony Earl Rivers (and who was also "Lord Scales") who went to Spain. This conjecture, however, can only be based on a theory that he was not beheaded at Pontefract, and that by the connivance of the authorities and the introduction of friends a form of execution was gone through and he was allowed to escape. It must be remembered that the English authorities for this period of English history are very scant and very unreliable.

Shakespeare is circumstantial in his narrative of the execution of Earl Rivers (Rich. III. act iii. scene 3), yet gives expression to the sentiment concerning him in making him say—

> To-day shalt thou behold a subject die
> For truth, for duty, and for loyalty;

and speaks of his "guiltless blood" and

> O! remember God
> To hear her prayers for them, as now for us
> And for my sister and her princely sons,
> Be satisfied, great God with our true blood,
> Which as thou knowest, unjustly must be spilt.

The popular sentiment regarding him during life, is expressed in a contemporary poem on the recovery of the throne by Edward IV.

> At London-bridge anodyr sawte they made agayne,
> With gunpowder and wildfire and strawe eke
> Fro' the gate to the drawbrygge they burnt down playne
> . . . . The wille of God was soo.
> The erle Rivers that gentil knygte *
> Blessed be the tyme that he borne was!
> By the power of God and His gratt mygte
> Throw His enmyes that day did he passe,
> The maryners were killed, they cried "alas!"
> Thayre false tresoun brought them in woo
> Thus in every thynge, Lorde thy wille be doo.
> . . . . God wolde the Erle Revers there sholde be,
> He purchased gratt love of the comyns that seasoun,
> Lovyngly the cetysens, it was but reason
> . . . . and kylled the people for thayre false tresoun
> Or the chase were do c.c. and moo.
> Thus in every thynge Lorde thy will be doo.†

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* "The Erle Rivers that gentil knyte" ("Political Poems"), ii. 278. "Ung tres gentil chevalier" (Phil de Commines Memoires, 371). *Vide* Doyle's "Official Baronage of England," *voce*, Rivers.

† "*Political* Poems and Songs, Chronicles and Memorials of Gt. Britain *in the Middle Ages.*" *Ed.* Thos. Wright. Longman, 1861.

There is something in these verses which sounds like the re-echo of what we have read "of the doughty achievements of the English Earl" at the battle of Loxa, but on the whole I think we must decide that the evidence points to the identification of his brother Sir Edward Wydeville as the hero of the Spanish chroniclers.

There was another Englishman who served with distinction abroad, and at a time when English valour was beginning to be a tradition on the Continent, and who also fought in the cause of Christendom, and whose history may not inappropriately be considered in connection with that of Sir Edward Wydville, as his relationship to him was not so very remote, and as their careers ran on somewhat similar lines.

Sir Thomas Arundell's great-grandmother was Lady Eleanor Grey,* the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, who would have been nephew of the Earl Rivers who fought in Spain, whether we believe him to be Anthony or Edward or Richard Wydville.

In one way Sir Thomas Arundell's history and personality has not been consigned to oblivion in the same manner as Sir Edward Wydville's—assuming Sir Edward to be the "Earl Rivers"—for it survives in the Peerages. But it would be difficult to find the most casual allusion to him in English history or literature, and, until Mr. Leslie Stephen published his "magnum opus," his name had not found record in that last asylum—which may, perhaps, be called the Hampton Court of fame—the "Biographical Dictionary."

Even in a work printed in his own county, "The Worthies of Wiltshire," his existence is entirely ignored; and yet there was something in the circumstances and surroundings of his

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* *Vide* Burke's "Extinct Peerage," *voce* "Grey, Dorset." There is a deed connected with the marriage of Lady Eleanor Grey with Sir John Arundel of Lanherne, in the muniment room at Wardour. *Vide* also the will of Cecily Marchioness of Dorset, in Sir N. Harris Nicolas's "Testamenta Vetusta," ii. 631. There was a second connection through Sir Thomas Arundell's mother Margaret Willoughby, her father Sir Henry Willoughby having married Lady Anne Grey, sister to the Duke of Suffolk who was father of Lady Jane Grey. This must be stated in explanation of Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Emperor Rodolph II., in which she calls him "kinsman." Mr. Hamilton Rogers in an interesting work published since this article went to the press, points to the more direct relationship through his grandmother Margaret Howard. "Queen Elizabeth was daughter of Queen Anne Boleyn, and so granddaughter of Lady Elizabeth Howard; Thomas Arundell was great-grandson of Lord Edmund Howard her brother." *Vide* "The Strife of the Roses and Days of the Tudors in the West," by W. H. *Hamilton Rogers, F.S.A., p.* 179. J. Commin, Exeter.

career which might, perhaps, have caught the eye of some poet or artist, some lover of the chivalrous and the picturesque.*

His name, however, has been sufficiently commemorated in Catholic literature, and it will suffice for the purpose of this memoir to connect these various narratives, supplementing them with incidental information from private sources, and from the public records printed since the date of their publication.

In the "Church History of England, chiefly with regard to Catholicks" (Dodd), 1742, vol. iii. p. 45 :—

"Thomas Arundel, of a very ancient family in the West of England, son of Sir Matthew Arundel by Margaret his wife, daughter of Henry Willoughby of Wollaton.† In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign he went abroad and entered into the service of Rodolph II., Emperor of Germany, and distinguished himself in the wars against the Turk in Hungary. The Emperor being made acquainted with his bravery, advanced him to the degree and honour of a Count of the Empire, the title to descend to his heirs for ever, of both sexes. At his return into England, endeavouring to take place according to his dignity abroad, he was opposed by the nobility, and upon a hearing such kind of foreign title was declared to be quite insignificant as to place or any other privileges belonging to the English nobility. However, King James I. in the third year of his reign, unwilling to suffer so much merit to pass unregarded, created him a baron of the realm with the title of Lord Arundel of Wardour. He left a numerous issue, and died in 1639.

I have somewhere seen a different reason assigned—viz., that the Countship of the Holy (or Sacred) Roman Empire being the highest in Christendom would, if recognised, have given precedence over the English Earls—"*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*" As the result of his rashly assuming it, he was imprisoned in the Tower, Queen Elizabeth giving it as her opinion, according to Camden, "that as chaste wives should have no glances but for their own spouses, so should faithful subjects keep their eyes at home and not gaze upon foreign crowns. . . . . The Queen wrote the same year to the Emperor acquainting him that she forbade her subjects giving him (Sir Thomas Arundell) place and precedence in England. He was in high favour with Rodolph II., who made him several great offers, but he chose to return to his native country" (Collins' Peerage). The Act passed with reference to Sir Thomas Arundell was the Act which made the assumption of foreign titles by Cardinal Wiseman and the Catholic hierarchy illegal—or rather

* There is a picture at Wardour of "Sir Thomas Arundell at the Battle of Gran," by A. Cooper, R.A., also an older, possibly a contemporaneous, picture of the "Battle of Gran" by an unknown master.

† *Vide* two articles with reference to Margaret Willoughby in the *New Review, Oct. and Dec.* 1889, by Lady Middleton.

which created the impression that they were illegal; but inasmuch as spiritual designations were not held to come under the meaning of the Act, a special "Ecclesiastical Titles Act" (since repealed) had to be passed to make them so.

Queen Elizabeth had, however, authorised his service abroad and had given him an introductory letter to the Emperor Rodolph, which is in the muniment room at Wardour.

The Rev. Dr. Oliver's "Collections, illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Dorset and Wilts" (see p. 77),* relates the circumstances which led him to leave England. "This Thomas Arundel, known by the title of the Valiant, had been committed to prison by Queen Elizabeth in the summer of A.D. 1580, for his zeal in the Catholic cause." "He had been among the first," writes Father Persons, "that refused to go to the Protestant Church."

He appears to have been subject to detention also at a later period—on the occasion of Essex's revolt; Lingard says (Hist. vii. 396): "The Count Arundel, of Wardour, was also confined on suspicion, but in a gentleman's house." The only ground of suspicion was his relationship to the Earl of Southampton, whose only motive for joining Essex was their personal friendship. "For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington, men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship to live or perish together" (Lingard, vii. 376). But Count Arundel had no sympathy with the movement, and had protested against it ("Calendar State Papers"). The achievements of Thomas Arundel are thus recorded in the Patent of the Holy Roman Empire in the muniment room at Wardour:

Taking, therefore, into consideration your ancient and illustrious descent which, as I am assured by a letter from the most serene princess and lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, &c. . . . is derived from the royal blood, and those eminent virtues likewise by which you . . . . and whereas . . . . and whereas finally you have come from so great a distance into Hungary at your own expense (excited thereto by a singular and unusual zeal) to bear arms under us in this sacred war which we wage against the Turk, the common enemy of the Christian name, and have behaved yourself with undaunted bravery, both in the open field and in besieging cities and camps so as to be held in general admiration . . . . and amongst others being observed that near Gran, you, with your own hand,

* A full biographical notice of Lord Arundell will also be found in Mr. Joseph Gillow's "*Biographical Dictionary* of the English Catholics."

took the banner from the Tower and during the engagement placed yourself in front of the army . . . . we have created you, &c. . . . .

In the "Beauties of Wiltshire" (J. Britten, 1801), vol. i. p. 284, it is said: "In this famous engagement (Gran) he took the Turkish standard with his own hands. Previous to the late revolution this trophy of his glory was preserved in the Vatican at Rome. His patent is dated, Prague, Dec. 14, A.D. 1595." I have somewhere seen it stated that the taking of the standard was always decisive of the action with the Turks; when their standard fell, they fled.

Sir Thomas Arundell in his justificatory letter to Lord Burleigh gives the following account of the action:

. . . . Now whether it was fortune or my valour that guided me soe I behaved myself that daie as that ere night the Count Mansfield had written to the Emperor "that a certain Englishman of good account whose name he yet knew not being newly come was the first man of marke that was seen to charge and enter upon the enemy's ordinance." . . . . He had previously said: "Being arrived at the camp at the very instant of that great and onlie battaile between us and the Turks" (the battle of Gran) unknowne unto anie and uncommanded by any, I presented myself in the front of the armie, where by reason of my plumes of feathers, of my armour, bases and furniture all full of gold and silver (a thing then altogether unusual) I was marked presently of all men's eyes.*

Hastening back to England, after the camp was broken up, to deliver a message he had received from the Emperor for Queen Elizabeth, he was wrecked off the Suffolk coast and lost all the valuable presents which Collins mentions he had received from Rodolph II.

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* The following passage from Mr. Motley's, "Hist. United Netherlands," iii. 329–30, may be found interesting both in respect to the battle of Gran, and to the Count Mansfield, A.D. 1595:—"Mahomet III. having strangled his nineteen brothers on his accession, handsomely buried them in cypress coffins by the side of their father, and, having subsequently sacked and drowned ten infant princes posthumously born to Amurath III., was at leisure to carry the war through Transylvania and Hungary, up to the gates of Vienna, with renewed energy. The Turk . . . . was a foe to be dealt with seriously. The power of the Moslems at that day was a full match for the holy Roman Empire . . . . Count Charles Mansfield had been received with great enthusiasm at the Court of Rodolph, where he was created a Prince of the Empire, and appointed to the chief command of the Imperial armies under the Archduke Matthias. But his warfare was over. At the siege of Gran he was stricken with sickness and removed to Comorn, where he lingered some weeks. There on the 24th August, as he lay half dozing on his couch, he was told that the siege was at last successful, after which he called for a goblet of wine, drained it eagerly and then lay resting his head on his hand, like one absorbed *in thought. When they* came to arouse him from his reverie, they found *that he was dead.*"

The message to the Queen [Sir Thomas says] seemed to me of more importance than to allow me a care of mine own case, whereupon in that unreasonable time of the year I began my long tempestuous dangerous journey; and sailing by Aldborough, in Suffolk, in a mighty wind and tempest, our ship broke upon the lee-shore, where I am persuaded there bee but few but would have acquitted their honour so that withal they might have acquitted their danger. . . . . It was God's will the men should escape, the goods were all lost . . . . and standing extremely cold and wet upon the shore and beholding the ruins of manie things there,

he consoled himself with the reflection that his zealous desire to serve the Queen had caused his voyage, and "that he had fought for the name of Christ against the Turk," and "nowe contrary to my expectations, I am in durance." The letter was written during his imprisonment in the Tower.

In another letter during his confinement ("Calendar of State Papers"), he petitions to be sent on a voyage of discovery to America. Subsequently to his liberation he appears to have chartered a vessel of discovery to America in conjunction with the Earl of Southampton. Robertson's "History of America" (iv. 176) says: "One small vessel was sent out by the merchants of Bristol, another by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, in order to learn whether Gosnold's account of the country was to be considered a just representation of its state." Gosnold's voyage was made in 1603.

It has been matter of misconstruction that Sir Thomas Arundel applied for Lord Southampton's estates in the event of his attainder. But he did so on the ground that "his (Sir Thomas) own sons were his next heirs." Assuming the attainder to have been inevitable, it may reasonably be supposed that such a destination of the property, which was much "embarrassed," was in the interest of all concerned, and *non constat* that it was not made at Lord Southampton's instance. At any rate, I allege as evidence that immediately after Lord Southampton's liberation, we find them, as above, engaged in a common enterprise.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that Lord Baltimore, who married a daughter of Lord Arundell, founded the colony of Maryland, in America. He left England with his Catholic colony composed of several members of the Catholic families flying from persecution at home, on board the *Ark*, and the *Dove*, November 22, 1633, and he founded it on the basis of political toleration and also on the principle which he thus enunciated: "Whereas the enforcing of conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be *of dangerous* consequence . . . . no person *professing to believe in Jesus* Christ shall from henceforth be any-

ways troubled or molested or discountenanced for, or in respect of, his or her religion" (McSherry, "History of Maryland," p. 65).*

Also (p. 30), McSherry says: "Maryland was almost the only State whose early settlement was not stained with the blood of the unfortunate natives." There is a county in Maryland, called after his wife, by Lord Baltimore, "Anne Arundel County."

Certain coincidences will have been noticed in the career of Sir E. Wydville and Sir Thomas Arundell, and the closing scenes were not dissimilar. If the reader will turn back to p. 6, and will recall the double policy of Henry VII., which frustrated the gallant efforts of Sir E. Wydville and his 400 Englishmen to aid the Duke of Brittany, I think he will find resemblances also in the following correspondence.

I have found it in MS. here, but without indications as to the source from which it is taken. I have, however, found the letters, with the exception of the first letter of the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Charles Cornwallis, in Winwood's "State Papers;" but in the letter of the Earl of Salisbury, September 12, 1605, printed in Winwood, there is a passage which gives a sort of intimation of other letters accompanying it. He says (Winwood ii. 133): "The Count of Villa Mediana (whereof I wrote unto you before), before his going to the sea, gave us some little pain about our answers concerning the Spanish soldiers; *of which*, and some other things, because I know how they may be reported (although I do conceive exceeding well of the honourable and courteous nature of the gentleman), I *send you here all* particulars incident to the same."

"In the year 1605, Lord Arundell went to Flanders in command of the English regiment levied for the service of the Spanish princes against the States of Holland, which levy, in the month of August, already amounted to 1500 men. Sir Thomas Edmonds, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated Brussels,

* McSherry (p. 57) gives some of the names of the gentlemen adventurers who accompanied Lord Baltimore. His brothers, Leonard and George Calvert, Jerome Hawley, Thomas Cornwallis Richard Gerard, son of Sir Thomas Gerard, Edmund and Frederick Wintour, sons of Lady Anne Wintour, Henry Wiseman, son of Sir Thomas Wiseman, John Saunders, Edward Cranfield, Henry Green, Nicholas Fairfax, John Baxter, Thomas Dorvel (Darell), Capt. John Hill, John Medcalf, William Saire (*vide* also Bozman, ii. 26). I append the marriages of Lord Arundell's other daughters (sisters of Lady Baltimore), as it may give an indication of names of families likely to have settled in America at the same time:—Maria, m. to Sir John Philpot, of Thornton and Compton; Katherine, m. Ralph Eure, son of William, Lord Eure; Mary, m. Sir John Somerset; Ann, Lady Baltimore Frances, m. to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Margaret, m. to Sir John Fortescue, of Saldon, Bucks; *Clara, sixth daughter, to* Humphrey Weld, Lulworth Castle, Dorset (R. Colthouse's "*Wiltshire*").

August 22, A.D. 1605, O.S., says: "We do forthwith expect the coming hither of my Lord Arundell of Wardour to be colonel of the English regiment which these princes have levied for their services, which is already raised to the number of 1500, partly by those which have been brought out of England and otherwise by the runaways of the State army, and it is also . . . . that the Earl of Hume should bring over a regiment of Scots."

"The Earl of Salisbury also, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, September 12, 1605, says: 'His Majesty hath not suffered any person of blood or note to go to the States service as he hath done on the other side, in the person of the Earl of Hume, an ancient nobleman of Scotland, to take public charge of a regiment, and the Lord Arundell for England, to do the like in person, who, by his late advancement to his barony, carrys the marks of His Majesty's extraordinarie favours, as may be thought to be so graced of purpose for this employment.'"

A few words may be necessary to throw light on these transactions. In 1604 the war in the Netherlands, which had been concentrated on the siege of Ostend, took a new departure. After three years and seventy-seven days (Motley, "United Netherlands," iv. p. 215) the siege had been brought to a close by the Marquis of Spinola, leaving the town "a confused mass of ruins;" here were no human habitations, no houses, no churches, no redoubts, no walls. On the other hand, the important town of Sluys had capitulated to Prince Maurice of Nassau. In 1605 fresh levies were raised; "a terzo of infantry was on its way from Naples, and two more were expected from Milan; but it was decided that the Spanish troops should be embarked on board a fleet of transports, mainly German and English." Although, after much vacillation, the alliance of England with Spain was declared, it will be seen from the following episode that volunteering to cross the sea was not unaccompanied with danger. "Meantime the Spanish troops, embarked in eight merchant ships and a few pinnaces, were slowly approaching their destination. They had been instructed, in case they found it impracticable to enter a Flemish port, to make for the hospitable shores of England. . . . ." Off Dover Admiral Haultain (the Dutch commander) got sight of Sarmiento's fleet. "He made short work of it. Faithfully carrying out the strenuous orders of the States-General, he captured some of the ships, burnt and ran others aground after a brief resistance," and "the greater proportion of the newly levied troops were taken prisoners, tied together, two and two, and then, at a given signal from the Admiral's ship, tossed into the sea." "Not Peter Tittlemann, nor Julian Romero, nor the Duke of Alva himself, ever manifested *greater alacrity in wholesale* murder than was shown by this

admiral of the young republic in fulfilling the savage decrees of the States-General" (Motley, "United Netherlands," iv. 229–30).*

I now return to the MS. "The temporising policy of James, although he had acquiesced in the levy of troops, induced him at the solicitation of the States envoy to forbid Lord Arunde land the other captains to pass over in the same ships as the Spanish ambasssador, the Count de Villa Mediana, who was then on his return to the Netherlands. But Lord Arundel appears to have disobeyed the royal commands by secreting himself in the protected vessel and succeeded in effecting his passage. The king affected, it seems, great displeasure and summoned him to return at his peril.

The Earl of Salisbury writes to Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sept. 12, 1605:

Another matter I am to acquaint you withal concerning the Lord Arundel which happened upon the Spanish Ambassador's departure whereof his Majestie is very sensible. When the Count de Villa Mediana was readie to departe his Majestie did send for Sir Nowell Caron to let him know that he did expect so good respect and observation in the State proceedings towards him in this case (relating to the safe passage of an ambassador) that no interruption should be offered unto him, nor any belonging unto him. Whereunto he replied that he had received such orders from his superiors. Only for the Lord Arundel who had a purpose to transport himself over with divers other captains in one of his Majestie's ship under the protection of the Ambassador they presumed his Majestie would no wayes allow it, because that such sufferance with the circumstances may seem to draw with it a necessarie consequence of imployment from his Majestie. Whereupon his Majestie passed his word to Monsieur Caron for the staying of him and his companie from going in any such manner; and therefore understanding of his setting forward towards Dover gave presentlye commandment to his Priuie Counsell to write unto the Count of Villa Mediana upon such plaine and honourable termes (as are used in these cases) to require him for the reasons administered to forbeare in any case to carrie him over. Adding notwithstanding as an argument that it was not out of any end absolutely to stay him and so to disappoint the ambassador of his services. That his Majestie did promise him that the Lord Arundel should within five days after not only be permitted to passe but the matter should be so ordered as he should be secured from any violence on his Passage. Only in respect his

* A previous execution of prisoners taken at sea had been ordered by the Archduke (p. 125), which, however, had been sufficiently retaliated by the execution of twelve prisoners by order of Prince Maurice. These massacres were on the mistaken maxim, "sed aqua captos, ubi nulla forent belli *fœdera*" (*p. 215*).

Majestie had given his worde (which ought to be inviolable) he did entreate him to satisfie himself with his promise as from a Prince in whom he had never found fraud nor guile. Notwithstanding all this when his Majestie thought himself sufficiently assured that this would content them and I had caused the matter to be imparted accordingly to Monsieur Caron the Lord Arundel hath by the lewdness of one Captain Broadgate (whom he corrupted) procured his Passage in the *Adventure*, one of his Majestie's ships, being the Vice-Admiral to the *Vanguard*, wherein the Ambassador went, directly contrarie to his knowledge of his Majestie's pleasure, and without the Privitie of Count of Villa Mediana himselfe, for so did he declare when he met him on the shore at landing. Wheresoever the faults be his Majestie I can assure you is very sensible of it, especially on the Lord Arundel's parte, who cannot be excused from manifest contempt and therefore because presently to revoke him might be interpreted accidentally prejudicial to their services, his Majestie forbeareth to take any other course of proceeding with him than to command him by his Ambassador there resident that after he shall have put in order those troops under his charge and ended with them the summer service, and that then at the end of September he fails not to come hither to render his person before his Counsell and so to abide his Majestie's further censure.

Considering that Admiral Haultain had the free range of the Channel, and was on the look out, Lord Arundel's chance of crossing the seas without being intercepted if he had not taken the opportunity when it offered would have been slight; and the offence, if it was regarded as such, was apparently condoned, as the following letter shows that his term of appointment was extended to November.

Sir Thomas Edmonds, Lord Ambassador, Resident with the Archdukes, to Sir Charles Cornwallis, Brussels, Oct. 21, 1605, o.s.:

The Lord Arundell of Warder had license from his Majesty to to come to serve in those partes in the quallitie of the colonel of that regiment but for not using of that libertie with the respect towards his Majestie as appertained he has drawn his Majesty's displeasure upon him, whereby his Majesty hath been moved to signifie his commandment, in presuming to pass the seas in disguised manner in one of his Majesty's ships which served to waft the Condo de Villa Mediana contrarie to a commandment given him in that behalf, in regard that the States had newly before importuned his Majesty that his Passage might not be protected by his Majestie's ship, which carried over the said Ambasssador, but to be left to the fortune of Volunteer, seeing he passed in no other qualitie, which his Majesty was content directly to promise to the States, for avoiding to give them Discontentment and accordingly signified his pleasure therein to the Lord Arundel, assuring him notwithstanding that it should be no occasion for the staying of his journey, but that other means should be *presently used after* for the securing of Passage. But the

Lord Arundel conceiving, as he alledges for his excuse, that the said restraint had *no further signification than only to leave him to pass at his own Peril*, he would needs adventure to passe in disguised manner in one of his Majestie's ships, which conducted the said Ambassador, which the States enforcing as a manifest Breach of his Majestie's publique word given them to the contrarie, his Majestie hath therefore been forced to do something for the Repairation of his honor therein. And yet for respect of those Princes he is content to suspend the calling home of Lord Arundel till the end of November, that it may be no hindrance to their service and then his pleasure is that he make his return to answer his fault in that behalf.

I regret that I am unable to give the sequel. The levies collected in September could hardly have been available for the unexpected and brilliant attack of Spinola on Lingen, which transferred the war to the Netherland frontier and threatened the heart of Holland; or for the victory at Mulheim, which terminated the campaign of 1605. The "Journals of the House of Lords" show that Lord Arundel, whether recalled * or compelled by the gravity of the crisis at home, had returned and was in his place in Parliament on the 9th of November 1605, when James I. made his announcement of the Gunpowder Plot to Parliament.

There is little more to recor of Lord Arundell. He did not perish like Sir Edward Wydville and his four hundred Englishmen, but returned to live in England, it is to be hoped in happy obscurity, under the ban of the penal laws.

We get occasional glimpses in this direction in the pages of the "Calendar of State Papers." For instance, in December 1623, Chamberlain to Carleton .... "The papists hung down their heads, and Lord Arundel of Wardour has requested to be their agent in the English Court as the French Protestants have one in their Court." There is no indication as to the result of the application, but previous notices throw light upon it.

August 12, 1623, Calvert to Secretary Conway: "The Spanish Ambassadors finding no lawyer in town whom they could advise with about the pardon of the recusants, have sent for Lord Arundel of Wardour, now in the country. Hesitated to give him the order for post-horses, which they requested, but complied, fearing to arouse the suspicious temper of Inijosa." An indication is given of a letter in reply from Secretary Conway to Calvert: "On the Spanish Ambassador declining a lawyer, and choosing Count Arundel."

August 14, Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway: "The

* Mr. John Chamberlaine, writing to Sir Ralph Winwood, London, Oct. 12, 1605, from the States' point of view, tells him that Viscount Lisle has been called "coram" for his voyage to Flushing, and likewise that Count *Arundell is recalled* and warned to appear here on his perill."

Spanish Ambassadors are jealous because they are refused the English translation of the pardon for Catholics, of which the Spanish copy was given them at Salisbury."

August 4, 1623: Secretary Conway had written to Secretary Calvert: "The king is troubled with the proceedings mentioned in Calvert's letter. . . . . Carlisle and Conway are appointed to attend the Spanish Ambassadors on their coming to town, and to treat on those matters with them. Some means are to be taken by mediation of friends, to induce Lord Arundel of Wardour to conform to the proclamation and withdraw to his country-house, as the king would not have him incur censure in the Star Chamber, where his name, amongst others, is presented." August 18, under pressure, Lord Arundel retires from the position; but August 14, 1623: "His Majesty" having "refused a public toleration for Catholics, but" having "granted them a pardon, and dispensation for 25*s.* each, Lord Arundel is committed for meddling in the business."*

Lord Arundel would have been in his sixty-third year at the time of his committal. He died in 1639 A.D., aged seventy-nine, and was buried in the family vault in Tisbury Church. His helmet is hung in the chancel of the church. As this has given rise to misconstruction I may mention that all the Catholics of this neighbourhood continued to be buried in the Tisbury churchyard—near the old cross—until their present cemetery was opened in 1836.

The knights' bones are dust,
Their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints, I trust.

ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

November 26, 1890.

* There was a raid made on Wardour Castle, and a search for arms by the Pursuivants, 1 Car. I. 1625; but he received the king's "pardon," Feb. 1626 ("Hoare's Wiltshire"). *Vide* also Mr. H. Foley's account ("Records of the English Province, S.J.," Series v. to viii. p. 520) of the seizure of arms by Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, in the residences of the Earl of Castlehaven (then a Catholic) and Lord Arundell of Wardour; and from the latter armour for sixty-four horsemen, besides "petternels," lances, &c. The custody of the armour was found to be inconvenient, requiring the care of an armourer. "The bishop sent to Lord Arundell offering to give entertainment to such as he will send to keep them clean; but he answered the bishop he had given them to the king." It was then suggested by the bishop that the collection should be sent to the Tower of London, and perhaps it might be identified among the armour kept there. It was probably armour brought over by Lord Arundel from the Netherlands.

Art. II.—RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES, LORD HOUGHTON.

The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, first Lord Houghton. By T. Wemyss Reid. In two volumes. London, Paris, and Melbourne: Cassell & Co.

FIVE years have passed away since Lord Houghton ceased to fill his wonted place in English society and English thought. He died on the 11th of August 1885, within a very few days of another noteworthy Yorkshireman, who was eight or nine years his senior. The first Lord Halifax had filled many of the higher offices in successive Whig and Liberal Governments. He had entered the House of Commons at an earlier date than Lord Houghton, but did not reach the calm haven of the Upper Chamber quite so early. The men of the West Riding, without distinction of faith, class, or party, were filled with delight when their two most celebrated neighbours were transferred to the House of Peers; but it takes a generation or two to get them accustomed to titles which, in their phraseology, "hide the name." To the very last it was no uncommon thing to hear the simple Yorkshire folk speaking of Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Milnes. The former had devoted a long and honourable life almost without intermission to Parliamentary duties. The latter, though he sat in the Lower House from 1837 to 1863, as member for Pontefract, never, as we believe, threw his whole soul into politics. Mr. Reid is of a different opinion. There is more than one passage in the memoirs before us which seems to imply that Milnes suffered something more than a passing disappointment when from time to time he was overlooked in favour of men whom he could not but know had less competence than himself. It is not in human nature that a slight of this kind, when it came to be repeated, should not cause momentary irritation; but we have reasons for believing that the feeling aroused was slight and very evanescent. Milnes realised quite as fully as his most attached friends that he was meant for higher functions than doing battle in the trivial contests of party. The House of Commons, as it has been constituted since the end of our great death-grapple with France, is not the place most fitting for one whose mind is occupied by the higher politics. Such persons, except in times of revolution, rarely have justice done them; it is something almost amounting to a law of nature that they should be surpassed by good departmental men of *narrower* vision and more pliant conscience. We have often *heard friends and neighbours* who professed to know him

intimately, lament that Milnes never surrendered himself to his party; but those who knew him best and had the fullest insight into his complex character, held firmly to a different opinion. Of all those who had known him well in earlier life, there was probably no one whose judgment of his capabilities was sounder than that of Walter Savage Landor, the author of "Gebir" and "The Imaginary Conversations." In his mind there was no shadow of doubt. Writing to Lady Blessington, when Milnes had been some two years in the Commons, he said: "I am grieved that my good Milnes, so pure-hearted, so affectionate, should mix with the busy adventurers of either faction." * That on many occasions he was of service to his country does not admit of doubt, and that his great local knowledge made the burgess for the borough of Pontefract in a very real manner the representative of the West Riding, was admitted by even the bitterest political opponents; but it is to us not the less certain that Milnes had a call to duties far more important than those which commonly fall to the lot of mere members of Parliament. We should, however, be doing him an injustice were we to seem to imply that while in the Commons his heart was not in his work.

Richard Monckton Milnes entered Parliament at a time when there was a strong reaction against the Whigs. The great Reform Bill had been carried, and they had given us some half-dozen measures of first-class importance, such as could hardly have become law in any other European country without bloodshed. The natural result followed. They who had attacked aristocratic privilege, had held out the hand of friendship to Catholics and Nonconformists, had dared to call in question the immemorial interests of the old municipal corporations, and had even ventured to lay their profane hands on the Established Church in two out of the three kingdoms, had naturally made a host of enemies. Not only were the old Tories—the men whose literary food was the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* their deadly foes, but they had raised up among their own ranks a body of enemies who hated them all the more fervently because, but a little while ago, they were among their firmest friends. The general election of 1837 showed this in a manner little anticipated by the heads of the great Whig houses. The Russells, the Greys, and their numerous following, became at last aware that the Parliamentary reform for which they had struggled had rendered the old party cries, which they had inherited from the days when men dreaded a Stuart restoration, not only meaningless but absurd.

* *Madden, "Life of the Countess of Blessington,"* vol. ii. p. 383.

In early life Milnes was a Tory of what now would be called a narrow school. We are so apt when contemplating the past to project upon it lights drawn from our present knowledge that it will seem comic, but is none the less true, to assert that from the first his Liberalism was somewhat of a terror to the old-fashioned men of his party. The objection, as we have heard, that was taken against the young member for Pontefract was not that his political creed was unsound, but that he arrived at his conclusions by methods which were at the time perfectly unintelligible to party men. Milnes, however, remained a Tory for several years. We are not aware, indeed, that in the early days of his Parliamentary career any doubts as to his political soundness troubled the minds of his constituents. The change seems to have come upon them quite suddenly at the time of the great break-up of party organisation, consequent on Sir Robert Peel's determination to abolish the Corn Laws. We have no intention of entering on the great controversy, the fires of which still smoulder, as to the moral and social aspects of that memorable change of front. Whatever may have been Milnes's personal feelings as to his leader's sudden conversion to a free-trade policy, he followed in his steps, and became, as time passed on, one of the strongest advocates of unshackled commerce. From that time we may reckon his general change in political opinion. Whatever be our own views, we must concede to him absolute political honesty. Almost all his relatives and personal friends were Tories. To one of Milnes's affectionate and kindly nature, the change must have been most painful. No one who has not endured a similar trial can realise how great a wrench it is to tear oneself away from old associations and old methods of thought, which have long been a part of one's daily life. The risk, moreover, of losing his seat was a danger not to be lightly encountered. When the general election came it was confidently foretold that Milnes's name would be at the bottom of the poll. The prophets were in error; he retained his seat, but it was held only by a very narrow majority.

The changes in Milnes's views were far from sudden. The men of our own time, who have been accustomed to look upon him as one of the most Radical members of the House of Lords, cannot understand without effort that long after he had followed Peel in his surrender to the Manchester politicians, he was still looked upon as a Conservative on most of those vital questions which affect the well-being of society.

It is not, however, as a man of party politics that we have the greatest pleasure in contemplating Lord Houghton. Had he *been nothing* more than a mere politician his biography would *have had but little interest*, and he would have been forgotten

ere now, as many of his personal acquaintances have been. Mr. Reid, in his careful "Life," has given due precedence to the political aspects of his character; but any who read his pages will come to the conclusion that the more memorable part of Lord Houghton's career was little affected by what occurred within the walls of St. Stephen's.

Men of science are at last beginning to discover what the men of imagination have known since the days of Homer: that ancestry has a wide and deep effect on feeling and character. But a very few years ago the people who dared to assert this were laughed at as dreaming antiquaries, when they were not reviled as impostors who had taken up a cheap and easy method of flattery. It is no doubt profoundly true, as Milnes himself told us in 1844, that

> In this our earthly being virtue will not follow blood.*

But this, as every Christian—or as it may be safer, perhaps, to say every Catholic—knows, has nothing to do with the matter. It is an observed fact which comes well within the reach of those scientific laws, which may be now taken as established, that as the great races into which mankind are divided differ markedly from each other in their characteristics, mental as well as physical, so the various families with which we come in contact have each features of their own, mental as well as bodily. The fruit of the genealogical tree is often not what we should anticipate; sometimes it is very disappointing, at others it is of a higher character than we could have hoped for; but for those who know sufficient to be able to discuss the question with profit, there are few cases of remarkable intelligence which may not be shown to have been foreshadowed by some ancestor. If man were not gifted with freewill the results would be uniform, and therefore calculable. As, however, each human soul is independent of its fellows in a manner differing in kind as well as in degree from the variations of the unreasoning creatures with which we are encompassed, we can never be in a position to predict results; it is on that very account all the more interesting to watch each free soul working out its life gravely influenced by such material as its ancestry has furnished.

In the male line, Lord Houghton sprang from an old Derbyshire stock. For generations more than we can count, they had occupied the position of country gentlemen. Somewhere about a century and a quarter ago, one of these Derbyshire Milneses settled at Wakefield, and engaged in the cloth trade. This laid the foundation of the family wealth; business was highly

* "*Palm Leaves*," p. 67.

prosperous with the family; and just about a century ago Lord Houghton's grandfather purchased Fryston Hall, the present seat of the family. In the female line Lord Houghton was sprung from two noteworthy Yorkshire races: the Rodeses of Great Houghton, from whose home he took his title, and the Moncktons of Holroyd. In the time of the great struggle between Charles the First and his Parliament, almost every Yorkshireman of gentle blood flung himself heart and soul into the contest. Sir Edward Rodes was a Parliamentarian; materials still exist which throw light on his character. He seems to have been an active, brave man, who served his party with fidelity, but did not concur in the more violent measures into which they were driven by the course of events. His Puritanism, as far as we can now ascertain, was of a political rather than a theological character. On the other hand, Sir Philip Monckton was a Cavalier of that picturesque type which wins the heart, however little it may appeal to the sober judgment. No man was more devoted to his royal master during the war, or served his son more faithfully during his long years of exile, and that highly dangerous period when events were being prepared for the restoration. He had all the reckless daring which imagination attributes to the Royalist leaders united with more soldier-like capacity than fell to the lot of most of Charles's followers. In his autograph memoirs he records that he had a horse shot under him at Marston Moor as he "caracold" at the head of his troop,* an amusement more calculated for the tilt-yard than for serious warfare; and he was the leader of the daring attack on the Isle of Axholme and Lincoln, which ended so disastrously for the royal cause by the battle of Willoughby in the summer of 1648.

We are not quite certain that these two memorable Yorkshiremen ever met. They must have done so, we imagine, at Assizes and Quarter Sessions in the peaceful days ere Charles raised his standard. That they encountered each other in later times is probable, for both were concerned, on different sides of course, in the siege of the great Lacy stronghold, whose shattered ruins still frown over Pontefract.

We cannot but believe that the mingling of three such distinctly different types had a marked effect on their descendant. It may, of course, be mere accident, but those who knew Lord Houghton cannot readily bring themselves to believe that the various traits of his character—some of them seemingly so contradictory to others—were not due, in part at least, to those who have been dust for centuries.

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* "*Monckton Papers*" (Philobiblon Soc.), p. 17.

Lord Houghton was never at a public school. This may have been a disadvantage as far as his after career at Cambridge was concerned; but even that is doubtful. When we call to mind what the great schools were like in his boyhood, we cannot but believe that it would have been an unmixed evil had a mind so sensitive and gentle been subjected to an ordeal so heartless. His Cambridge career seems to have been a very happy one. His powers of conversation even then were great, and he made a host of friends, from more than one of whom he was not separated until death. It was during his residence at Cambridge that the poetic faculty was aroused within him. A poet in nature and feeling he must have been under any possible circumstances, but his early career did much to fan the flame. Among his Cambridge friends were Lord Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, and several others whose influence on the dawning intellect cannot now be measured. At all periods of his life down to the very last, Lord Houghton was a great reader; we believe that it was during the time he spent at Cambridge that he laid the foundation of that marvellous knowledge of English poets which astonished every one who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The Milneses had been an upright family for generations. As far back as the family traditions carry them there was a grave seriousness about them such as we rarely meet with in these flippant days, but none but the very strong escape entirely from the weaknesses and errors of their surroundings. Gambling was the great vice of the time when Lord Houghton's father was a young man. He and his brother seemed to have indulged in this amusement in a way which would now be branded as reckless. With the example of their neighbours before them, it is not probable that their errors in this direction drew forth much serious remark. The family, however, became crippled in its resources. Fryston, their chief seat, was shut up, and for a time they retired to Thorne, a little Yorkshire market-town, very near to the border of Lincolnshire. In those days it must have been a dull place, even now it is by no means lively; but in times before railways the difficulty of access must have made a residence there not unlike solitary confinement. From Thorne, his father and family migrated to Italy, where they remained several years. Here Milnes joined them: a young man overflowing with mental energy, and delighted with every appeal to the imagination, could not in those days have had a happier lot marked out for him.

We, living in times so widely different, find it difficult to understand the extreme narrowness of mind which was all but universal among the upper ranks in the period preceding Catholic Emancipation. The emigrant priests had done much towards

breaking down the narrow hard Protestantism of the eighteenth century. Members of the Milnes family had come in contact with some of these holy men, and had, we doubt not, been improved thereby; but when the old monarchy was restored in France, the emigrants for the most part returned home; and had it not been for convulsions in Ireland, there was no little danger that the old prejudices, which were by no means killed, would once more have reasserted themselves in their least amiable forms. A residence in Italy, sufficiently prolonged to give familiarity with all classes, was a great advantage to Milnes. It coloured the whole of his future life. The family settled in the first place at Milan, where it remained for some years, mingling freely in the best society of the place. Even the great gulf which in those times separated the governing class from the governed, had little effect on the English strangers. They seem to have been welcome everywhere. Milnes's father was an acute critic of contemporary history. Of his attitude to the then political situation, Mr. Reid says something well worth bearing in mind:

> Mr. Milnes, indeed, preserved his critical attitude of mind, even under the seductive skies of Italy; and whilst he was by no means blind to the hardships and the injustices attached to Austrian rule, he was equally ready to point out to his son the defects of the Italian character, and the extent to which long years of bondage had enfeebled their powers of self-government. Mrs. Milnes, with her great love of music and her uncommon powers as an executant, thoroughly enjoyed the society of the many artists of distinction, both amateur and professional, who were at that time to be found in Milan, whilst her daughter steadily pursued her education under the best masters the city could afford. Richard Milnes . . . . from the first, seems to have formed a warm attachment, not only for Italian life, but for the Italian character. His sympathetic temperament quickly enabled him to enter into the feelings of those around him, and the development of that cosmopolitanism of mind and temperament, which to the last was so striking a feature in his character, made rapid advances during these years of his early sojourn in Italy.

To the last days of Milnes's life his love for Italy remained undimmed. From the first he had an ardent desire for her freedom, but though in after years a friend of Garibaldi and other revolutionists, he knew far too much of history, and of the craving of the Italian heart for objects of reverence, to be seduced into adopting their ideals.

Milnes's long residence in Milan was a subject which to the last he delighted to contemplate; but Rome was the home of his *heart. Had he* been a Catholic it would be easy to explain this; *even if he had been* one of those classic enthusiasts who see

little of goodness or beauty outside the bounds of the Hellenic and Latin heathenisms, it would not have been difficult of explanation; but he was neither. His culture was very far too wide to be cramped by the glories of two civilisations, however great, and the influence which the Church exercised over him, though at all times powerful, was never of a kind that enemies and friends were often led to believe. Mr. Reid's words seem to express the exact truth. He is commenting on a letter in which Milnes had spoken more than kindly of his friends who had "embraced Popery." They had, he affirmed, chosen a happier lot than those who had married. To this Mr. Reid adds: "Whatever other changes of opinion Lord Houghton had experienced, he had never faltered either in the tolerance which he showed to others on all questions of religious belief, or in the lurking tenderness he felt for the Church of Rome when a young man." The idea conveyed above is true, but the phrase "lurking tenderness" gives, in our view, a wrong impression. Though many thought him on "the highway to Rome," there was never, we believe, any ground for hope. His historical and artistic sympathies were always on the side of the Catholic Church, but we know of no evidence, and do not believe any such exists, which would show that he at any time had felt it a duty to bow beneath her rule. Why the gift of faith was withheld it does not become us to speculate. No Englishman of his day had better means of seeing the Catholic Church at the centre of unity, and no one ever felt deeper scorn for those strangely constituted persons who profess to find idolatry, and almost every other evil thing, encouraged under the very shadow of the Vatican.

One of Milnes's earliest friends in Rome was Cardinal Weld, for whom he entertained a deep and lasting affection. The Welds were an old English family, and the Cardinal had long been on terms of intimacy with Lord Houghton's father. The great ecclesiastic seems to have thought well of the young man from the first. In those days, far more than now, it was a great advantage to a stranger staying in Rome to have friends who had the entry of the Papal Court. This was Milnes's good fortune, and he made the most of it. The Cardinal gave him an introduction to Dr. Wiseman, the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. A warm friendship, which was never clouded, sprang up between them. In those days, beyond Catholic circles, the name of Wiseman was almost unknown to English people. The future Cardinal had however, even then, great influence at Rome, where his ardent piety and great learning were appreciated. Through his means Milnes saw much which would *otherwise have remained* a blank to him. It is to this

long visit and to the knowledge gained therefrom that we must, in a great measure, attribute the deep love for Rome (the city, we mean) which was a marked characteristic of Milnes's mind. In the "Poems," published in 1838, are some verses entitled "The Immortality of Rome," which indicate perhaps better than anything else he has written his feelings with regard to the Eternal City. We wish we had room to quote them in full, for they are of a high order of beauty. A few lines, however, must suffice:

> Rome has no history she can call her own;
> The history of the Western World is hers,
> Writ out in all its mazy characters:
> What know we of it till that name began,
> Whose light still hovers o'er the Vatican?
> Where is the fount of all its myriad rills,
> But springing 'mid the seven low Latian hills?
>
> * * * *
>
> I stood one night—one rich Italian night,
> When the moon's lamp was prodigal of light—
> Within that circus, whose enormous range,
> Though rent and shattered by a life of change,
> Still stretches forth its undiminished span,
> Telling the weakness and the strength of man.
>
> * * * *
>
> Then from that picture of the wreck-strewn ground,
> Which the arch held in framework, slowly round
> I turned my eyes and fixed them where was seen
> A long spare shadow stretched across the green;
> The shadow of the crucifix that stood,
> A simple shape of rude uncarven wood,
> Raising erect and firm its lowly head
> Amid that pomp of ruin—amid the dead.
> A sign of salient life—the mystery
> Of Rome's immortal being was then made clear to me.

The little volume entitled "Palm Leaves," published in 1844, is a memorial of Eastern travel. It contains some of the highest poetry Milnes ever wrote. So little interest, however, do most English folk take in Oriental modes of thought that it never made the impression that far inferior books have done when written on subjects which were in accord with the popular fancy. One very short poem—there are only ten lines—is entitled "Loss and Gain." It has been thought—it is but a guess—that it suggested the title of Cardinal Newman's well-known tale.

Years spent in Italy, diversified by tours in Greece and the East, was an excellent preparation for English society. The *narrowness so common* to the English mind of all social ranks, *could it ever have blighted* Milnes's nature, had been destroyed

by foreign associations. When he first entered English society he was said to have the manners of a foreigner. This was, we believe, but a blundering way of stating that his sympathies were wider than those of most of the people with whom he came in contact. Though given to say things which startled his friends not a little, it was soon discovered that he had powers of conversation of no ordinary character. We English have never been great as conversationalists. There is a stolidity in our nature which compels most of us to express even bright ideas in dull words, and a prejudice was abroad in those days, which is not altogether dead even now, that to be a good conversationalist is rather a defect than an advantage—a mark of triviality rather than of depth. How silly a superstition this is we need not pause to demonstrate: it is, however, a delusion which has before now made homes unhappy. There is no reason in the nature of things why one man should not cultivate his faculty for conversation as assiduously as others do music or poetical expression. Whether Milnes really took pains to perfect himself in this highly difficult and complex art, we have no means of knowing: whether due to art or to nature, it was a most brilliant success. One who knew him very intimately during his latter life, and who had exceptional experience and powers of judging, told the writer, soon after Lord Houghton's death, that there were but two living Englishmen whose powers of conversation in any degree equalled those that Houghton displayed every day —in the quiet retirement of Fryston at least as successfully as in the most brilliant and stimulating society of town. One of these, it was added, had been spoilt by party politics, the other by narrow circumstances of life.

Lord Houghton's reputation as a master in the art of conversation has overshadowed in the minds of many persons his higher qualities. He has suffered like his predecessors from having old stories from the jest-books fathered upon him; and what is even worse, because less easy of correction, the dull jokes of dull people have been attributed to him without mercy. He was a great humorist, but so much depended on voice and manner that many of the best things he really said were of a kind that no biographer could reproduce. We confess, however, we anticipated more amusing stories than have found their way into Mr. Reid's pages. Our readers are, no doubt, familiar with most of those which his biographer has given from the extracts that have appeared in the newspapers.

The American tour, which took place in 1875, furnished him with a never-ending topic of conversation. He was one of the few among the *English gentry* who unhesitatingly took the *Northern side during the Civil* War, and was therefore welcomed

with enthusiasm, not only as a poet and politician, but also with all the warmth of personal friendship. Some of his experiences with newspaper interviewers were amusing. On one occasion when visiting a Western city, an intruder of this kind insisted on seeing him, although he had retired to bed. His faithful attendant Day, whom he had brought with him from Fryston, finding it impossible to get rid of the man, asked his master what was to be done. Houghton ordered him to be admitted, and wearily consented to being cross-questioned. In reply to something he was asked concerning the American press, Houghton said: "What strikes me about your press is the extreme violence of the language you use towards your political opponents. I see in one paper I read this morning that President Grant is described as a drunkard, a liar, and a thief. Now even supposing he were all these things—which I do not for a moment admit—do you not think that it would show more self-respect on the part of his opponents if they were to remember that he is at least the head of your nation, and its representative in the eyes of the world, and that consequently any attack made upon him is virtually an attack on the Republic itself?"

The next morning Lord Houghton was not a little surprised to find that his remark had undergone transmutation after the following fashion: "Lord Houghton is not inclined to admit that President Grant is a drunkard and a thief, and he thinks that, even if he is, the facts should not be published in the newspapers."

In the appendix, Mr. Reid has gathered together a goodly sheaf of Lord Houghton's sayings. They are not among his best, which seem to have passed beyond recovery, but they are all worth permanent record; some of them indeed may, in the present disorganised state of opinion, be meditated on with profit. We give a few picked almost at random.

"It is only by attesting their divine mission that institutions can be, or, it may be, ought to be obeyed."

"You may generally divide the goodness of your joke by the number of your auditors; a joke good enough for half a dozen people will be too good for a hundred; you must coarsen your humour for the House of Commons or any other mob."

"How often people's books are better than themselves, how often their conversation! Is it not that these things are in fact the souls of those persons, and what they would be but for some contingent circumstances that make them otherwise? These things are the men without their persons and passions and personal weaknesses."

Mr. Reid's pages are always so kindly and appreciative that *we hesitate to find fault*, but we must call in question his not

infrequent use of the word "paradox" when dwelling on Lord Houghton's conversation. It was, we admit, not only brilliant but often strange and grotesque, running as it so frequently did in direct antagonism to the popular beliefs of the time. Sometimes it was so obviously not meant seriously that rational persons were no more misled by him than they are into thinking "Midsummer Night's Dream" an historical drama. Had his words appeared in a printed form instead of being spoken, every one would have laughed, as they do at the quips of Montaigne, without there being the least danger of their being taken seriously, but in conversation dull folk had not time to change their mental focus so suddenly; therefore the stupid and the prejudiced went away and told their friends that Lord Houghton had professed his belief in or sympathy with this or that monstrous sophism, which was as opposed to his inner thought as light is to darkness. There was another class of subjects on which he was, perhaps, not so much misunderstood as misjudged. Nothing was more certain to Lord Houghton than the fact that life is many-sided. To him Lessing's memorable lines:

> Dasz doch in der Welt
> Ein jedes Ding so manche Seiten hat!
> Von denen oft sich gar nicht denken läszt,
> Wie sie zusammenpassen!*

had a deep meaning, they were not merely noble poetry, but conveyed a moral lesson. He was one of the most tolerant of men, and it was a pleasure always, and as he felt not unfrequently a duty, to say all that could be said in favour of unpopular causes. There is no doubt that sometimes he was wrong in this, but those who are old enough to remember bygone times cannot fail to call to mind how very frequently the "paradoxes" of Milnes became, as years rolled on, part of the popular mind-furniture of the country. On small matters of speculation or social conviction it is not our purpose to enter, but there is one subject of first-class importance to which we owe more than we can tell to the untiring labours of Lord Houghton. To him more than to any one else we are indebted for our present reformatory system for juvenile criminals. When the bloody penal code which disgraced the Statute-book at the beginning of this century was bit by bit brought into something like harmony with Christian teaching and the national instincts, our law-reformers seem to have thought that they had done their work. Their labour had been destructive only, but the time for construction had now come. To Lord

* Why are all things on earth so many-sided,
And all their sides so hard to reconcile?
"*Nathan der Weise*," *iv.* 4 (Ellen Frothingham's Translation).

Houghton and a very few others it seemed horrible that boys and girls, who had been guilty of some small offence—a petty theft, perhaps—should be sent to a common prison to associate with the vilest criminals. When, however, Milnes began to agitate for the remedy of this great scandal, he was treated as one who was airing the wildest of paradoxes. His plans were scoffed at by men of all shades of political opinion as the dreams of a poet, which it would be impossible to carry into practice. One set of wiseacres told their hearers that it would be a direct means of fostering crime, and another was never weary of dwelling on the vast cost that reformatory institutions would be to the State. To the cry of the children Milnes could never close his ears. After years of struggle he carried out his proposed reform. We are justified in saying that this beneficent legislation has saved hundreds of human beings of both sexes from a life of degradation and sin. Had Lord Houghton done nothing else worthy of memory, the author of the Reformatories Acts should ever have a warm place in the hearts of all those who accept the great law of charity as a part of their religion.

That Lord Houghton was a true poet, not a mere writer of harmonious verse, no one who has given due attention to the subject can doubt. There is no collected edition; but the greater part of his verse is to be found in the "Poems" of 1838, the "Poetry for the People" of 1840, and the "Palm Leaves" of 1844, though some precious gems will be sought for in those volumes in vain. What rank any of these ought to take is a matter of present controversy into which it is useless to enter. On such questions the minds of men are, in these days of transition, too widely divergent for any opinion we might venture upon to be other than an intrusion. We may, however, mention a remark of Landor's, quoted by Mr. Reid, with which our own convictions are in complete harmony. He maintained, speaking in 1838, at one of Crabbe Robinson's breakfasts, that Milnes was the greatest poet then living in England.

To sum up the character of the poet, the conversationalist, the man of many friends—friends in every rank of life, from the lowest and most desolate to emperors, kings, and queens—the man who, above all things else, was devoted to acts of kindness to the suffering and the friendless, would require far more space than we have at our disposal. Were we asked what were the features in Lord Houghton's character which made the deepest impression on ourselves, we should say his extreme tolerance, his great kindliness, and his entire absence of egotism. It was a common subject of remark among his friends that it was almost impossible to induce Lord Houghton to talk on any subject whatever which in any way reflected credit on himself.

Mr. Reid has executed a difficult task with care and judgment. As raw material he had before him upwards of thirty thousand letters. There are not more than two or three passages which we wish he had omitted. On the other hand, considering the exceptional interest of much of the correspondence, we cannot but wish that there had been an additional volume. Lord Houghton had many correspondents whose names even do not occur in the volumes before us; of some of these, interesting letters must remain that are well deserving of publication.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

ART. III.—THE TEACHING OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY.

1. *Notes on Commercial Geography.* By L. C. CASARTELLI, D.D. Manchester: Ledsham, 1886.
2. *Manuals of Commerce.* By JOHN YEATS, LL.D. Liverpool: George Philip and Son, 1889. Vol. 1. The Natural History of the Raw Materials of Commerce. 2. The Technical History of Commerce. 3. The Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce in all Ages. 4. Recent and Existing Commerce.

MODERN science, in proportion as wider fields of investigation open up to it in all directions, tends more and more to the specialisation of subjects of research. The tree of knowledge ramifies as it expands, and its increase of growth is accompanied by increased multiplicity of sub-division. Thus, the study of geography, formerly treated as a whole, is now classified under at least four principal headings, according to its treatment under its historical, political, physical, or commercial aspect. But these several spheres intersect each other in so many different directions that it is impossible to draw any sharp line of demarcation between them, and it is rather by the manner of their treatment than by the matter included in them, that they can be properly distinguished. Thus, while commercial, or, as Dr. Casartelli prefers to call it, economic geography, concerned exclusively with the equalisation of the supply of natural products, may be defined from one point of view, as physical geography modified by human agency, it must be considered from another *as a branch of* political geography, since it has to *recognise artificial as well as* natural obstacles to intercommuni-

cation. The material difficulties which mechanical science seeks to counteract or overthrow are replaced by legislative barriers, and the paper wall of a hostile tariff blocks the road that the engineer has tunnelled through the Alps, or the navigator traced across the ocean. Thus, the study of the interchange of production might be indefinitely expanded, so as to include the whole social progress of the human race; and we should scarcely be wandering from our subject by opening it with a history of man from the Creation to the present day. In practice, however, narrower limits are necessary, and a general survey of the needs and capabilities of the earth's surface is generally held to be the basis of economic geography.

Of these, climate is the first broad determining condition, since this creates the inequality of production, which is the root of exchange. In an especial degree has the desire of the natives of temperate zones to possess themselves of the products of the tropics been the mainspring of commerce in all ages. For while, as Dr. Yeats points out, the trading energy of the world is mainly lodged between the fortieth and sixtieth parallels in Europe, and in a corresponding zone in America, to which will soon be added one in the southern hemisphere, the productive energy of nature is most intense in the Equatorial belts, where solar influence acts most powerfully on all forms of life. In that great natural forcing house, the vegetative functions are stimulated to the highest point; pungent aromas or luscious gums and oils are distilled from the juices of plants, colouring matter is not only lavished on their petals but stored in their tissues, and medicinal or stimulating properties are evolved from their essences. The same exuberance of vitality gives variety of form and colour to the animal creation: the plumage of the bird and armour of the beetle are brilliant with unimaginable hues; the web of an emperor's robe is unwound from the cerements of a moth, and the secretion of a mollusc becomes the pearl of great price. The Indies, long regarded as the sole storehouse of tropical produce, were consequently the earliest goal of commercial adventure, and the carriage and distribution of their wares still continue, amid all the changes wrought by modern discovery, to confer the royal title to mercantile supremacy.

The first broad division of the globe for commercial purposes is, therefore, that into botanical zones, corresponding to those of temperature, and reckoned by Mr. Meyen, whose classification we follow, as eight in number. To the Equatorial belt, with a mean annual temperature between 82° and 78°, he assigns an extension of 15° on either side of the line, a limit which brings within it the central region of Africa, the northern bulk of South America, and the Asiatic peninsulas of Arabia, Hindustan, and

Indo-China, with the whole of the Malay Archipelago. The oil palm grows exclusively within this belt, which is also the favourite habitat of palms, bananas, bamboos, coffee, cocoa, cassava, mahogany, and spices.

The tropical zones, bounded by the isotherms, or curves of mean annual temperature of 78° and 73°, are conterminous, north and south, with the central belt. They are characterised by the growth of figs and tree-ferns, of the date palm, cactus, acacia, tamarisk, mimosa, and by the production of Peruvian bark, lignum vitæ, india rubber, dates, coffee, cotton, and sugar. This zone traverses all the continents but Europe including Australia, and contains within it the principal waterless deserts of the globe. The comparatively narrow sub-tropical zone comes next, between the isotherms of 73° and 68°, a temperature not reached even by Southern Europe, but found across great expanses of the other continents. This is in an especial degree the region of esculent roots, such as sweet potatoes, yams, and arrowroot; of dates, figs, sugar-cane, tea, as well as of myrtles and laurels.

The isotherm of 68° and 60° confine the warm temperate zone, the latter limit of temperature coinciding pretty nearly with the line of the Pyrenees, Alps, Balkans, and Caucasus, and excluding, consequently, all the continent of Europe, save its three southern peninsulas. The orange and vine attain to their greatest perfection within it, and it is distinctively known as the region of wine and oil, but produces also rice, maize, and tobacco. In South America it is the home of the herb known as Paraguay tea, and in South Africa of a great variety of heaths and aloes.

Contiguous with the "wine and oil" region is that of "beer and butter," a term familiarly descriptive of the cold temperate zone, lying between the isotherms of 60° and 48°. A wide belt, traversing Europe, Asia, and North America nearly at their maximum extensions, is included within these lines in the northern hemisphere, while in the southern they comprise only New Zealand, Tasmania, and the extremity of South America, no part of Africa or Australia falling within them. Only by favour of the Gulf Stream, which carries the isotherm with a sharp northerly curve across the Atlantic, do the British Isles, most northerly of European cold temperate lands, come within that category, corresponding latitudes elsewhere being mostly classed as sub-Arctic. Deciduous trees and summer-ripening grains, such as maize, wheat, barley, oats, and rye, are, with flax, hemp, and madder, their chief growths.

The bleak sub-Arctic zone, between the isotherms of 48° and 40°, with barley and rye as its cereals, and coniferous trees for its forest, curves across North America, including almost its whole Lake *region, and trends northwards* across the Atlantic, to take

in Scandinavia, Denmark, Central Russia, Tartary, Tibet, and Northern China, while its sub-Antarctic analogue comprises only Tierra del Fuego, and the extreme point of Patagonia.

Northern Canada, Southern Labrador, Newfoundland, Iceland, and Northern Scandinavia fall within the mean temperature limits of 40° and 32°, defining the Arctic and Antarctic zones, the home of saxifrages, lichens, and mosses, with dwarf willows and birches. The latter have, on the edge of this zone, in the neighbourhood of the North Cape in Norway, dwindled to such diminutive proportions that six full-grown trees can stand on an octavo sheet of paper. Beyond the Arctic lie the Polar regions, where the vegetable kingdom is represented by lichens and mosses alone, and the mean annual temperature is below freezing. The known lands where these conditions prevail are the far north of British America and of Russia in Europe, with Greenland, and the other lands and islands in the Polar seas of the northern and southern hemispheres.

None of these divisions of the globe, however inhospitable to man, is without its special value in the eyes of commerce. Beyond the limits of vegetation on land, the sea teems with the prey of sealer or whaler, and the frozen shores of the Arctic Ocean yield furs precious enough to tempt the trapper to their desolate wastes. Thus the currents of trade circulate from the Equator to the Poles with the same regularity as those of air or ocean, and the former tend to equalise the diffusion of products, as the latter do that of temperature, over the entire of the earth's surface. The direction of human effort is towards the effacement of geographical distinctions, and the extent to which it has been successful can be measured by an enumeration of the chief products whose range has been artificially enlarged. Thus the New World gave maize, its sole indigenous cereal, to the Old, receiving in return both wheat and rice, now largely exported thence to their original home. The potato, indigenous in Chili, is now the most cosmopolitan of tubers, and tobacco, from its first nursery in Havana, has acquired by a scarcely less meritorious title, the citizenship of the world. Gastronomy has to acknowledge no inconsiderable debt to a continent which has given the turkey to our dinner-table, the pine-apple, indigenous to the Bahamas and West Indies, to our dessert; and cocoa and chocolate, flavoured with the Mexican vanilla, to our morning repast. To America horticulture owes the magnolia, cactus, aloe, dahlia, fuchsia, nasturtium, and passion-flower, and medicine the invaluable Cinchona bark of Peru, the ipecacuanha of Brazil, the sarsaparilla of Central America, and the jalap of Mexico. The sugar-maple and mahogany-tree are both denizens of the Western primeval forest; but the sugar-cane, on *the other hand, indi*genous to India, and brought by the Saracens

to Europe in the ninth century, was carried by the Spaniards and Portuguese to the New World.

From Asia we have received the olive, orange, peach, cherry, fig, and, last, not least, the vine, a native of the country south of the Caspian, while the farther East has contributed the chrysanthemum and camelia to our gardens and conservatories. The extent to which increased international intercourse has modified our daily habits may be inferred from the fact that such adjuncts to modern existence as tea and coffee, beer and spirits, sugar, butter, potatoes, cotton and tobacco, were all unknown to the ancients.

Many of the present staples of trade are, as Dr. Yeats points out in his preface to "The Natural History of the Raw Materials of Commerce," of still more recent introduction, and were unknown within the lifetime of the present generation. Their discovery was, in most cases, due to accident, of which the author relates several instances. Thus he tells how to Dr. Montgomery's examination of the material of a wood-cutter's axe, when walking in the environs of Singapore, in the year 1842, was due the discovery of gutta-percha, indispensable, among many other uses, for the sheathing of submarine telegraph cables.

A chemist in Bengal, again, noticed about the same time, the fibrous wrapping of some native medicine jars from the interior, and inquired into its nature. The substance proved to be jute, which, largely used as a substitute for Russian hemp during the Crimean war, now furnishes Dundee and other northern towns with their chief industry. An engineer in California, struck, in 1850, with the beautiful red colour used in the decorations of a country church, found it was produced by an earthy powder brought by the neighbouring Indians to their padre. Investigation showed it to be cinnabar, the bisulphide of mercury, and the opening of a mine for it lowered the price of quicksilver all over the world.

The first sample of alpaca wool, imported in 1836, lay neglected in the corner of a warehouse in Liverpool until it was noticed, and its value discovered, by Sir Titus Salt. Still stranger is it to read that the produce of the first bag of rice-seed planted in South Carolina, some two hundred years ago, was despised as worthless, and that it was only by accident, when it had continued to grow and spread, self-sown, that the colonists found themselves in possession of a valuable crop. For a hundred years before the cultivation of cotton became general, Carolina throve on its export of rice, and it still ranks with the former as a source of wealth to her population.

The story of the first South African diamond, given as a plaything to the children of a Boer farmer, has often been told,

as has the tale of the fortunate individual who first struck oil while boring for salt in the region of the Alleghanies. The surprises of fate are, however, rarely so dramatic, and the individuals who blunder upon Fortunatus's purse in a ditch or a rubbish-heap, form the exceptions and not the rule.

While limitations on the diffusion of plants are, to a certain extent, elastic under human manipulation, nature sometimes confers a monopoly on certain favoured spots by a charter which man in vain tries to set aside. Of this the mace and nutmeg tree, which flourishes only in the Malay Archipelago, and cannot be acclimatised elsewhere, is, perhaps, the most conspicuous example.

Dr. Yeats points out how geological structure acts on vegetation less obviously, though scarcely less powerfully than atmospheric conditions, by determining the character of the soil which furnishes the principal elements of plant-life. It is this which prescribes the apparently capricious limitations on its diffusion, giving a local character, more or less well defined, to the products of particular areas. The Cape of Good Hope furnishes a striking instance of botanical isolation, containing many classes of plants which do not exist elsewhere. The beautiful silver tree, which girds Table Mountain with belts of ashen-grey forest, grows nowhere save in its immediate vicinity, and to the same region are confined the *proteas*, flowering shrubs and trees found there in two hundred varieties.

In the British Islands the same specialisation, governed by the geological basis of the soil, prevails in a lesser degree. Thus, the *Arenaria* and *Cerastium*, peculiar to the Shetlands, are limited to the area of the serpentine; the *Orobanche*, produced in some parts of Ireland, to that of the basaltic rock; and the characteristic *Erica* of Cornwall to its metalliferous veins. The beautiful, gentian-hued *Pinguicula grandiflora*, which finds a congenial soil in the bogs of the extreme south of Ireland, will not bear transplantation, and is rare, if not unknown, elsewhere.

The influence of the geology of a country on its commercial products is furthermore illustrated by Dr. Yeats in his demonstration of the connection between the lias formation and the production of cheese in England, since Cheshire, the Cheddar and Stilton districts, and the Severn valley, famed as the home of "double Gloucester," all rest wholly or partially on this class of rock. The old red sandstone, on the other hand, furnishes the best soil for fruit culture, and the oolite, self-manured by the disintegration of the phosphates it contains, for that of wheat. In the distribution of minerals, on which climate exercises no calculable influence, geology is the supreme factor, and is therefore one of the most important branches of the science of trade.

Economic geography, in its relation to the earth and its products, is thus seen to rest on a broad basis of general knowledge, since the most insignificant of the products it deals with is the outcome of a complicated system of evolution set in motion by the vast chemistry of nature. It has, however, to consider other laws as well, into which human action enters as a largely modifying force—those which govern the intercommunication of nations and the mutual exchange of their several products. Distance and natural obstacles are here counteracted by the great extension of the powers of transport and locomotion which is the leading characteristic of the present age. The evolution of the modern system of communication has been mainly in the direction of the substitution of water for land carriage, and the consequent abandonment of the old transcontinental routes. The immediate present shows, however, a tendency to the partial reversal of this movement, directing trade once more into the paths traced by its infancy. The modern express, following in the track of the immemorial camel train of the East, may even recall to life the glories of the buried cities that now stud the Asiatic desert with shapeless mounds of ruin.

While navigation was timid and tentative, the land or the great rivers furnished surer highways of commerce, and social progress followed then, as ever, the same course. Colonel Wilson, R.E., in an interesting paper on commercial geography, read before the British Association, and republished in the Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society, vol iv., points out that the most ancient civilisations of the world expanded in four riverain districts; the Chinese in the basins of the Hoang Ho and Yang-tse-Kiang; the Hindu in those of the Ganges and Indus; Chaldæan and Assyro-Babylonian in those of the Tigris and Euphrates; and Egyptian in that of the Nile.

The prehistoric era of exclusively caravan or fluvial traffic was followed by one in which the Mediterranean began to play its part, when Tyre and Sidon became synonyms for luxurious corruption, and the Jewish kingdom under Solomon, holding the key of the caravan routes, reached its maximum of splendour and opulence. The Phœnicians, with their astute intuition of commercial possibilities, are said to have used an ingenious combination of land, river, and sea transport, following the stream of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf, using the monsoons to traverse the Indian Ocean in both directions, and regaining the Mediterranean by way of the Red Sea and the current of the Nile, the latter reached from Myos Hormos or Berenice by the caravan route across the desert. The secret of the monsoons was, however, lost again to the Mediterranean dwellers, until rediscovered by *Hippalus of Alexandria* under the Ptolemies, the Arabs

in the meantime having had a monopoly of water carriage between Egypt and the East. The subsequent predominance of this race marked the culmination of Asiatic trade, and their enterprise and audacity carried them in such numbers to the China seas, that they were able to attack and pillage Canton. Chinese junks, on the other hand, were seen at the mouth of the Euphrates, and the storied splendour of Bagdad is a reminiscence of the days when it flourished as the emporium of trade with the Far East.

While the sceptre of the Mediterranean, handed on from Carthage, Rome, and Byzantium, was wielded by Amalfi, Genoa, and Venice, another commercial power destined to exercise considerable influence on mediæval history, was consolidating itself in Northern and Central Europe. It was to her geographical position as a connecting link between the continental and Mediterranean systems, resembling that held by England on the ocean highway before the opening of the Suez Canal, that Venice owed her unique place in history. For, as maritime intercourse was still mainly confined to the narrow seas, it was from the head of the Adriatic, by land route over the Alps to the Rhine, that Northern and Western Europe were most easily accessible. By the Brenner, the towns of Southern Germany, Munich, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, were reached with comparative ease, and water carriage by the Maine, Rhine, and other streams, was available thence to the Low Countries. We may still see in old engravings the quaint clumsy river boats, with high recurving prows, and massive oars worked by gangs of men standing on the raised deck, which then distributed the merchandise of the East to Northern Europe.

Until the end of the thirteenth century, the importance of the inland towns transcended that of the seaports, and Cologne, on the great waterway, rose first to pre-eminence. There, in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, still known as the Hansa Room, was constituted in November 1367, the Cologne Confederation of seventy-seven towns, afterwards styled the Hanseatic League. Founded originally as a trading defensive organisation, to secure the roads from robbers, and resist the levying of blackmail by the feudal lords, it soon began to wield political ascendency, and was for two centuries the dominant power in Northern Europe. Exclusion from its privileges meant commercial extinction, and Bremen, "unhansed" for thirty years for a trifling violation of its laws, saw the grass grow in her streets, and the dust lie in her empty warehouses. The league of merchants levied war on kings, and owned but a nominal allegiance to the Empire, while clutching its commercial monopoly with such an iron grip that no native of Russia was allowed *to own a ship, or trade* by sea.

With the advance of seafaring adventure, the focus of Hanseatic power was transferred from the Rhine to the Baltic, whose shores, studded with German colonies, saw the rise of fourteen cities of the first rank, along 250 miles of coast. This rapid development was mainly due to a phenomenon, the record of which raises a curious geographical question. The instinct of the herring which urges it to leave the ocean depths in vast shoals to deposit its spawn in shallow water, has always been a factor in the growth of maritime population, and the unexplained caprice which leads the fish to forsake one haunt for another has had an appreciable influence on the course of history. Salted or pickled herrings were, before the Reformation, a chief item of Lenten diet, and consequently an important article of commerce.

"It is not going beyond the strict truth to state (says Miss Zimmern, in her interesting story of the Hansa Towns*) that the mysterious wanderings of the herring determined, through several centuries, the entire course of Northern commerce. During the Middle Ages, upon the appearance of the herring, now on this coast now on that, the wealth and the prosperity of whole districts depended. Herring fishing became a branch of industry that decided the fate of nations. To it the Hansa owed a large portion of its riches and of its power; in the herring fisheries when, in the year 1425, the fish began to spawn in the German Ocean, the Netherlands found the foundation-stone of their wealth and dignity. Indeed, it was said later, with scant exaggeration, that Amsterdam was built upon herrings."

The same might be said, with almost equal truth of Lübeck, where is still to be seen the building of the old Schütting, the starting-point of the herring-fishers for the Baltic, with its armorial bearings of three herrings on a plain gold shield. The coast of Scania, the name applied to the southern extremity of Scandinavia within the Sound, was then the great resort of the herring, and the principal theatre of the fishery. The enigma, however, suggested by this undoubted historical fact, is that while the herring is a distinctively salt water fish, never known to visit estuaries or brackish inlets, the water of the Baltic is at the present day so fresh that in some places it may be drunk. It owes this peculiarity, in contrast with the Mediterranean, which is salter than the ocean, to the great volume of fresh water and melted snow poured into its comparatively limited area, in combination with the small amount of evaporation from its surface under the low northern sun. It is, in fact, little more than the common estuary of the multitudinous rivers whose waters mingle in its expanse. As these natural features have

* The Hansa Towns. By Helen Zimmern. (The Story of the Nations.) London: T. *Fisher Unwin. 1889.*

remained unaltered within historic times, we are driven to the conjecture that the herrings salted and packed in such myriads on its shores for exportation to the rest of Europe, may have been of a species differing in some degree from that known at the present day.

Lübeck, at any rate, prospered so well on its dealings in them, that its population in the fourteenth century was 80,000, as compared with 48,000 in our own times. Its wealthy burghers vied with princes in splendour, and its name was synonymous with commercial stability and credit. In such repute was its coinage as to have been the origin of our word 'sterling,' contracted from "Easterling," the name applied by English merchants to the traders of the Baltic, in whose money they habitually contracted to be paid.

The small scale of ocean commerce in those days may be inferred from the position occupied by Bruges, connected with the sea only by a canal, as the principal western *entrepôt* of the Hanseatic League. A rule was enforced by the latter that all ships sailing the seas, except those bound to England or the Baltic, must call at Bruges, so as to offer its merchants a refusal of their wares. In its streets and markets, where fifteen foreign nations had their depôts and sixty-eight Flemish trade guilds their palaces, the wares of the East and West were interchanged, and the converging produce of distant lands met before taking fresh paths of distribution.

The Fondaco de' Tedeschi in Venice, with its gloriously frescoed walls, is a monument of the taste and splendour of the Hanseatic traders. Here, however, the jealous rulers of the Adriatic only permitted them to reside at stated times and under strict official supervision, constrained to deal exclusively with Venetians, and to conform to their trade customs. Very different was their position in London, where their privileged factory occupied a commanding position on the Thames, just above London Bridge, close to the Dowgate, the only city gate that in early times commanded the water. Here they owned the fortified block of buildings, wharves, and warehouses, first called the Guildhall of the Germans, then the Easterlings' Hall, and finally, after it had been greatly enlarged, in 1474, the Steelyard. Here, as in all the Hanseatic factories abroad, the residents lived under discipline of monastic strictness, were bound to celibacy, and forbidden even to take part in the amusements of their English neighbours. Yet the Steelyard was a favourite place of resort with the latter, for in its garden foreign delicacies were served up to visitors, and Rhenish wine might be drank for threepence a bottle, with salted neats-tongue, sturgeon, or caviar, as a relish. *Wool, cheese,* and other agricultural produce was largely

exported by the Germans, in return for pepper, Russian hemp, and salted cod, called stockfish, on which English troops were fed when on active service. The wood of the Austrian yew, shipped from Dantzic, was also in demand, for the manufacture of those trusty bows with which the English yeomen did such execution on their foes.

A blow was dealt, nevertheless, by England to the League by the expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553, which, though unfortunate as far as the fate of that gallant soldier was concerned, resulted in opening up the North Cape route to the White Sea. The Hanseatic monopoly of Russian trade was then brought to an end, by the establishment, in 1555, of direct commercial relations between England and Russia, under the auspices of the "London and Muscovy Company." The indignation of Elizabeth at the conduct of the Hansa towns in supplying provisions and equipment to the Spanish Armada, and the capture by Sir Francis Drake of sixty of their ships off the mouth of the Tagus, led to strained relations, which culminated, in 1598, in the expulsion of the German merchants from the Steelyard, by decree of that despotic princess.

But the knell of Hanseatic power had already sounded with the great maritime discoveries of the previous century, inaugurating the oceanic period of commerce, and transferring its golden harvest to the Atlantic Powers, Portugal, Holland, and England. The Thirty Years' War consummated the ruin of the League, but it was not until October 1888 that the last remnant of its privileges was surrendered, Hamburg and Bremen then consenting, as Lübeck had done some twenty years before, to exchange their status as free ports for membership of the German Zollverein. So closed one of the most memorable chapters in mercantile history, when the principles of a trade guild were applied on such a scale as to become a leading feature of European polity. The great monopoly which so long held all the highways of Northern Europe had lost its function as soon as ocean transit became the vehicle of human intercourse. But if its motive power was at best but a form of enlightened selfishness, the standard of integrity and excellence maintained during its period of predominance was at least worthy of the large part it played in the eyes of men.

The tendency of modern trade is more and more to assume a cosmopolitan character, and the boundaries of its areas no longer coincide with those of political demarcation. They are determined rather by natural or artificial lines of communication, and follow to a certain extent those of hydrographical division, as the obstacles to the flow of water are in a lesser degree inimical to that of trade. Europe is thus, for commercial

purposes, partitioned into six great provinces, quite irrespective of historical or national distinctions.

The Baltic trade, to begin with, combines that of the countries enclosing it, Sweden and Finland, with part of Russia and Germany, and drains the basins of the Neva, Dwina, Niemen, Vistula, and Oder. The products which these regions send to us may be approximately gathered from those of their climatic zones. The Black Sea trade, on the other hand, is fed from the great grain steppes of Southern Russia, and from the northern slope of Asia Minor, while that of the Danube flows from the basin of that river, draining all the country east of the Tyrol from the Carpathians to the Balkans.

The Mediterranean trade is a compendium of that of the countries fringing its shores, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Levant, all lying within the warm temperate and sub-tropical zones, and yielding their characteristic products. Traffic conducted through the ports on the western seaboard of Europe, from Hamburg to Gibraltar, comes under the compendious term of general trade, and brings to this country the wines of Portugal and France, the ores of the Pyrenean region, and the dairy produce of the Low Countries. The Norwegian and White Sea trade, prosecuted during the summer season alone, deals in the products of the forests and fisheries of those sub-Arctic coasts.

Asiatic trade touches that of Europe in the area of the Levant, of which Smyrna is the centre, and Asia Minor the region of supply. The Red Sea, though now the great thoroughfare between East and West, has a very insignificant local trade, the carriage of pilgrims to the Arabian ports being the principal cause of movement in its waters. The traffic of the Persian Gulf is fed by the Tigris, Euphrates, and Karun rivers, supplemented by caravans travelling by breakneck paths over high mountain passes.

The Indian trade includes, with that of the Peninsula of Hindustan, the produce of Burma, and of countries on the Himalayan frontier. Wheat, rice, tea, coffee, cotton, and jute, are shipped in yearly increasing quantities, English manufactures being largely taken in exchange. The effect on this trade of the opening of the Suez Canal may be illustrated by two facts—that cotton picked in Bombay can be returned from England as manufactured goods within seventy days, and that the freight on Indian wheat to Liverpool is as low as 20s. per ton.

The teak of Siam, the tin of Malacca, and the spices of the Malay Archipelago are imported by the Straits and East Indian *trade,* while the China trade, classed compendiously with that of *Japan and Northern Asia,* as trade with the Eastern Seas, deals

in tea and silk, lacquer ware and fancy goods generally. The possession of Hong Kong gives England a commanding position with reference to it, as that of Singapore does to the trade of the Straits.

The commercial areas of Africa are four: that of the Mediterranean, shared with Southern Europe; of the East coast, including that of Zanzibar and the Mozambique Channel, as well as of Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia; of South Africa, supplying the Cape trade with diamonds and ostrich feathers; and of the West coast, whence palm oil, ivory, and india-rubber are brought by the West African trade.

The trade of North America falls under two main headings, that of the States, including Canada; and that of Mexico and Central America. It is further sub-divided into the Quebec lumber trade, the States wood trade, the grain, cotton, tobacco, and turpentine oil trades, and the mahogany ports trade. There is also a lumber trade with British Columbia, through the port of Vancouver, and one with the Pacific Slope generally, summarised as "the 'Frisco and Oregon wheat trade."

South America has two principal trade areas, that of the East coast, divided into Brazil, the Plate, and the Rivers, forming the South American trade *par excellence*, of which that of the West coast, chiefly in guano and nitrates, forms the second category. The sugar trade from Demerara and Pernambuco, the caoutchouc export from Para, that of tobacco from Bahia, of coffee from Santos and Rio, of wool, hides, meat extracts and grain from the Plate, are the chief branches of the South American trade. The West Indian trade, in sugar, molasses, rum, and pineapples: the Islands trade, as the miscellaneous traffic with Malta, the Azores, and other small groups is designated, the Colonial trade with British Australasia, and that with the South Pacific, fill up the remainder of the mercantile chart of the globe.

But in surveying the world from a commercial point of view, it is not sufficient to know what each zone can furnish to the others. Still more necessary is it to study the question from the negative side, noting the blanks in production which may be profitably supplied from elsewhere. Into this calculation must enter a knowledge of the habits and modes of life of the populations to whom goods are offered in exchange for their own wares. The caprices of fashion among savage tribes have to be studied as closely by the merchant who caters for them, as those of the great world by the milliners of Bond Street and Belgravia. Glass beads, for instance, one of the favourite forms of African currency, can by no means be sent promiscuously to all parts of the continent, and the Venetian manufacturer has to attend scrupulously to the exigencies of negro æstheticism. The

blue bead, which alone is saleable among one set of dark-skinned customers, is rejected by their neighbours, whose canons of taste prescribe perhaps a white one with a red centre. In some cases a cargo, imported at huge cost and labour, may be rendered worthless by a sudden change in the current of barbarous fancy, against whose dictates, however arbitrary, there is no appeal. Equally fastidious are the dusky dandies as to the pattern and quality of the waist-cloth which generally constitutes their whole suit of apparel. American cloth, called *merikani*, is most in vogue in the regions supplied from Zanzibar, while among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Timbuktu, Manchester goods, stamped with Arabic characters for the benefit of the customers there, command the market. In some of the great linen-works in Belfast may be seen piles of handerkerchiefs printed with a uniform design, and intended as head-dresses for the Sandwich Islanders. No other pattern save a sober-hued plaiding of black and white would be tolerated, and trade conforms to the inflexible ideal of the South Pacific.

In a region newly opened up to commerce, its first efforts must be more or less tentative. Thus it is somewhat of a surprise to learn that grand pianos, despite their bulk, are among the articles which will repay carriage to Siberia, by the new sea route through the Kara Straits, shown to be practicable by the experimental voyages of Captain Wiggins. The existence of a class of wealthy inhabitants, among whom all articles of luxury will find ready customers, was probably first made known to many of his countrymen by the result of his trading ventures to the Yenisei.

As the principal staples of British exportation are cotton and woollen goods, and steel and iron wares in various stages of manufacture, the general outlook of her merchants must be to countries where these products of her industries may be taken in exchange for the food and raw materials she requires. Her most profitable transactions are consequently with peoples on a lower platform of civilisation than her own, whose absence of industrial skill compels them to give crude earth products in return for the finished result of applied labour. She thus imports ore from Spain, to re-export it thither in the shape of steel rails; buys Australian wool, to send it back transformed into ready-made clothing; ships raw cotton in Bombay, to return it in the form of sheetings and shirtings. Advance in the social scale tends, in consequence, to remove populations from the category of her advantageous customers, even if it do not actually transfer them to that of her competitors. This has been the case with India, which, after being long the largest consumer of Manchester goods, has now, to a great extent, ousted them from the markets of China and the farther East. This aspect of the commercial

relations of England with the rest of the world exercises considerable influence on her foreign policy, imposing on her the necessity of seeking fresh markets among barbarous or semi-civilised peoples, by continual expansion of her distant dominions. Excluded from the dependencies of other nations by the hostile tariffs which fence them round, she finds in her own colonies, despite the same drawback, the most ready outlet for her wares, a result to which difference of social level contributes no less effectually than community of language and of race. For, while with the majority of foreign countries, the balance of trade is against her, the value of goods received from them far exceeding that of those sent, her own possessions, for the most part, do something to redress this inequality by taking more than they give. The familiar maxim that, "Trade follows the flag," is thus abundantly justified.

One-sided trade is obviously heavily handicapped, if only by the double freight payable by cargoes, the ships bringing which have to make the return voyage empty. In Russia, where this inequality is very strongly marked, her imports from England being little more than a fourth of her exports thither, the result is illustrated by the striking fact, that Welsh coal brought by English ships as ballast, at nominal charges, is actually cheaper in the Neva, 1700 miles from the pit's mouth, than it is on the wharves of Portsmouth.

The disadvantage at which England stands in this respect is created by the hostile tariffs with which foreigners seek to exclude her products from their ports, while she is precluded from retaliating by the economic policy she has elected to follow. It is on this anomoly that the advocates of "Fair Trade" base their cry for a system of mutual concessions, by which reprisals should be bought off. Their opponents, on the other hand, maintain that the cheapness of food and raw materials, due to the prevailing system of free import, more than counterbalances the apparent evils attendant on it, by enabling England to compete everywhere with her rivals on more favourable terms.

Her own colonies are no less rigidly exclusive than foreigners in their commercial policy towards the mother-country, and their frontiers bristle everywhere with a hedge of protectionist duties. Each asserts its independence by the establishment of a separate fiscal code, with the result that exporters to British Australasia have to consult seven different tariffs, and no fewer than thirty-three separate references are required to ascertain the duty on rice in the Crown colonies alone.*

* "Our Colonial Empire." Journal, Manchester Geographical Society. Vol. iv.

But the United States, which originally revolted against the English yoke on a question of tariff, have gone further in this direction than any modern community, and aim, in the recently passed McKinley tariff, at surrounding their country with a "Chinese wall" of duties, averaging from 50 to 60 per cent. on foreign commodities. The first result was a large increase in orders for European goods, of which stores were accumulated in anticipation of the date when the tariff should come into operation. The passage across the Atlantic became a great time race, and merchandise landed in all haste from the steamers was rushed through the Custom House up to midnight of the day when the term expired. The universal rise of prices which followed caused a sudden revulsion of feeling against the party responsible for the measure, and the ensuing elections returned the largest democratic majority recorded for years.

The present exaggeration of protectionist policy is consequently likely to be short-lived, but in the meantime its immediate effects on some branches of European trade have been disastrous. The paralysis of the mother-of-pearl button manufacture in Vienna has thrown thousands of operatives out of employment, and the tin-plate industry in South Wales has suffered scarcely less severely. The duty on this manufacture reacts injuriously on American trade, as it supplies the cases for canned provisions so largely exported from the United States; and it is represented to Canada that she might at once supplant them in it by repealing her own import duty on tin plates. Even the normal American tariff on foreign articles of luxury is so high as to be often made the plea for a trip to Europe by ladies, who profess to be able to save their travelling expenses by equipping themselves there. Innumerable are the complications the tariff question introduces into American politics, as each group of traders claims protection for its special industry, and exercises pressure on candidates for Congress in proportion to the voting power it represents. Hence that entangled web of disreputable intrigue which surrounds the Legislature of the United States with those nefarious practices known in the figurative language of the country as "lobbying," "log-rolling," &c.

The exigencies of modern European traffic have abolished or shorn of their glory the great periodical fairs, which formerly played so large a part in the distribution of products. The most celebrated of English fairs was that held at Winchester on St. Giles's Hill, licensed by the Conqueror. Not only were all permanent shops peremptorily closed during the sixteen days of its duration, but the Mayor and Corporation on the eve of its opening surrendered the keys of the town to the bishop, who was *thus invested with* supreme authority for the time. The only

fair in Western Europe which still maintains its importance is that held thrice a year at Leipzig, and remarkable as the great rendezvous of the book-trade. The value of the transactions done here at Easter is said to exceed £3,000,000 sterling, and from 8000 to 10,000 books are annually brought out there.*

At the fair of Beaucaire, near the mouths of the Rhone, goods to the amount of £6,000,000 changed hands even down to the last century, but its traffic has now dwindled to a fifth of that value, and its visitors are no more than 50,000.

The typical fair, which still keeps its place in modern commerce, is that of Nijni Novgorod, the great mart of Russia and Siberia. Originally held in Kasan, the Tartar capital, it was transferred, in 1648, to Makarieff, and thence, in consequence of a fire, to its present site in 1817. Its convenient situation on the Volga, at the centre of an extensive system of inland navigation connecting it with all parts of the Russian Empire, makes it the rendezvous of traders from the borders of China to the shores of the Baltic, and enables it to do a trade of from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 during the six weeks of its duration. The bazaars contain some 5000 shops, and the visitors number from 250,000 to 300,000. In the tea quarter 50,000 chests of caravan tea, the most prized for its flavour, are disposed of, and in the fur quarter, skins of every class, varying in price from a few roubles to hundreds of pounds, are offered for sale. The Persian bazaar furnishes a display of Oriental luxury; and the metal-worker's town, an exhibition of the mineral products of the Ural Mountains. The steam engine will here, as elsewhere, deprive trade of its less convenient, though more picturesque features, and the opening of the trans-Siberian and Central Asian railways will condemn the great fair to the extinction rapidly overtaking similar gatherings all over the world.

It is such changes as these that make commercial geography essentially a progressive science. All large developments of international communication must be noted by it, and their effects on commerce duly registered and estimated. Our own day has seen the greatest of these in the opening of the Suez Canal, and has at one time seemed near witnessing another of equal importance in the cutting of the Isthmus of Panama. Although the latter enterprise has been baffled by obstacles that seem at present insuperable, the rival scheme of constructing a lock canal from sea to sea by way of Lake Nicaragua, is being pushed on with better prospects of success.

No such commercial revolution as that wrought by the creation

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* "The Romance of Trade." *By H. R.* Fox Bourne. London: Messrs. Cassell. *(Undated.)*

of an artificial strait at Suez will, however, be brought about by the opening of such a waterway across the twin isthmus, and its principal effect would be to facilitate intercourse between the Eastern and Western States of the American Union.

The opening of a great through line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, by the completion of the Canadian trans-continental line, places one of the principal commercial circuits of the globe altogether within British territory, as far as the land portion of the journey is concerned. Not only is the Dominion of Canada more solidly linked together by this material bond of union, but it is brought nearer to the Australasian Colonies by the creation of what will be a great port on the Pacific, equidistant in point of time from their shores and from Europe.

But the practical student of commercial geography has to turn his eyes from its cosmopolitan aspects, in order to apply it in more minute detail to the quarter of the globe he is especially interested in. Its teachers are, therefore, compelled to specialise it in its relation to individual countries, dividing it into as many chapters as there are centres of production and distribution all over the world. The course of study pursued on the Continent is illustrated in an address by Dr. Casartelli, on "The Teaching of Commercial Geography," published in vol. ii. of the "Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society," in which he gives the following syllabus of the Higher School of Commerce at Antwerp.

Topographical and statistical details concerning the different countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Polynesia. This information is based on the latest consular reports and most recent communications concerning these following points:—

(*a*) Topographical situation; constitution of soil; mineral, vegetable, animal kingdoms.

(*b*) Political and social state; institutions; their influence on the prosperity of the country; state of public finance; national wealth; prosperity or duties; causes.

(*c*) Chief productions; productions which may be exported; table of exports.

(*d*) Chief *needs* of each country; especially what Belgium supplies to it; what Belgium might furnish; table of imports.

(*e*) Sketch of characteristics of economic and customs legislation; obstacles to and facilities for trade; tastes and habits of people in regard to commerce.

(*f*) Detailed notice of principal markets; their importance, manner of doing business; origin and cause determining commercial relations between different countries."

The study of individual countries implies, too, that of their special product or chief industry, or, as Dr. Casartelli puts it:—

Thus I should enter into some fuller account of the cotton-plant and its history, either in connection with Lancashire or the United States of America; tea would be treated of when speaking of China or Assam; tin and the tin-trade in connection either with Cornwall or the Straits Settlement; sulphur under the head of Italy, and dried currants under that of Greece.

Similarly, as regards history, Italy would suggest a sketch of the palmy days of Venice and Genoa; Egypt, an account of the Suez Canal, which itself would lead to a discussion of the varied, pendulum-like movements of commerce in all ages, with reference to the routes to the East; America would give an opportunity of narrating the exploits of Columbus and Magalhaens, India those of Clive, &c.

In illustration of the more detailed treatment required in restricting the subject to the study of a particular country, the lecturer gave a sample of a class lesson on the peninsula of Yucatan, chosen because its limited area permitted it to be dealt with in a comparatively brief compass.

After describing its geographical position, relief, and physical features, including its triple division into hot, temperate, and cold zones, at different degrees of elevation, he proceeded to enumerate its natural productions, following corresponding lines of classification, and to give statistics of its trade and population, concluding with an interesting account of its characteristic product, Henequen fibre or Sisal hemp, obtained by beating and macerating the fleshy leaves of a species of American aloe, and annually exported to the value of three million dollars.

Thus, the geography of commerce, starting from a telescopic survey of the whole surface of the globe, gradually contracts its range of vision and narrows its scope to the investigation of a single country viewed in microscopic detail. Nor does it achieve this process of concentration without so many lateral excursions into the domains of history, politics, sociology, and a long list of similar departments of knowledge, as to entitle it to be described, less as a branch of geography than as geography plus all other sciences. Not the earth alone, but its inhabitants, products, and capabilities, its local peculiarities of soil, and climate, of hydrography and relief, with all the modifications that nature has been subjected to at the hands of man, come within its far-reaching scope. For there is no land so poor but it has something that the richest wants, nor so far but that a profit can be made by visiting it, nor so barbarous but that its savagery can lend something to civilisation. Thus the necessity of one is the gain of another, and each fits into the wants of each in the complicated organism of modern commerce.

E. M. Clerke.

ART. IV.—THE MAID OF ORLEANS BY THE LIGHT OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

1. *Mémoires et Consultations en Faveur de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par PIERRE LANÉRY D'ARC. Paris: 1889.
2. *La Pucelle devant l'Eglise de son temps.* Par JEAN BAPTISTE JOSEPH AYROLES, S.J. Paris: 1890.
3. *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par LEO TAXIL et PAUL FESCH. Paris: 1890.

IN the course of the last twelve months, three books have been published, which place within the reach of the general public many of the principal and original documents relating to the Maid of Orleans. In 1841, Quicherat undertook for the *Société de l'Histoire de France* the publication of the Latin texts of the "Processes of the Condemnation and Rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc." There were, however, some omissions, notably amongst the written deliberations of theologians who were consulted when, in 1455, by direction of Pope Calixtus III., the sentence of condemnation was subjected to a searching inquiry.

These omissions have been supplied by M. Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, who has published the original Latin text of the consultations. They fill an octavo volume of 600 pages. Amongst them is the "Recollectio," or summing up of all the evidence and consultations, by Jean Bréhal, Inquisitor for France. In accordance with the Rescript of Calixtus III. his assistance had been required by the Papal Delegates. These were the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishops of Paris and of Coutances. In this "Recollectio," which occupies over 160 pages, all the questions affecting Jeanne d'Arc are exhaustively treated, both from a theological and a legal point of view. Bréhal concludes by saying that the process, both as to matter and form, and likewise the sentence, contains a "manifest injustice."

At the time that M. d'Arc's book was being issued, Father Ayroles, S.J., had already in the press a work on the same general subject. His book gives a history of the investigations into the Mission of Jeanne d'Arc from her arrival in 1429 at the Court of Charles VII. to the close of the Process of Rehabilitation, July 7, 1456, when the sentence of condemnation was solemnly reversed and annulled. He further gives an analysis of the Consultations already referred to, reproducing the most *important passages.* In order that it may gain readers whom *Latin might deter,* the whole of the work is in French.

Lastly, the combined labours of M. Leo Taxil and the Abbé Paul Fesch have given to the public a French version of the complete records of the Process of Condemnation, annotated with copious extracts from the Process of Rehabilitation. A quarto edition of this work is promised, which will contain the Latin text side by side with the translation, and also fac-similes by photography of the more important documents.

The aim of the following pages is to draw a faithful picture of the trial of Jeanne at Rouen, based throughout upon the original documents. In order to give unity to the picture and to place events and arguments in their due sequence, the sketch takes the form of a connected narrative. An apology is nevertheless due for presenting much matter which is already familiar to students of history.*

Jeanne, the daughter of Jacques d'Arc and Isabella Rommée, was born on the 6th of January, 1412, in the village of Domremy on the border of France and Lorraine. Her parents were simple peasants of good reputation,† who lived in a little cottage close to the Parish Church. Jeanne learned the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed, and was brought up from her infancy in habits of faith and piety. "My mother taught me all that I know of the Faith." Her behaviour in church was so devout as to excite the admiration of all the villagers.‡ She was frequent at Confession and Holy Communion.§ Her few pence were bestowed upon those poorer than herself, or spent in candles to burn at the shrine of Our Lady of Bermont.‖ In the fields at the sound of the church bell she would stop her work, kneel down, make the sign of the cross and lift up her soul to God.¶ Such was the simple girl that was to leave her distaff and needle and her work in a peasant's cottage to take the command of armies in the field.

When she was at the age of thirteen years the Archange Michael appeared to her, and afterwards St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She understood that they were sent by God, and when she had need of their help she would pray God to send them to her. "I invoke them thus," she said at Rouen: "Most

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* Except where foot-notes indicate other sources, quoted passages are taken from the "Procès de Condamnation," and may be referred to, either in Leo Taxil's volume, "Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc," or in Quicherat, vol. i. This one indication will suffice; it would only irritate the reader to be at almost every sentence troubled with a reference to the particular page.

† Dep. of Jean Morell, &c., Quicherat, ii. 388–468.

‡ Dep. of H. Gerard, &c., Quich. ii. 418, 420, 422, 430, 459, 461.

§ Dep. of J. Morrell, &c., Quich. ii. 390, 404, 407, 409, 420.

‖ Dep. of Isabelle Gerardin, Quich. ii. 427; Simon Musnier, ii. 425; Johanna Thevenin, ii. 398; Colin. ii. 433; M. Lebuin, ii. 440, 443.

¶ Dep. of S. Musnier, Quich. ii. 424; J. Waterin, 420.

sweet God, in honour of thy sacred passion, I beg of Thee if Thou lovest me, to reveal to me how I am to answer. . . . . For this, may it please Thee to teach me. And then my voices come to me at once." From the time of the first apparition to the end of her life these saints took her under their direction to guide and help her in the service of God. "Sois bonne enfant, et Dieu t'aidera," said St. Michael to her.

While this beautiful and simple soul was being thus sanctified by the grace of God and assisted by the continual counsel of the saints in the way of holiness, her docility and obedience to the will of God were about to be put to a severe test. It was early in the year 1428, when she was but just sixteen years of age, that her great mission was laid before her. Two or three times a week the voices said to her: "Depart, and go into France, it is necessary." The voices told her that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and that to this end she was to go to Robert de Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and that he would give her the necessary means. Then she replied to the voices: "I am but a poor girl, neither knowing how to ride on horseback nor to carry on war." Obedient, however, to the call, she left her home, and in May 1428, under the care of an uncle, she went to Vaucouleurs. She had never seen Robert de Baudricourt; but when she came into his presence her voices said to her: "That is he." Then she addressed him with these words: "It is necessary that I should go into France." Twice he sent her away, refusing to listen to her.* But, finally, he provided her with an escort of a knight, a squire, and four attendants; and taking from them an oath that they would conduct her safely and well, he sent her on her journey with the words: "Va et advienne que pourra." Her girl's dress of coarse red stuff had been exchanged for man's dress.† She wore a black hat, and her black hair was cut in a round above the ears.‡ She carried a sword given her by Robert de Baudricourt. As her mission was one in which she would be constantly amongst men, it seemed fitting that she should appear as a man.§ The dress was a means towards the fulfilment of her mission, and to her mind was co-extensive with it. "When I shall have done that for which I have been sent by God, I will take the dress of a woman." Nor did she, who would rather "have been torn asunder by four horses than have come into France without the permission of God," assume this dress of her own fancy. "I have neither

* Dep. of D. Laxart, Quich. ii. 444; Katharina Rotarius, ii. 446.
† Dep. of J. de Novelompont, Quich. ii. 436; H. Rotarius, ii. 448–457.
‡ Extrait du "Livre Noir de La Rochelle." Orléans. 1879.
§ "Mém. et Consultations," Archbishop Gelu, p. 584; "Chronique de la Pucelle," Quicherat, iv. 250.

taken this dress nor done anything, but upon the order of God and His Angels."

From Vaucouleurs she rode through the midst of the country occupied by the English, and early in March, 1429, she reached the neighbourhood of Tours.* The Dauphin Charles was at the castle of Chinon. Jeanne, admitted into his presence, singled him out from the courtiers and addressed him thus:† "God give you good life, gentle Dauphin." "It is not I that am the king," he replied; "there he is." "In the name of God, gentle Prince, it is you and not another," rejoined Jeanne. He inquired what her name was. "Gentle Dauphin, I am named Jeanne The Maid, and the King of heaven sends you word through me that you shall be anointed and crowned in the city of Reims, and that you shall be the lieutenant of the King of heaven, Who is the King of France."‡

Then she made known to him what no one knew or could have known but God and himself; and she added: "Je te dis de la part de Messire, que tu es vray héritier de France, et filz du Roi."§ ("I tell thee from my Lord that thou art true heir of France, and son of the King.")

It was a prayer that he had made in secret to God that she had revealed to him.‖ Charles was satisfied; yet he was not in a position to place the conduct of the war in the hands of a mere girl, till others also should admit the authenticity of her mission. Jeanne was therefore sent to Poitiers, where for the space of three weeks she was examined by an assembly of ecclesiastics, presided over by the Archbishop of Reims, who was assisted by the Inquisitor-General of that part of France.¶ The proceedings were taken down in writing, but unfortunately, even before 1455 the MS. had disappeared, and it is not known what became of it. That it existed there is no doubt; and Jeanne refers to it again and again at Rouen: "I wish you had a copy of that book which is at Poitiers. It is written at Poitiers. It is entered in the registers at Poitiers." There remain, however, the conclusions of the assembly. They are to the effect that

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* For Itinerary, see "Footsteps of Jeanne d'Arc," by Florence Caddy, p. 97.

† Histoire de Charles VII. par Jean Chartier, p. 19, ed. Denys Godefroy; Quicherat, v. 52.

‡ Dep. of Jean Pasquerel, Quicherat, iii. 103.

§ Dep. of Pasquerel, Quich. iii. 103; and "Chronique de la Pucelle," p. 301. D. Godefroy.

‖ Pierre Sala, "Exemples de hardièsse de plusieurs rois et empereurs," quoted by Petitot, Collections complètes des Mémoires, &c., vol. viii. p. 262. Series I. *See also* Wallon, Jeanne d'Arc, 4to ed. of 1876, p. 52; Quicherat, iv. 258, 271, 280.

¶ Ayroles, p. 1–19; Depositions of G. Thibault and S. Seguin; Quicherat, iii. 74 and 202.

they had proved the Maid (1) by human prudence and (2) by asking a sign from God. First, they say that in the six weeks she had been at Poitiers they had found "nothing wrong in her, but on the contrary goodness, humility, virginity, devotion, uprightness and simplicity." Secondly, they state that The Maid would show them the sign "before Orleans, and not previously nor elsewhere," for that thus it was ordained by God.* Already in this document and in others of the same year, 1429, Jeanne is uniformly termed Puella in Latin, La Pucelle in French. The whole of the West of Europe was moved at the deeds of this girl of seventeen. She was par excellence *The Maid, Puella, La Pucelle.* "Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and since, every day, when my voices have spoken to me, they have often called me Jeanne la Pucelle, fille de Dieu." Only her enemies refused her this title, calling her in disdain *femme, femmelette, mulier, muliercula.* Shakespeare is equally in accordance with truth when he terms her La Pucelle, as when he puts into the mouths of her enemies the foulest reproaches.†

The assembly therefore recommends the Dauphin to cause her to be suitably conducted with an army to Orleans, placing their trust in God. "For to despise her," they added, "would be to resist the Holy Spirit, and to render oneself unworthy of the help of God."‡ In similar terms Archbishop Gelu advised the Dauphin, writing from his See of Embrun in May of the same year.§

We pass over the wonderful events of the following months; how with ten or twelve thousand men she arrived before Orleans on the 29th of April, entered the town in the face of the enemy, with a convoy of provisions, and raised the siege on the 8th of May. Then she repaired once more to the Dauphin. To be fully recognised as King of France it was necessary that he should be crowned and anointed at Reims. Thither she led him, triumphantly opening the way through the midst of the enemy till, on the 17th of July, she stood with her banner in the Cathedral at Reims at the solemn coronation of King Charles VII.

Here her mission is often represented as having ended. "Gentle King," she said‖ as she fell at his feet, "now is accomplished the good pleasure of God, Who willed that I should raise the siege of Orleans and bring you to this city of Reims to receive your

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* Quicherat, iii. 391-2; Ayroles, "La Pucelle, &c.," p. 14. Confirmed by Dep. of Jean d'Aulon, Quich. iii. 209. † Henry VI.

‡ Ayroles, "La Pucelle," p. 14; Quich. iii. 392.

§ "Mémoires et Consultations," p. 598.

‖ "*Chronique de la Pucelle*," p. 524. D. Godefroy. "Journal du Siège *d'Orleans*," *Quicherat*, iv. 186.

sacred anointing, showing thereby that you are a true King, and he to whom the kingdom should belong." About a month later a chance conversation led her to use these words:* "And I would that it pleased God, my Creator, that I could return now, leaving my arms, and that I could go back to serve my father and mother, in taking care of their flocks with my sister and my brothers, who would be very glad to see me." †

Upon the foregoing passages appears to have been founded the theory that the coronation at Reims saw the end of Jeanne's mission. Were this theory true, it would be in harmony with Jeanne's other sayings, with her acts, and with contemporary records. But her other words, her acts, and all the writings and documents of the fifteenth century are full of evidence to the effect that her mission was not bounded by Reims.‡ And the whole tenour of her answers at Rouen shows that she did not think her mission even then to be ended.

The truer interpretation of the words quoted above, is that they express her joy and gratitude at the accomplishment of what she had foretold with so much persistence, and had brought about in spite of the hesitation and reluctance of others. If at the same time she revealed her natural longing for the quiet of her home, this is but what she had twice already expressed. But her will was subordinate to the will of God.

The coronation of the King was clearly thus not the sole end for which her mission was undertaken. It was rather a means to an end. For the end was not only the establishment of the rightful sovereign upon the throne, but thereby the restoration of peace to France, and the consecration of the country to God.§ The presence of the English in France kept up a state of bitter warfare between the two powers, and further led to endless discords and civil strife, so that the unhappy country was nothing less than the scene of an universal brigandage.‖ Who does not know what evils to the souls of men accompany such a state of things? Peace then, and as its consequence the establisment of a truly Christian kingdom in France were, it would seem, the full ends of her mission.

Towards the end of May 1430, she went to the relief of

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* Dep. of Dunois, Quich. iii. 14, and "Chronique de la Pucelle," p. 525.

† Dep. of Dunois, Quich. iii. 14.

‡ *Cf.* Bréhal, *Mem. et Cons.*, p. 447, 531. "Inferens quod habitus ille finibus suæ legationis congruebat quam, necdum ut apparet, peractam credebat."

§ Chancellor Gerson. Ayroles, p. 28. Archbishop Gelu, "Mémoires et Consult." p. 571, &c. Dep. of Bertrand de Poulengey, Quich., ii. 456.

‖ "Magnum latrocinium, spelunca latronum." Martin Berruier, Bishop of Mans. "*Mémoires et Consult.*" p. 245.

Compiègne closely besieged by the Burgundians, who were at bitter enmity with Charles VII. In a sortie on the 24th of May she fell into the hands of the Burgundians. Great were the rejoicings. Monstrelet, the Burgundian chronicler, writes: "Those of the party of Burgundy and the English were very happy, more so than if they had taken 500 combatants; for they feared and redoubted no captain nor any other chief in war so much, as up to the present they had always feared this maiden." * To be quit once and for all of so formidable a foe was the immediate thought of her opponents. She was their Samson. So early as the 26th of May the Secretary of the University of Paris addresses a letter, under the seal of the Inquisitor, to the Duke of Burgundy, summoning him quickly to hand over Jeanne to be proceeded against, with the help of the University, as publishing and dogmatising about many and divers errors against the faith. The University, in its own name also, wrote letters to the Duke of Burgundy. But no answer was returned. They became fearful lest the Maid should be rescued or ransomed; for this, they said, would be a greater misfortune than ever, and "an intolerable offence against the divine majesty."

Therefore Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, was entrusted with a mission to the Duke of Burgundy. On the 14th of July, 1430, he arrived at the camp of the Duke, and formally presented a summons to the Duke and to John of Luxemburg, demanding them in the name of the King of England to send Jeanne to the king that he might hand her over to the Church to be tried for various crimes, such as sorcery, idolatry and others. The summons concluded by reciting, that according to the custom of France, the ransom of a king was fixed at ten thousand francs,† about £2455, and by offering that sum as the price of the prisoner. A tax was levied upon Normandy to raise the amount. The sum was paid over in gold. And finally, towards the end of November, "the prisoner of war," not ransomed but sold, was given over to her bitterest enemies to be tried by the very judge who had bargained about her price.

Shortly before the end of December the Maid was brought to Rouen. There, in the month of July, the boy king, Henry VI., had already arrived. Jeanne was placed in the castle of Rouen as a prisoner of the English king. She was kept chained by

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* Monstrelet, "Chroniques de Charles VII.," p. 58, folio ed. *See also* extracts in Pétitot, "Collections," series i, vol. viii. p. 372. *See also* Dep. of Pierre Miget., Quich. iii. 130; ii. 301, 324, 344, 360.

† *Equal to 61,125f. 69c.* of present money, *intrinsic* value. The *relative value would be much* greater. Wallon, "Jeanne d'Arc," ed. 1876, p. 216.

night as well as by day, and an iron cage was made for her.* On January 3, 1431, letters were issued in the name of the king to the officers in charge of Jeanne, commanding them to produce her, whenever required, before the Bishop of Beauvais and others who should be ordered to assist at her trial. "In any case," the letter concluded, "it is our intention to have again, and to take back before ourselves the said Jeanne, if so it should be that she should not be convicted or attainted in the aforesaid matters, or in any of them, or in any other thing touching or regarding our said faith." From the very outset therefore it was never intended that Jeanne should be elsewhere than in the custody of the king's officers. It was for Pierre Cauchon and his terrorised assessors to try the saintly girl and to pass a sentence.† The real reason of her death would thus be veiled. But should the trial fail she would still remain in the keeping of the English soldiers, in violation not only of the ecclesiastical, but also of the civil law.‡

On January 9 the preliminary letters and citations were issued. On February 21 the Maid was brought before the court to be interrogated. The picture, which the series of questions and answers presents to the mind's eye is most striking and touching. Jeanne sat alone before the bishop and his assessors, who numbered often as many as fifty.§ No one was allowed to assist her or advise her in her answers.‖ Sole and unaided she was expected to reply at once to whatever she was asked. Often before she had ended her reply to one question, some one else would put to her another.

"Beaux seigneurs," she would say, "faites l'un après l'autre."¶

"The questions put to her," deposes the Dominican Isambard de la Pierre, "were too difficult, subtle, and captious; so much so that the high ecclesiastical and well-lettered men, who were there present, would with great difficulty themselves have known how to answer them."**

Yet Jeanne answers them all with a simplicity, wisdom, and sagacity that are quite amazing. At times there is a gentle

* Dep. of Jean Massieu, Quich. ii. 18, 371; iii. 155; P. Cusquel, iii. 180; Pierre Daron, iii. 199; "Mémoires et Consult." J. Bréhal, p. 496.

† Dep. of J. Massieu, &c., Quich. iii. 154, 171, 189; Thos. Basin, "Mémoires et Consult." p. 193; Bréhal, p. 498.

‡ "Mémoires et Consult." Thos. Basin, p. 198; J. Bréhal, p. 501.

§ "Mémoires et Consult." J. Bréhal, p. 497; Dep. of P. Bouchier, Quich. ii. 322.

‖ Quich. ii. 5, 10, 11, 17, 334, 343; sed contra, ii. 351.

¶ Dep. of J. Massieu, *Quich. ii.* 16, 332; iii. 155.

** *Quich. ii.* 5.

playfulness in her replies, as when she parries some foolish but captious question.

"What do you think about our Lord the Pope, and which is the true Pope?" Jeanne: "Are there two?" "Was St. Michael without clothes?" Jeanne: "Do you think that God has not wherewith to clothe him?" "Does not St. Margaret speak English?" Jeanne: "How should she speak English, since she is not on the side of the English?"

Snares were laid to entrap her in her answers. "Do you know if St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?" Jeanne: "They love what God loves, and hate what He hates." They charged her with pride and presumption and with being under the power of the devil. "Are you in a state of grace?" they asked. To an answer in the affirmative they would have cried out at her presumption. Should she reply in the negative it would be a sign of diabolical influence. "If I am," was the gentle answer, "may God keep me in it; if I am not may He put me in it. I had rather die than be without the love of God." She showed also an unflinching courage. "Swear that you will speak the truth in all questions that shall be put to you." Jeanne: "I know not about what you will interrogate me. Perhaps you will ask me things that I must not tell you."

Finally, she accepted this formula: "I swear to speak the truth in all that concerns the process;" and neither from that nor from its observance could threats or persuasions move her. Again she would address the judges with all the dignity arising from the consciousness of her Divine Mission.

"I have said to Monseigneur de Beauvais: You say that you are my judge: I know not if you are; but take good heed not to judge me wrongly because you would place yourself in great danger. And I warn you of it, in order that, if our Lord should punish you for it, I may have done my duty in giving you warning."

History records the sudden death of not a few of those to whom these words were addressed.*

On nine different days The Maid had been wearied with interrogations lasting for three or four hours together in the morning, to be followed sometimes by two or three in the afternoon.† The judges seemed at a loss to know how to condemn her. No witnesses were called. Where were they to be found? "The Christian fold in almost the whole of the West," was infected with the "poison" of admiration for the Maid. So wrote the University of Paris. A commission had been sent to Domremy, but Domremy had blessed instead of cursing. That evidence

* Dep. of Boysguillaume (G. Colles), Quich. iii. 162, 165; Ayroles, p. 120.
† *Dep. of Isambard* de la Pierre, Quicherat, ii. 350.

had been suppressed.* But on the tenth day, March 15, they laid a trap from which they thought she could not possibly escape. They knew well that she questioned their authority and mistrusted their honesty. They introduced the question of submission to the Church.

"Let my answers," she replied, "be seen and examined by the clerics, and let them tell me if there is anything found in them contrary to the faith; I shall know well what to say of it, and afterwards I will tell you what I shall have learned through my counsel. Nevertheless, if there is anything wrong against the faith that God enjoins I would not maintain it."

As she continually appealed to God and His saints they put before her the distinction between the Church triumphant and the Church militant, and demanded of her whether she submitted to the "Church militant, that is to say the one that is on earth."

"I have come," she replied, "to the King of France, in the name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints of paradise, of the Church triumphant there above, and by their commandment; to this Church I submit all my good actions, all that I have done, and all that I shall do. As to answering what you ask of me, that is to say, whether I will submit myself to the Church militant, I will for the moment give you no other answer."

Had she assented to the question proposed they would at once have replied: "You have submitted to the Church militant. We are the Church Militant. Therefore you have submitted to us. Choose between acceptance of our demands and immediate condemnation."† Artifices were used to induce her not to submit. One of the assessors was given access to the prison, and under simulated friendship recommended her not to submit.‡ But for the moment she evaded their grasp. On the 17th of March they asked her whether she would speak the truth more fully before the Pope. "I request," she replied, "to be taken before our Holy Father the Pope himself, and then I will answer before him everything that I should answer." The subject was dropped. They had trodden on dangerous ground.

On the 24th of March her answers were read over to her.

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* Dep. of M. Lebuin, Quich. ii. 379–381, 441, 451, 453, 463. Jean Moreau, iii. 192. Speech of Pierre Cauchon, Jan. 13, 1431, Taxil, p. 81.

† See "Mémoires et Cons." J. Bréhal, pp. 466, 479; M. Berruier, p. 256: "Pretendentes in eo si illa recusaret aut differret se submittere, statim convinceretur in fide errare et de auctoritate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ male sentire."

‡ Dep. of Manchon, Quich. ii. 11, 17, 327, 332, 342, 350, 362; iii. 181. "Mémoires et Consult.," *J. Bréhal*, p. 477.

Seventy articles of accusation were then drawn up and read to her. The reading took two days. At the end of each article Jeanne was asked what she had to say about it. Often she replied: "I appeal to what I have already answered." At other times she adds: "The rest I deny." Sometimes she says: "I deny it absolutely." The Court has convicted itself of the falseness of its own accusations, for to each of the Seventy Articles it has appended extracts from the answers on which the Article purports to be based. The extracts are the refutation of the Article.

The seventy articles were next reduced to twelve, and in this form the case was submitted to various men of learning. From a statement so meagre, and at the same time, as we know, so mendacious, neither a complete nor a fair discussion of the case could be looked for.* Moreover, the opinions were given under menaces and threats.† Nevertheless some are bold enough to ask "that the whole report of the proceedings, and not merely the twelve articles, be sent to the University of Paris." Others insert a reservation: "Unless these revelations come from God." The opinion of the Bishop of Avranches was suppressed altogether. His opinion, as we know from sworn depositions, was "that in doubtful matters concerning the faith one should, according to St. Thomas, always have recourse to the Pope or a general Council."‡ Lastly, the University of Paris expressed itself upon each of the Twelve Articles. It declared her to be blasphemous, idolatrous, schismatical, and an invoker of demons. Yet even so the Faculty of Decrees, while recommending that Jeanne should be abandoned to the secular judge, qualifies its decision by the following condition —

If this woman, being in the full use of her senses, has obstinately maintained the propositions contained in the Twelve Articles afore transcribed, and *if* she has accomplished the acts which are mentioned therein, *then*, &c., &c.§

From which it is evident that the persons who were called upon to give in their opinions in writing were not provided with sufficient matter upon which to form a competent judgment. It is not probable, however, that the decision of the University of Paris would have been different.‖ The University was the prime mover in the case. Only in the September previous they had burned a woman in Paris for saying that what Jeanne had done "was done well, and according to God."¶ And in sending

* "Mémoires et Consult." Thos. Basin, pp. 206, 207.
† Dep. of R. de Grouchet, Quich. ii. 356, 359.
‡ Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 5.
§ Taxil, p. 443, *cf.* "Mém. et Consult." J. Bréhal, p. 551.
‖ *Ayroles*, pp. 132–204. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 144.

their decision to Rouen they write to the King of England, supplicating him "that the matter may quickly be brought to an end by justice, since the length of the delay is very perilous."

The first meeting of the University is dated April 29, 1431, with this notable addition: "sede apostolica, ut asseritur, pastore vacante"—"the Apostolic See being, as is asserted, without a pastor." In their final meeting, May 14, the like phrase occurs: "sede apostolica, ut fertur, pastore carente." Martin V. had died on the 20th of February, and Eugenius IV. had been elected his successor on the 25th of February. No less than ten days previous to the 29th of April the University had received the news of the election of Eugenius IV.; yet even on the 14th of May they still treat the Holy See as being vacant. A little later its members flocked to the schismatic Council of Basle. There were gathered there men who had sat at the trial of Jeanne and given their votes for her death.* They pass a like sentence upon Eugenius IV. They declare him to be "notoriously and manifestly contumacious;" they "depose him, deprive and despoil him of those dignitities" (the Papacy and the Roman Pontificate), and "declare that it is necessary to proceed to the application of the other penalties that he may have incurred."† If only Eugenius IV. had been a prisoner in the Castle of Rouen!

A meeting of the court was now held to deliberate upon the opinion of the University of Paris. It was decided that a day should be appointed on which Jeanne might have an opportunity of retracting, failing which she should be abandoned to the secular justice. On the 23rd of May Jeanne was brought before the Court. Maitre Pierre Maurice read to her a statement in twelve divisions, purporting to be a summary of her opinions, with the decision of Paris upon each. He then gave her a "charitable admonition," exhorting her to amend her errors and to submit to the judgment of the Church on the points in question.

"If you persevere," he ended, "know that your soul will be swallowed up in damnation, and your body, I fear, will be destroyed."

To this Jeanne replied: "As to what concerns my sayings and my acts—what I have said in the trial to that I appeal and I desire to hold to it."

Cauchon: "Do you think that you are bound to submit your words and your acts to the Church militant or to any one else except God?"

Jeanne: "Upon that I wish to maintain my manner of speaking which I have always held in the trial."

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* Dep. of J. Beanpere, *ii. 21*; Ayroles, p. 187.

† *Ayroles, p. 195.* Labbe, "Collection of Councils," vol. xvii. p. 391.

Cauchon: "Do you not know that you are exposing yourself to be burned?"

Jeanne: "Even if I should be in judgment, if I should see the fire lighted, the fagots prepared, the executioner or him who should light the fire on the point of doing so, if I should be in the fire, I would say nothing else, and I would maintain what I have said in the trial and that even to death."

The following day, Thursday, May 24, was appointed for sentence to be publicly delivered. There was a vast concourse of people in the cemetery of St. Ouen. Henry Beaufort of Winchester comes on the scene now for the first time. He is present again on the 30th.* Jeanne was upon a raised platform facing the judges. Maitre Erard preached a sermon, and in conclusion called upon Jeanne to say whether she would submit her words and deeds to the Church.

"I will give you an answer," she said. "As regards submission to the Church, I have replied to them upon that point. As to all the things which I have said and done, let them be sent to Rome, to our Holy Father the Pope, to whom and to God in the first place I appeal. As to my words and my acts, I have said and done them as from God."

Erard: "Will you retract your words and your acts, which are disapproved by the clerics?"

Jeanne: "I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope."

Cauchon: "That is not sufficient; it is impossible that one should go so far to seek our Holy Father, the Pope. There are also the ordinaries who are judges, each one in his own diocese. Besides it is necessary that you should refer yourself in the matter to our Mother Holy Church, and that you should hold what the clerics and people having knowledge of these things say, and have decided about your words and acts."

Jeanne: "I appeal to God, and to our Holy Father the Pope."

Cauchon: "Will you refer yourself to the Church?"

Jeanne: "Once more I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope."

Cauchon: "Will you refer yourself to the Church?"

Jeanne: "I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope."

Cauchon then proceeded to read the sentence. Now Erard whilst he was preaching had held a paper in his hand.† He now passed it to the officer of the Court, who was standing by Jeanne, with instructions that he should read it to her. At the same time, he said to Jeanne: "You shall abjure and sign this schedule."‡ The official records state that when the Bishop had read part of the sentence, Jeanne began to speak, and to say that

* Dep. of I. de la Pierre, and Marguerie, Quich. ii. 6, iii. 185.

† *Dep. of J. Massieu*, Quich. iii. 156.

‡ *Dep. of J. Massieu*, Quich. iii. 156; ii, 17.

she would do what the Church bade her.* The schedule it seems had been read to her. It was a sheet of paper folded in two, and containing six or seven lines in French, beginning with the words "Je, Jehanne." † The officer of the Court, Jean Massieu, and three other persons who were present and saw both the paper and the writing upon it, deposed on oath to that effect.‡ Massieu also deposed that it contained amongst other things "that she should take good care for the future not to carry arms nor to wear man's dress, nor her hair cut short." § Massieu now informed Erard that Jeanne did not know what it was to abjure. Erard told him to explain it to her. Massieu thereupon said that to abjure meant that if she should go against any of the articles in the schedule she would be burned. He also advised her to appeal to the Universal Church to know whether she should abjure or not. Jeanne therefore said in a loud voice: "I appeal to the Universal Church to know whether I am to abjure or not." ‖ The executioner was present, and the cart was at hand to take her away.¶ Erard rejoined: "You shall abjure them at once, or you shall be burned." ** An abjuration was eagerly desired, for the mere shadow of a recantation would enable them to discredit the King of France by publishing far and wide that he had believed and trusted in an impostor.†† She could be burned all the same afterwards.

Then a great clamour arose from many people speaking at once. Some earnestly pressed Jeanne to sign, some threatened her; others pleaded with her that she should not give herself over to death.‡‡ Erard promised that she should be delivered from prison.§§ The English murmured loudly against the delay in the sentence, saying that it was showing favour to Jeanne.‖‖ Calot, Secretary to the King of England, blamed Cauchon with the delay. A chaplain of Henry Beaufort accused Cauchon of treachery. "You lie," cried Cauchon; and throwing down the papers he refused to proceed, declaring that he would act according to his conscience. Beaufort bade his chaplain be silent, and matters proceeded.¶¶

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* Taxil, p. 465. Dep. of J. Monnet, Quich. iii. 64.
† Dep. of G. Delachambre, Quich. iii. 52; N. Taquel, iii. 197.
‡ Massieu, Taquel, Delachambre, Monnet, Quich. iii. 156, 197, 52, 65.
§ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156.
‖ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156; ii. 17.
¶ Dep. of J. Monnet, Quich. iii. 65.
** Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157; ii. 17.
†† Ayroles, p. 406. Dep. of M. Ladvenu, Quich. ii. 307.
‡‡ Dep. of J. de Mailly, Quich. iii. 55.
§§ Dep. of G. Delachambre, Quich. iii. 52.
‖‖ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156, 157.
¶¶ Deps. of *A. Marguerie, Quich.* iii. 184; P. Miget, iii. 130; J. Marcel, iii. 90.

Meanwhile all efforts were used to induce Jeanne to sign. At last she answered: "Let this paper be seen by the clerics and the Church into whose hands I am to be transferred; and if they give me the advice that I am to sign and do what they tell me I will do it willingly."* What did she think she was going to sign?† A denial of her revelations? An admission that she was an impostor? She afterwards emphatically denied that she had done any such thing. The paper that had been read to her apparently contained nothing about her apparitions or revelations, but restricted itself to minor points of her dress and her hair. Jeanne, who did not know A from B, as she said at Poitiers, could not read for herself what was written.‡ No sooner had she assented than Calot drew from his sleeve a paper, and gave it to Jeanne to sign.§ They read to her a formula, which occupied about the time of an *Our Father*.‖ She repeated it, smiling as she did so, insomuch that the English declared it was a mockery.¶

Finally she made a round at the bottom of the paper, and Calot appears to have directed her hands to trace a cross. ** Then there was a great tumult and many stones were thrown.†† The English were discontented at the issue of the day.‡‡

Jeanne now asked if she was not going to be placed in the hands of the Church, and inquired whither she should go.§§ No answer was given, and she added: "Do you, people of the Church, lead me to your prisons, and let me be no longer in the hands of these English." Some of the assessors pressed this upon Cauchon.‖‖ But without heeding them he said to the officer: "Take her back again whence you brought her."¶¶ Her doom was: "Perpetual imprisonment with the bread of suffering and the water of anguish."

Now the text of her pretended abjuration as it appears amongst the documents of her trial, is quite different from that described above. It occupies upwards of fifty lines of printed matter, and instead of beginning "Je, Jehanne," its first words are "Toute personne;" nor does the word Jeanne occur in it at all. What

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* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157.

† "Mém. et Consult." p. 275. J. Bochard, "Schedula . . . . quam si intellexisset, nunquam in æternum consensisset."

‡ Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123; G. Thibault, iii. 74.

§ Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123.

‖ Dep. of P. Miget, Quich. iii. 132.

¶ Dep. of G. de Desert, Quich. ii. 338.

** Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123; J. Massieu, ii. 17.

†† Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157.

‡‡ Dep. of R. de Grouchet, Quich. ii. 357; J. Fave, ii. 376.

§§ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 17, 18; iii. 157; G. Manchon, ii. 14.

‖‖ *Dep. of J. Massieu*, Quich. ii. 18.

¶¶ *Dep. of G. Manchon*, Quich. ii. 14.

is to be concluded? Either that Calot, when he handed the paper to Jeanne, fraudulently substituted for the one with "Je, Jehanne," the document beginning "Toute personne;" or else that Jeanne actually signed the schedule "Je, Jehanne," and that for this was afterwards exchanged the "Toute personne" with Jeanne's mark copied and forged at the foot of it.* Jeanne was simplicity, candour and truthfulness itself. Cauchon throughout is marked by violent factious spirit, dissimulation, duplicity and dishonesty. One more fraud is but a pebble added to his pile of previous dishonesty. But the accumulation of evidence is against the probability of a substantial abjuration by Jeanne. It may be conceded for the sake of argument, as is done by the Inquisitor Bréhal in his "Recollectio,"† that she did sign the longer document. But then he concludes that even so the abjuration was null and void, as having been obtained by fraud, violence and fear.‡ The Sentence of Rehabilitation characterised the "pretended abjuration" as false, lying, extorted by force and fear, in presence of the executioner and under the threat of fire, without Jeanne's having had previous knowledge of it, and without her having understood it.§ In no case was the truth of Jeanne's mission invalidated.‖ She had even warned the judges, when on May 9 they were proposing to put her to the torture, that an extorted contradiction of herself would contain falsehood and not truth. "In very truth if you were to cause my limbs to be torn from my body and my soul to be driven out, I would say nothing different; and if I were to say anything different, I would always tell you afterwards that you had made me say it by force."

Of the promises that had been made to her, none of them were kept. On that same Thursday she was put back in her old prison. By night as by day she was still kept chained.¶ Five English soldiers still guarded her, three always in her cell and two outside at the door. Her woman's dress at once aggravated the dangers of violation of her modesty to which for so many months she had been exposed. Upon this point there is explicit evidence of the gravest nature in the sworn depositions.**

Now were to be realised the words of one of the assessors at the close of the scene on the Thursday: "Never mind, we shall

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* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156.
† "Mém. et Consult." p. 520. "Quia ex serie processus, &c."
‡ "Mém. et Consult." J. Bréhal, p. 528.
§ Taxil p. 523; Ayroles, p. 693.
‖ "Mém. et Consult." J. Bréhal, p. 465.
¶ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 18.
** Dep. of Ladvenu, *Is. de la Pierre*, Quich. ii. 8, 5; M. Ladvenu, iii. 188; *298, 300, 371.*

have her again."* On the Sunday morning Jeanne said to her guards: "Unchain me that I may get up." One of the guards then took away her woman's dress that was lying on the bed, put in its place her man's dress and said to her: "Get up." A discussion followed that lasted till midday, Jeanne saying: "Sirs, you know that it is forbidden me; without blame I cannot put it on again." Finally, being obliged by the necessities of nature to get up, she put on the man's dress, and afterwards, in spite of her entreaties, they refused to give her any other. †

On the Monday Cauchon and others came to the prison to verify what had quickly been reported. Jeanne is unabated in her courage. She asserts that she had never done anything against God or the faith, notwithstanding all that she had been ordered to retract. She affirms that what was in the schedule of abjuration she had not understood, and that she had not understood herself to have retracted anything except so far as it might be the will of God. Yet even in retracting so much, she says she had done wrong. She is willing to take a woman's dress, if they will place her in a suitable prison, but not a point further will she concede. She rises to her fullest grandeur and dignity as she solemnly answers: "If I were to say that God has not sent me, I should damn myself: for, verily, God has sent me."

The Judges retired to take further measures "according to right and reason." On the next day, Tuesday, May 29, the Court assembled. Cauchon gave an account of what had passed since the Thursday. He stated that, at the instigation of the devil, Jeanne had reasserted the truth of her revelations, and had taken again her man's dress. The copy of the answers made by Jeanne on the previous day was read, as also the schedule of the abjuration. Then the assessors, to the number of forty-two, gave their opinions. The most important is that of the Abbot of Fécamp, nephew to Cauchon: for almost every one appended to his answer: "I agree with the Abbot of Fécamp." The Abbot's words were as follows: "Jeanne is relapsed. Nevertheless it is well that the schedule which has just been read to us should be read again before her, that it should be explained to her, and that she should have recalled to her the word of God. And this done, the Judge will have to declare her a heretic and to abandon her to the secular justice, begging of it to act towards her with tenderness."

The schedule referred to was the schedule of abjuration, "Toute personne." But it was never read to Jeanne at all. The Vicar of Wakefield used often to ask advice of others with

* Dep. of J. Fave, Quich. ii. p. 376.
† Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 18.

no intention of taking it. Cauchon thanked the assessors for their opinions, and followed his own counsels.

Eight o'clock of the following day, Wednesday, May 30, 1431, was appointed for Jeanne to appear in the Old Market Place of Rouen. Early in the morning Cauchon visited the prison.* "Bishop, I die through you," said Jeanne as soon as he entered. And, as he was exhorting her to patience, and saying that she died because she had not kept her promises, she rejoined: "Alas! if you had put me in the prisons of the Church's Court, and placed me in the hands of suitable and becoming ecclesiastical keepers, this would not have come to pass. For which reason I appeal from you before God."†

The details of her end are too beautiful and touching for justice to be done them with a passing hand. She received the Holy Eucharist with a devotion that exceeded the powers of description of those who were present.‡ In answer to the sermon that was preached to her, she answered that she forgave her judges.§ She begged the vast multitude to pray for her.‖ Cauchon pronounced the sentence of relapse, in which he had the crowning audacity to use these words: "You have also categorically, and at various times, refused to submit yourself to our Holy Father the Pope, and to the holy general Council."¶

The saintly maid in the midst of the flames interrupts her prayers but to cry aloud to the people that she is neither heretic nor schismatic.** She proclaims for the last time that her voices are from God, that they have not deceived her, and that all that she has done she has done by the order of God.†† "Jesus, Jesus Jesus," are the chief words upon her lips. With a loud cry, that penetrates the whole multitude she utters once more the Holy name.‡‡ Her head leans forward, and she dies.§§

The people are in floods of tears.‖‖ The soldiers are in consternation.¶¶ "We are all lost," cries Jean Tressart, one of the King of England's secretaries; "we have burned a saint; I

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* Dep. of J. Toutmouillé and M. Ladvenu, Quich. ii. 4, 8.
† Dep. of J. Toutmouillé, Quich. ii. 4.
‡ Dep. of Ladvenu, Quich. iii. 168.
§ Dep. of Manchon, Quich. ii. 344; Massieu, ii. 19.
‖ Massieu, Quich. ii. 19.
¶ Taxil, "Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc," p. 502.
** Dep. of Is. de la Pierre, ii. 303.
†† Dep. of Ladvenu, Quich. iii. 170.
‡‡ Dep. of Leparmentier, Quich. iii. 186; Massieu, ii. 20.
§§ Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 7.
‖‖ Dep. of *J. Fabre, &c.* Quich. iii. 177, 186, 188, &c.
¶¶ *Dep. of Is. de la Pierre,* M. Ladvenu, ii. 7, 9, 352.

believe her soul to be in the hands of God, and I believe all those to be damned who have consented to her condemnation."*

The saintly maid had stated before the judges that she should be delivered from prison, she knew not how nor when. On March 1 she had told them that in three months' time she would give them an answer. Three months had not elapsed, and the answer came in the flames—to the one in a deliverance into the hands of God,† to the others in a terrible warning.

"What my voices tell me as being the principal thing, is that I shall be delivered by a great victory; and they also add: 'Take everything in good part; have not too great a care about your martyrdom; you will come at length to the kingdom of paradise'" (March 14, 1431).

FRANCIS M. WYNDHAM.

ART. V.—SCOTT'S JOURNAL.

The Journal of Sir Walter Scott. From the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford. In two Volumes. [Edited, with Notes, by the Publisher.] Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.

MS. TITLE:—Sir Walter Scott, Bart., of Abbotsford. His Gurnal.‡

> As I walked by myself
> I talked to myself,
> And thus myself said to me.—*Old Song.*

IF, as is usually admitted, it is invigorating and improving to witness a brave and consistent fight against adverse circumstances, carried on through a lengthened period of time, by an unfortunate, though an honest and essentially upright man, Sir Walter Scott's "Journal" is as edifying as it is pleasant reading. When we close these volumes, we feel that we may profit from, as well as enjoy, the history of the latter years of his life, long ago described by himself, and at length made public by his great grand-daughter, Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, under the careful editorship, if we may thus explain the initials at the end of the preface, of the publisher.

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* Dep. of Cusquel, Quich. iii. 182; ii. 307, 347.

† "*Mém. et Consult.*" J. Bréhal, p. 484.

‡ *A hard word so* spelled on authority of Miss Scott, now Mrs. Lockhart.

A large portion of the work before us is already well-known, having been incorporated, where it was apposite, into the voluminous "Life of Sir Walter Scott," by his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart. In the present form of the Journal, considerable use has been made of this biography, explanatory notes from the Life being freely added to the text, in places where, without some such external help, it would be obscure. In the account which we propose to give of Sir Walter's Journal, we also have found it necessary to refer to Lockhart's Life, in order that the reader who may be unfamiliar with its details may be able to follow their course with the knowledge necessary to understand much that is not fully explained. That the manuscript, in its entirety, should not have been previously published is not surprising. As is usual in similar cases, it was considered undesirable to print the whole of it at an earlier date. The free, though kindly criticism of the writer's friends and contemporaries, which, as a matter of course, frequently occur in such a work, might prove distasteful to the immediate descendants of those who were noticed. However good naturedly expressed, honest and frank criticism is seldom welcomed; and although the geniality of Scott's estimate, both of men and of things, is noteworthy, yet, an acknowledged bore is sometimes openly described as a bore, and the foolishness of a fool is not always concealed.

The Journal consists of a series of entries, on any particular specimens of which it is difficult to fasten, though collectively they give us a sufficiently vivid picture of Scott's life. Through them all we perceive a distinct personality—a good humoured, cheerful, courageous man, whose phenomenal appetite for hard work seems only not insatiable. Sir Walter and his pen are inseparables. Through rain and snow, cloud and sunshine alike, we see him seated at his desk, whether in Edinburgh or at Abbotsford. His days are spent between these two places, and are enlivened by the society of both town and country friends. He is distinctly a social being, who, although he sometimes grumbles at the inroads which visitors make upon his time, yet evidently loves many men, and thoroughly enjoys the companionship of those he loves. Then, we read of occasional trips to London, where he is gladdened by the warmth and appreciation of many whose attentions are well worthy of being received with pleasure, and who form a useful link between the semi-provincialism of Edinburgh and the cosmopolitan public. The Journal also abounds with good stories and striking anecdotes; and is wholesomely bright and joyous in its character. Even the failing health of Sir Walter's concluding years is not allowed to shed *a gloom over his "Gurnal,"* as he sometimes writes it.

When very ill, he intermits all writing for a while; and during the concluding months of his life he entirely ceases to enter any record of his days. He can work at his novels when he seems unwilling to write in his Journal, as if he were loath to sadden his own picture of himself, by permitting us to see him when enfeebled and dispirited by illness. When his sorrow is new and keenest, after his wife's death, he allows it to appear, though always in a sober and manly way. But of his own sufferings, he always writes in the lightest strain; and it is difficult to realise their intensity from his own description.

When these volumes open, Scott's life had already for many years assumed the form which it maintained until within a year or two of his death, and he had exchanged the more varied and livelier career of a barrister for the monotony of steady work as a Clerk of Sessions. During the latter part of his life he is, therefore, able to tell us fewer good legal stories than those which brighten the accounts of his earlier days, of which the two following may serve as specimens. He was wont to attend the assizes at Jedburgh, and on one occasion was successful in defending a veteran poacher, and in obtaining his acquital.

"You're a lucky scoundrel," Scott whispered to his client, when the verdict was pronounced. "I'm just o' your mind," quoth the desperado, "and I'll send you a hare in the morning."

He had less success in the case of a notorious housebreaker, who, in despite of Scott's efforts, was sentenced to death. On visiting him in the condemned cell, the culprit said to him:

"I am sorry, sir, that I have no fee to offer you, so let me beg your acceptance of two bits of advice, which may be useful when you come to have a house of your own. I am done with practice, and here is my legacy. Never keep a large watch-dog out of doors . . . . but tie a little, light, yelping terrier within. And, secondly, put no trust in nice, clever, gim-crack locks; the only one that bothers us is a huge, old, heavy one . . . . the ruder and rustier the key, so much the better for the housekeeper."

This advice Scott, thirty years after, summed up in rhyme at a Judge's dinner in the same town:

> Yelping terrier, rusty key,
> Was Walter Scott's best Jeddart fee.

The Journal contains the record of six years, none of which differ widely one from the other. His intimate friends do not change, and the journeys between Abbotsford and Edinburgh are made with monotonous regularity. That the thought of keeping a journal did not occur to Sir Walter at an earlier date is to us a matter for regret—a regret which, in his opening words, he tells

as was also felt by himself. As it is, he only begins to place on record "what myself says to me" in the year 1825, when he was fifty-four years of age, and only a few months before the catastrophe which ruined his pecuniary position, probably hastened his wife's death, and certainly changed his pleasant literary labours into the hard, grinding work of a slave, who, although his own taskmaster, had in himself a very severe one.

The Journal opens on November 20, 1825. Amongst his first entries we read one describing the pleasure he had derived from a trip to Ireland the previous summer, which, although it cost him £500, he holds to have been worth that sum. The Irish and their country delighted him greatly. Of the former he writes that neither their wit, nor their good humour, nor their whimsical absurdity, nor their courage, are exaggerated. Of the first he affords a good specimen: "I gave a fellow a shilling on some occasion, when sixpence was the fee. 'Remember you owe me sixpence, Pat.' 'May your honour live till I pay you.' There was courtesy as well as wit in this; and all the clothes on Pat's back would have been dearly bought by the sum in question."

It is only for a couple of months that, in this record, we see Scott in the days of his prosperity. As we said above, his Journal opens in November. On December 7 he writes cheerfully:

> I have much to comfort me in the present aspect of my family. My eldest son, independent in fortune, united to an affectionate wife, and of good hopes in his profession; my second, with a good deal of talent, and in the way, I trust, of cultivating it to good purpose. Anne, an honest, downright, good Scotch lass, in whom I would only wish to correct a spirit of satire; and Lockhart is Lockhart, to whom I can most willingly confide the happiness of the daughter who chose him, and whom he has chosen. My dear wife, the partner of early cares and successes, is, I fear, frail in health—though I trust and pray she may see me out. Indeed, if this troublesome complaint goes on, it bodes no long existence. . . . . Square the odds, and good night, Sir Walter, about sixty. I care not if I leave my name unstained, and my family properly settled. *Sat est vixisse.* (i. 39.)

It may be as well to explain here that Scott's pecuniary affairs were greatly involved in those of his publishers, Constable, and Ballantyne & Co. Whatever affected them touched Sir Walter closely. As it turned out, this connection was an unfortunate one. Sir Walter, however, in common with the rest of men, was unendowed with prophetic foresight. At the time he embarked his fortunes with those of his publishers, it seemed that he was placing himself on the easiest road to attain the great object of his life, viz., the foundation of a family with territorial possessions, and inhabiting one of the baronial castles, the image of which had haunted his imagination since childhood. This was the hope

which formed a main incentive to his literary labour at the beginning. Both before and after his money losses, there can be little doubt that the emoluments of literature were one of its great attractions to Scott. In his own brain he discovered a mine of wealth—and wealth was necessary to him. In his earlier days, he required it to satisfy his ambition. In the later days, his conscience could not be easy, nor his mind tranquil, whilst others were suffering through his embarrassments.

After the date of the above cheery entry in the Journal, follow a few weeks of anxiety. All is apparently lost one day; reassurance is gained on the next. On the 20th December, Scott writes:

> The general distress in the city has affected Hurst and Robinson [booksellers in London], Constable's great agents. Should they go, it is not likely that Constable can stand, and such an event would lead to great distress and perplexity on the part of Ballantyne and myself. Thank God, I have enough to pay twenty shillings in the pound, taking matters at the worst. But much inconvenience must be the consequence (i. 9).

Then come some good resolutions. So I resolve, he says:—

> No more building; no purchase of land till times are quite safe; no buying of books, or expensive trifles—I mean, to any extent; clearing off of encumbrances, with the returns of this year's labour; which resolutions, with health and my habits of industry, will make me sleep in spite of thunder (i. 19);

and which resolutions, it may be added, he had no choice but to keep. He flatters himself that, in the end, no one can be the poorer through his losses; and then continues:

> An odd thought strikes me; when I die, will the Journal of these days be taken out of the ebony cabinet at Abbotsford, and read as the transient pout of a man worth £60,000, with wonder that the well-seeming Baronet should ever have experienced such a hitch? Or, will it be found in some obscure lodging-house, where the decayed son of chivalry has hung up his scutcheon for some twenty shillings a week, and where one or two old friends will look grave, and whisper to each other, "Poor gentleman; a well-meaning man; nobody's enemy but his own; family poorly left; pity he took that foolish title?" Who can answer this question? (i. 56);

and so the pendulum swings backwards and forwards, oscillating between hopes and fears, until the fatal news of January 17th, 1826, reaches him. The stoppage of their London agent ruins both Constable and Ballantyne, and Sir Walter's fortune is engulfed in the disaster. He became liable for £130,000, and *the rest of his life* is spent in unremitting efforts to discharge his *debts to the uttermost farthing.*

Scott's position was peculiar. At the time of his eldest son's marriage, he had settled the Abbotsford estate on him and his children, and it was therefore safe from the touch of his own creditors. This arrangement seems to have hurt Scott's keen sense of honour. He felt that he had done wrong in placing any portion of his property beyond his own personal control, before he had made a deliberate examination into the state of his responsibilities; and he was anxious that none should suffer in consequence of his remissness.

Had Constable, and Ballantyne & Co. allowed themselves to be declared bankrupts, Sir Walter, as one of the partners concerned, would simply have handed over to the creditors all his property, literary, or other, including the life-rent at Abbotsford, his furniture, and collections. Although losing much that he valued by this arrangement, the future would have been all his own, and he would have been free to deal as he thought best with the fruits of his projected toil. Such would have been the natural course for an insolvent debtor to take. Scott, however, viewed the embarrassments of the firm in which he was involved, less as a man of commerce than as a gentleman. To die leaving any one the poorer through his fault, or his misfortune, was intolerable to him: and he felt so great a confidence in his power of realising large sums by his pen, as to feel assured that, if his life were spared, and his strength did not fail, his creditors would have no reason to regret the arrangement that was made. And the arrangement was this—to allow Scott to remain at Abbotsford, and to continue his literary labours unmolested, whilst a trust was formed, to the credit of which all sums earned by Scott were placed. Neither did his creditors, in the end, suffer by their forbearance. We are told: "They had not miscalculated, nor did Scott calculate wrongly. He paid the penalty of health and life, but he saved his honour and his self-respect"; and eventually his creditors received their full twenty shillings in the pound. The process of making money, however, was a hard one—in the Journal we see how hard. It required, in addition to the labour of writing, the happy art of so pleasing the public taste, that his work should be in constant and wide demand. In this respect, perhaps, no other author has been so fortunate. The sums given for Scott's books, at the date at which they were given — as later on the Journal discloses—seem almost fabulous.

Although his difficulties bring many troubles and annoyances in their train, yet they were not unaccompanied by alleviations. Amongst these, one of the most grateful is the affectionate sympathy manifested by his friends, which takes the form in many cases of offers of substantial assistance. One friend offers

him £30,000, and Sir Walter is particularly touched by the behaviour of his daughter's harp-master, who begs his acceptance of a gift of £500—probably his life's savings. Each and every offer of help is, however, decidedly refused. I will involve no one, he writes, "either rich or poor. My own right hand shall do it. I feel neither dishonoured nor broken down by the bad news I have received." Trouble seemed to brace him; and though, when for a moment the thought of being driven from Abbotsford, and of having to leave the poor people whom he loved so well, casts him down, yet he quickly recovers himself, and continues:

> I will not yield without a fight for it. It is odd, when I set myself to work *doggedly*, as Dr. Johnson would say, I am exactly the same man that I ever was, neither low-spirited, nor *distrait*. In prosperous times I have sometimes felt my fancy and powers of language flag; but adversity is to me at least a tonic and bracer: the fountain is awakened from its inmost recesses, as if the spirit of affliction had troubled it in its passage. (i. 89).

He is, indeed, able a little later on to view his position as a philosopher; and the shock once over, he decides that he is as well off in all essential circumstances as he was before. I have now, he says,

> no pecuniary provisions to embarrass me, and I think, now the shock of the discovery is past and over, I am much better off on the whole. I am as if I had shaken off from my shoulders a great mass of garments, rich indeed, but cumbrous, and always more a burden than a comfort. I am free from a hundred petty public duties imposed on me as a man of consideration—of the expense of a great hospitality—and, what is better, of the great waste of time connected with it. I have known, in my day, all kinds of society, and can pretty well estimate how much or how little one loses by retiring from all but that which is very intimate. I sleep and eat and work as I was wont; and, if I could see those about me as indifferent to the loss of rank as I am, I should be completely happy (i. 100).

Scott lived only six years after his losses, and these years he spent, so far as outward surroundings were concerned, much in the same manner as those which preceded them. As is well known, in 1806 Scott had accepted the post of one of the Clerks of Session in Edinburgh. This office obliged him to reside for a considerable part of the year in that capital. Perhaps, one of the most noticeable changes brought into his life by his misfortunes was, that he was obliged to part with his town house, and thus to cease to be a citizen of Edinburgh. For the future, he *merely takes rooms*; or, as times become more prosperous with

him, a furnished house for the five months during which the Court of Session remains sitting.

The Judges, with their clerks in attendance, took their seats at ten o'clock in the morning, and sat from four to six hours, according to the amount of business to be transacted. Although the duties of a clerk were to some extent formal and merely mechanical, yet there were few days on which Scott was not called upon to bring his real legal knowledge into play; and his work required the study both of law-papers and of legal authorities, during the hours in which he was not actually in Court. Whilst living in Edinburgh, his literary labours were chiefly performed before breakfast. He rose early, not, however, as early as he awoke, though the intervening time was by no means wasted. Indeed, to Scott it often was the most valuable of the twenty-four hours.

> The half-hour between waking and rising has all my life proved propitious to any task which was exercising my invention. When I get over any knotty difficulty in a story, or have had in former times to fill up a passage in a poem, it was always when I first opened my eyes that the desired ideas thronged upon me. This is so much the case, that I am in the habit of relying upon it and saying to myself when I am at a loss, "Never mind: we shall have it at seven o'clock to-morrow morning" (i. 113).

After rising, he would write till the breakfast-hour; and then again, when he returned from Court in the afternoon, and even in the evening when no official papers or any important social engagement claimed his time. On the days also, which were not infrequent, when the Court was not sitting, he spent every minute at his desk engaged in composition.

At Abbotsford, where Scott passed the months during which his presence was not required in Edinburgh, his day was mapped out, although somewhat differently, yet, with the same regularity. He rose at seven, or even earlier, and wrote or studied until ten, when he breakfasted with his daughter alone—Lady Scott being unable to leave her room before mid-day, during some years previously to her death. From the breakfast table he again retired to his study, and wrote steadily till one o'clock, by which time he had well earned a little relaxation, and the right to enjoy fresh air and exercise. There were, however, in that Northern climate many days when all outdoor pleasures were impossible, and then his work would progress all the faster. Thus, on September 27, we read:

> The morning was damp, dripping, and unpleasant; so I even made a work of necessity, and set to work at the "Tales of a Grandfather," *like a dragon.* I murdered M'Lellan of Bombay at

Thrieve Castle; stabbed the Black Douglas in the town of Stirling; astonished King James before Roxburg; and stifled the Earl of Mar in his bath in the Canongate. A wild world, my masters, this Scotland of ours must have been. No fear of want of interest; no lassitude in those days for want of work.

> For treason d'ye see,
> Was to them a dish of tea;
> And murther, bread and butter. (ii. 38.)

If, however, the weather was fine, Scott would now wander about his favourite woods, which had all been created by himself; and with his faithful factor, Tom Purdie, would decide where to fell and where to plant. Seldom was it that one or two dogs were not also his companions; and they to the full shared his attention. His love for these faithful friends appears throughout the Journal; and many an entry shows how much he cared for them, and how readily he forgave their ill-deeds. Indeed, that the tranquility of these afternoon rambles was sometimes disturbed by his favourites, we may gather from an incident described by Mr. Adolphus, in which an unsuspecting cat at a cottage door was demolished by Nimrod in one of his gambols.

This deerhound was an old offender. Sir Walter tells his friend, Richardson, *à propos* of a story he had just heard of Joanna Baillie's cat having worried a dog: It's just like her mistress, who beats the male race of authors out of the pit in describing the higher passions, that are more proper to their sex than hers. . . . What could I say to Nimrod, but what Brantôme said to some *ferrailleur*, who had been too successful in a duel: *Ah, mon grand ami, vous avez tuē mon autre grand ami.*" (ii. 273, note.)

If not walking in the woods, Sir Walter would often visit his near neighbours, the Fergusons of Huntly Burn, whose names constantly occur. On his return, he would jot down a few words in his Journal, perhaps enjoy a short doze, or a chat with his wife and daughter, until Dalgleesh, the butler, who deserves special mention—as he refused to leave his master in the hour of distress though it was at a loss to himself that he stayed—announced the dinner. This was a simple meal at Abbotsford, consisting of soup and a slice of plain meat; after which followed a cigar, perhaps a tumbler of weak whisky and water, whilst he read a novel. By this time, the hour of tea would have arrived: which being discussed, Scott again retired to his own room to write until ten o'clock, when, having taken a little bread to eat, with a glass of porter, he went to bed.

The even tenour of Scott's days in the months which succeeded his misfortunes, is uninterrupted by visits. He lives a secluded life; and his main interest consists in the work of clearing off his *debts; and his chief* hope, the fulfilment of it speedily and com-

pletely. If we are struck by an over-eagerness after the mere financial profits of literature, we must ever bear in mind that it is not for his own gain that Scott is labouring, but for the good of his creditors, and for his own honourable satisfaction.

Early in the day he is cheered at his work by success. Three months after realising his losses, he is able to hand over to the trustees of his creditors the sum of £8000, the proceeds of the sale of "Woodstock"—the whole work having been written, printed, and sold in that time. He is naturally exhilirated by such a result, and sanguinely anticipates the total extinction of his liabilities in the course of four or five years. A curious fancy occurs to him; and in the first glow of pleasure which followed the receipt of the news of the success of "Woodstock," he goes off and plants two or three acorns, and elects to judge by their growth whether or not he will eventually clear himself. We regret to say that we hear no more of the little seedlings, and can only express a hope that they are now flourishing oak-trees of sixty-four years' standing, and remind Scott's descendants of their courageous and indefatigable ancestor.

Although at this time Scott seems not to have doubted his power of making money by writing, yet, he never appears to have felt assured of the intrinsic excellence of his literary work. He tells us that, in the beginning of his prosperity, it was with difficulty that he was led to consider himself a better writer than the average of authors. His publisher, James Ballantyne, informs us that on the merits of his own composition Scott was not only inaccessible to compliments, but was even insensible to truth; and though he felt pleased with praise, or even with flattery, about his farms or fields, would at once cut short any laudatory remarks about his books. Mr. Ballantyne tells us that after the publication of the "Lady of the Lake," he met Sir Walter's eldest daughter, then a very young girl: "Well, Miss Sophia," he asked, "and how do you like the 'Lady of the Lake,' with which everybody is enchanted"? She answered, with unaffected simplicity; "Oh, I have not read it. Papa says, 'There is nothing so bad for young girls as reading bad poetry.'" On one occasion only is it recorded that Scott was decidedly gratified by praise. Ballantyne was dining with a large and accomplished party, of whom Chalmers was one. He tells us that

> The conversation turned upon Scott's romances generally, and the course of it led me to call on Sir Walter, and address him as follows:—
>
> I knew the task was a bold one, but I thought I saw that I should get well through it. "Well, Sir Walter," I said, "I was dining yesterday where your works became the subject of copious conversation." His countenance immediately became overcast, and his answer was:

"Well, I think, I must say your party might have been better employed." "I knew it would be your answer, nor would I have mentioned it, but that Dr. Chalmers was present, and was by far the most decided in his expressions of pleasure and admiration of any of the party." This instantly roused him to the most vivid animation. "Dr. Chalmers," he repeated, "that throws new light on the subject; to have produced any effect upon the mind of such a man as Dr. Chalmers is indeed something to be proud of. Dr. Chalmers is a man of the truest genius. I will thank you to repeat all that you can recollect that he said on the subject" (i. 175, note).

The year 1826 was destined to bring keener sorrow to Scott than any which arose from pecuniary causes. Not only are his fears now first awakened for the life of his much-loved little grandson, the child for whom the "Tales of a Grandfather" were written—Lockhart's eldest son—but death lays his hand upon one of Scott's immediate home circle; Lady Scott dies.

In March, when he is giving up his house in Edinburgh, we have the first intimations of serious illness. Lady Scott and her daughter are obliged to delay their journey to Abbotsford, in order that the former may consult a doctor, and may try certain new remedies. In May, Scott laments that his walks are now solitary, and that his wife is daily losing strength. "Since Sunday," he says, "there has been a change for the worse. My hopes are almost gone. But," he adds, with his usual fortitude, "I am determined to stand this grief as I have done others."

A few days later his duties recall him to Edinburgh; and, saddest of all unspoken partings, he is unable even to take leave of his dying wife. After passing a bad night, she was in a sound sleep, from which it would have been dangerous to disturb her, when he started. The simple words in which this melancholy ending to his married life are recorded, strike us as being more touching than an eloquent and passionate burst of grief. "I have seen plainly," he writes,

within the last two months that recovery was hopeless. And yet, to part from the companion of twenty-nine years when so very ill—that I did not, could not forsee. It withers my heart to think of it.

Five days later he receives the news that all is over, and returns to Abbotsford to console his heart-broken daughter, whose sufferings, he says,

would have been inexpressibly moving to me as a stranger. What was it then to a father? For myself, I scarce know how I feel; sometimes as firm as the Bass Rock, sometimes as weak as the wave that breaks on it. . . . . I am as alert (he continues) at *thinking and deciding* as I ever was in my life. Yet, when I *contrast what this place* now is, with what it has been not long since,

I think my heart will break. Lonely, aged, deprived of my family—all but poor Anne—an impoverished and embarrassed man, I am deprived of the sharer of my thoughts and counsels, who could always talk down my sense of the calamitous apprehensions which must break the heart that must bear them alone. Even her foibles were of service to me, by giving me things to think of beyond my weary self-reflections (i. 193).

His wife was buried at Dryburgh Abbey, close by the spot where he himself wished to rest. Of the funeral itself he writes:

The whole scene floats as a sort of dream before me—the beautiful day, the gray ruins covered and hidden amongst clouds of foliage and flourish, where the grave, even in the lap of beauty, lay lurking, and gaped for its prey. Then the grave looks, the hasty important bustle of men with spades and mattocks—the train of carriages—the coffin containing the creature that was so long the dearest to me, and whom I was to consign to the very spot which in pleasure parties we so often visited. It seems still as if this could not really be. But it is so—and duty to God and to my children must teach me patience (i. 197).

As time wears on, Sir Walter's grief naturally softens, though for some months he can look at no papers, nor at anything that recalls his lost wife, without feeling as if stung "by fifty scorpions." Throughout his domestic, as in his pecuniary misfortunes, however, he carries a brave front before the world. When all but overwhelmed by this additional grief, he remembers that he has been wont to say: "My mind to me a kingdom is," and then he adds, "I am rightful monarch, and, God to aid, I will not be dethroned by any rebellious passion." Shortly after the funeral he is back in Edinburgh, and resumes his ordinary routine life. He attends Court regularly, and every spare hour is devoted to writing.

Besides his romances and frequent articles contributed to periodicals, Scott was occupied in 1826 with a lengthy life of Napoleon. In order to obtain access to the official papers necessary for his work, and also in the hopes of gathering authentic anecdotes relating to the Emperor, Sir Walter, in the autumn of this year, visited both London and Paris. The trip was not only serviceable to his work, but it was also a useful distraction from his recent trials, and helped greatly to restore his spirits.

He left home, with his daughter Anne, on October 12, reached Carlisle the same evening, and on the following day arrived at Rokeby, the seat of his old friend, Mr. Morritt. This gentleman, "one of the most accomplished that ever shared Scott's confidence," is frequently mentioned in the Journal. He had himself written

sundry works, treating mainly of Greek literature, and also a pamphlet on Catholic Emancipation, a topic which in those years greatly occupied public attention. Mr. Morritt so thoroughly enjoyed Scott's society, that a year or two after, when the latter was finally released from all legal duties, he suggests that the Scotts should promise to spend every alternate November with him at Rokeby, and that he, in his turn, would undertake to do as much for Sir Walter, by coming to Abbotsford in the intervening years.

The halt made at Rokeby is not a long one, and Scott is soon once more travelling. He is able on this occasion to write: "Old England is no changeling," as he finds the road to London, along which he had not travelled for some years, so little altered. We note this specially, as, had Sir Walter been alive some ten years later, we should probably have had a vivid picture of the revolutionary changes brought about by the railway—changes which, we imagine, Scott was too good a Conservative not to deprecate.

After two days' more journeying, we find Scott settled in Pall Mall, and enjoying the society of London wits, poets, and artists. He had barely arrived in town, when he received the King's commands to spend a day at Windsor. George IV. was always studiously attentive to Sir Walter, and on this occasion received him "with the same mixture of kindness and courtesy which," says Scott, "has always distinguished his conduct to me." Few loyal subjects can receive attention from their Sovereign without returning grateful praise, and Scott is no exception to this rule. He sees in the King an accomplished and well bred gentleman, a model in many respects of a British monarch. His reserve, which keeps him aloof from public places, and which was increased by the behaviour of the people during the Queen's trial, where, according to Scott, "John Bull made such a beast of himself"—alone prevents the King from being as popular as he deserves.

When Scott returns to town, he renews his friendship with Tom Moore, who had been at Abbotsford during the preceding year. The poet and the novelist became mutually so well pleased with one another, that when Moore left Scott's home, the latter writes: "It would be a delightful addition to life if T. M. had a cottage within two miles of one." Moore is now, the following year, disposed to accompany Scott to Paris, for which city he soon leaves London. Moore does not, however, after all, travel with him. In Paris they find a quiet, snug hotel, and determine to remain there "at fifteen francs a day." If this sum means fifteen francs per head, it would show that prices have not greatly risen in that capital during the last sixty years.

Paris is not one whit behind London in its desire to do honour

to the author of "Waverley." We feel, however, slightly surprised that amongst the earliest marks of French appreciation should be the presentation to Sir Walter of a bouquet "as large as a Maypole," accompanied by a speech full of honey and oil, from *les Dames des Halles!* Had the Waverley novels really been read and admired by these ladies? Then follow dinners at our ambassador's, Lord Granville; visits to Russian princesses—a whole bevy of whom, on one occasion, he finds arrayed in tartan to do him honour; a piteous appeal "almost on her knees" from Madame Mirbel, to be allowed to take his portrait; nights at the play; and the usual amusements of a man whom Paris is bent on fêting; till, at length, Scott threatens to give up his Journal until he leaves Paris. "The French are literally outrageous in their civilities, bounce in at all hours, and drive one half mad with compliments." He finds time, however, to please Madame Mirbel, and we see him spending several hours in her studio a patient sitter, whilst she paints his likeness. Nor was this the last time he was subjected to the like tedium.

In 1828 we read that he is again under torture, this time to the English painter, Northcote. At the last sitting, Northcote remarked:

"You have often sat for your portrait." "Yes," said Sir Walter, "my dog, Maida, and I have sat frequently—so often that Maida, who had little philosophy, conceived such a dislike to painters that, whenever he saw a man take out a pencil and paper, and look at him, he set up a howl and ran off. His unfortunate master, however well he can howl, was never able to run much; he was therefore obliged to abide the event. Yes, I have frequently sat for my picture" (ii. 179).

To return to Scott's life in Paris, we may add that he sees a little of French political life, and unfortunately, though only spoken to himself in his Journal, ventures on a prophecy: "The Whigs may say what they like, but I think the Bourbons will stand." This was, remember, only four years before 1830!

For the work which had brought Sir Walter to Paris, he thinks he has done much. He is confirmed in the estimate he had already formed of Napoleon's character, and can now draw the Emperor's portrait with a firmer hand than when his views were mere faint impressions.

After leaving Paris, Scott hurried homewards with unfortunate haste. The result was, that arriving at an inn before he was expected, his host was unprepared for his reception, and he slept in a damp bed, and thus sowed the seed of the terrible rheumatic sufferings which he underwent in the following winter.

Once again in London, Scott spent an agreeable ten days

amongst English literary men and women. He was specially pleased by an introduction to Madame D'Arblay, the authoress, when Miss Burney, of "Evelina." In describing her past triumphs to Scott, this lady told him that, when she first heard that Dr. Johnson had praised her work with his accustomed emphasis, she went wild with joy at this decided evidence of her literary success, and with child-like glee gave vent to her delight by dancing and skipping round a mulberry tree. We may here mention another encounter Scott had with a lady of letters, though it occurred later, and in Scotland: Mrs. Hemans, to whom he took greatly, in spite of his daughter, who condemned the lady as "blue." She may have been slightly sentimental, and for this Scott administered a corrective in the form of a good story:

> She told me of the peculiar melancholy attached to the words "no more." I could not help telling, as a different application of the words, how an old dame riding home along Cockenzie Sands, pretty bowsy, fell off the pillion, and her husband, being in good order also, did not miss her till he came to Prestonpans. He instantly returned with some neighbours, and found the good woman seated amidst the advancing tide, which began to rise, with her lips ejaculating to her cummers, who she supposed were still pressing her to another cup, "Nae ae drap mair, I thank you kindly" (ii. 319).

When Scott left London, he and his daughter made their first stage to Oxford, where his second son, Charles, was then studying. The son entertained and lionised his father, and gratified the latter by his dutiful attentions. He writes: "How pleasant it is for a father to sit at his child's board! It is like an aged man reclining under the shadow of the oak he has planted." His stay is not, however, long, and he soon finds himself back in Edinburgh, attending Court Sessions, and grudging every spare moment not spent at his desk.

The succeeding winter was a trying one. The season was unusually inclement, and Scott suffered severely from rheumatism, aggravated by an increasing feeling of general weakness. Although he puts a brave face on the matter, the entries for the month of December are melancholy reading. His nights are constantly disturbed and feverish, and his days are passed in suffering. His task is never willingly intermitted, but literary composition must have been a grievous trial. On December 17 he writes: "This was a day of labour, agreeably varied by a pain which rendered it scarce possible to sit upright." Entries of the same character are frequent, and thus ends the most eventful year of Scott's life. One "of much evil, and some good; but especially the courage to endure what Fortune sends without becoming a pipe for her fingers."

January, 1827, finds Scott at Abbotsford, bound fast and tight

to his chair with rheumatism, and determined to utilise his enforced confinement by making headway with his "Life of Napoleon." A reward for his industry is, we are glad to say, not far distant; and a few weeks later he learns that the proceeds of "Buonaparte," in eight volumes, will amount to £12,000. This is a bright prospect both to himself and to his creditors, and full of promise. Already, however, we discern threatening symptoms. A new disorder has apparently developed in his system, which he attributes to his advancing years, although he consoles himself for its approach by telling us that age "is but the cypress avenue which terminates in the tomb, where the weary are at rest," its attendant weakness endangers the prospect of his eventual freedom, and may prove fatal to his hopes.

In the midst of Scott's serious money difficulties, the annoyance of hardly knowing where to turn for the comparatively trifling sums needed for daily expenses is often noted in the Journal. He, like smaller men, finds that his return to Edinburgh after Christmas is the signal for his tradesmen to fire off a volley of small accounts, which "whistle like grape shot," and which it will take some hard work to pay off; and "how to get the time to work?" Often, too, a chance fifty or hundred pounds, coming as payment for an article, is welcomed as helping to carry him on until his official pay-day arrives. Such daily anxieties will often fret a less courageous man more severely than serious debts. But Sir Walter's cheerfulness seems unaffected, and he bears large and small pecuniary trials with the same equanimity that he exhibits under severe domestic affliction and bodily pain.

In February we find him making merry at a charity dinner for the Theatrical Fund. He tells us that he is usually rather felicitious in such a situation, and gives a few simple rules, to the observing of which he attributes his success in opening the purse-strings of the company. Though we doubt their efficacy to-day, the following are characteristic of the earlier years of this century. The first rule is always to hurry round the bottle some five or six times without "prosing yourself, or permitting others to prose." This "slight fillip of wine," as in those days half a dozen glasses were considered, destroys all nervousness, and inclines men to be amused with any and every joke. Sir Walter advises that these be now freely administered.

> Don't be too particular (he adds); a bad joke will do almost as well as a good one, provided it hits the tastes of the company, and this depends on its character. Choose your text with discretion, the sermon may be as you like. Be chary how you use your authority as chairman, and, when sufficient wine has been drunk, then be careful with the bottle. Nothing is so ridiculous as a drunken proser. Moreover, be *sure you are not lengthy*. Always speak short.

The dinner went off well; and, if the jokes were not brilliant, the laughter was abundant. The evening was noteworthy for more than Sir Walter's successful chairmanship. It was on this occasion that the veil was finally lifted, and that Scott's authorship of the Waverley novels was formally acknowledged. It happened to be the first public dinner at which he assisted since his troubles, and when Lord Meadowbanks was asked to propose Scott's health, after receiving his permission, he distinctly referred to Sir Walter as the "minstrel of our native land," to whom a debt of gratitude was due from Scotchmen for having opened out the beauties and characteristics of their country, and woven romances out of the heroic deeds of their ancestors. In Scott's reply he acknowledged that the novels were his work, and emphatically repudiated all suggestion that he had received assistance from any one whatever. "When I say I am the author," he insisted, "I mean the total and undivided author." Except the avowed quotations, every word was written by himself.

Although the authorship of "Waverley" had long been an open secret, its definite announcement was received at the time with rapturous applause, and caused a sensation throughout Europe. The mystery was at length dispelled. Why it had ever been allowed to arise, it is difficult to say. Any concealment or want of entire frankness, appears inconsistent with the transparent openness of Sir Walter's whole nature. Some explanation may be found in the fact that he seems, when first writing novels, to have considered that such work was inconsistent with the decorum necessary to a Clerk of Sessions. "Judges being monks, clerks are a sort of lay brethren, from whom some solemnity of walk and conduct may be expected," he gives as a reason for not owning the authorship of "Waverley." He had, it is true, put his own name to his poems; and to his reputation as a poet he ascribed his slow advance in his profession: when, therefore, he descended, as he held, to a lower place in literature, and wrote novels, and novels the success of which he in no way anticipated, he not unnaturally feared to risk his position amongst his fellow lawyers, and decided to make the venture anonymously. The startling success of his works brought other feelings into play. Thoroughly as he appreciated the affection and goodwill of his fellow-men, Scott cared little for mere popular applause; and the sensation of being sought after as a celebrity and exhibited as a lion was distasteful to him. Joined to the dislike of notoriety, and the feeling of what was due to his legal position, we may add an impression which possessed Scott, viz., that his commercial relations with the firm of Ballantyne had better remain *a private one; and* he therefore refrained from putting his name *to the "Waverley"* series of novels.

It was about this time that Sir Walter was gratified by a spontaneous and appreciative letter from Goethe, to which, breaking through his rule of never answering, nor even reading letters from foreign literary men, he at once replied. He was naturally flattered by the notice of the venerable sage, the translation of whose book "Goetz von Berlichingen," had been his own first literary achievement, and whom he designates as at once the Ariosto and the Voltaire of Germany. He begs Goethe's acceptance of his "Life of Napoleon," and gives all the details of his family and present circumstances for which the former asks. Goethe's estimate of the "Life of Napoleon" we are able to gather from a letter he wrote to Carlyle after reading it. In this letter, after begging Carlyle to convey to Sir Walter two medals he was forwarding from Weimar, he requests Carlyle also to return Scott his heartfelt thanks for the gratification which the biography of Napoleon had afforded him; and he adds that he shall notice the work in the forthcoming number of "Kunst und Altenthum." The characteristic letter of Carlyle in which he discharges his commission is, we are glad to say, given at the end of the second volume of the Journal.

The year 1827 concludes satisfactorily, and Scott can justly claim the right to enjoy his Christmas. In the month of December, that is barely two years after his losses, he is able, through his own unaided efforts and industry, to repay the sum of £40,000. We are not surprised to hear that his creditors passed a unanimous vote of thanks for the indefatigable energy which had achieved such a result.

In the following year Cadell, one of the trustees for the creditors, and Scott decided to bring out a uniform and handsome edition of all Sir Walter Scott's works. This, his *opus magnum*, as he always designates it, necessitated the purchase of the copyright of all his books; a purchase to which, after some demur, the other trustees consented, as being distinctly advantageous for all concerned. The scheme was one of great interest to Scott. He introduced each novel in turn, with an account of the suggestions on which it had been founded, and illustrated it with historical and antiquarian notes. As a commercial enterprise it succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of those interested in the plan. By the end of 1829, eight volumes of the new series had been published, and the monthly sales had risen, we are told, as high as 35,000 copies. Scott was naturally elated, and writes: "The sale of the novels is pro-di-gi-ous. If it but lasts, a few years will clear my feet of old encumbrances. I should be happy to die a free man."

About this time a change is made in Scott's life, and at length he becomes *the complete master* of his time. It is proposed to

reduce the number of Clerks in Session from six to four; and he is one of the two whom it is decided to superannuate. He goes without regret, foreseeing that the change will be a great gain to his health and happiness, by allowing him to spend all his days at Abbotsford, and amongst the heathery moors which, he once told Washington Irving, he should die if he did not often see.

It was none too soon for Scott to diminish his labours. Human strength is limited, and he was now called on to pay the penalty for the over great strain to which he had subjected his brain. Early in 1830 he experienced a slight attack of threatening paralysis, which, although at the time it was not made public, and was therefore unsuspected, caused great alarm to his family. It was followed by others of a like nature; and although his literary work is not intermitted, a certain cloudiness of words, and confusion of arrangement now become apparent in his writings, which betray too surely the weakening of his faculties. He would heed no warning; and though assured that if he persisted in his literary labours, serious illness would be the result, he only answered: "As for bidding me not to work, Molly might as well put the kettle on the fire, and say, *now, don't boil.*"

His exertions, however trying to himself, are not unrequitted. Within a month of his first seizure another meeting of Scott's creditors is called together, and they are gratified by again receiving a substantial dividend. They vote their thanks, and unanimously pass the following resolution:

> That Sir Walter Scott be requested to accept of his furniture, plate, linen, paintings, library, and curiosities of every description, as the best means the creditors have of expressing their very high sense of his most honourable conduct, and in grateful acknowledgment for the unparalleled and most successful exertions he has made, and continues to make for them.

The concluding years of Scott's Journal are often painful reading. To bodily weakness is now added a decided lessening of mental power. His entry for May 6, 1831, contains the following ominous sentence:

> Here is a precious job. I have a formal remonstrance from those critical persons, Cadell and Ballantyne, against the last volume of "Count Robert" (the novel on which he had been lately engaged; and he adds), I suspect their opinion will be found to coincide with that of the public. . . . . The blow is a stunning one. . . . . I am at sea in the dark, and the vessel leaky, I think, into the bargain (ii. 405).

It is evident that his meridian is passed, and sheer force of will and industry cannot reproduce the power of his early writings.

We may here mention that during the concluding years of

Scott's life he ceased actually writing himself, but employed the friend of his early days, William Laidlaw, as secretary, and dictated to him. His name frequently appears in the Journal, and from Scott's life he is well known as having been the friend to whom his acquaintance with James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, was due. Laidlaw had early perceived the real poetic genius of his father's shepherd, and introduced him to Scott, who always hereafter befriended him. The first time Hogg was in Edinburgh Scott invited him to dinner. He was duly presented to Mrs. Scott, who, being at the date in a delicate state of health, "was reclining on a sofa." The shepherd made his best bow, we read,

and forthwith took possession of another sofa placed opposite to hers, and stretched himself on it at his full length, for, as he said afterwards, "I thought I could never do wrong to copy the lady of the house." As his dress was then precisely that in which a herdsman attends cattle to market, and as his hands bore legible marks of a recent sheep-smearing, the lady of the house did not observe with perfect equanimity the usage to which her chintz was exposed. The shepherd, however, remarked nothing of this, dined heartily, drank freely, and afforded merriment to the company. . . . . As the liquor operated, his familiarity increased. From "Mr. Scott" he advanced to "Shirra," and thence to "Scott," "Walter," and "Watty," till at supper, he fairly convulsed the whole table by addressing Mrs. Scott as "Charlotte."

From May 1831 to September in the same year there is a gap in the Journal, which recommences with the words: "I have been very ill;" and Scott proceeds to complain of such complete prostration of strength that he cannot walk even a mile. He fears also some mental confusion, the extent of which he cannot gauge, and laments: "I am perhaps setting. I am myself inclined to think so; and like a day that has been a fine one, the light of it sets down amid mists and storms."

He now reluctantly yields to the wishes of his friends, and consents to pass the coming winter in the South of Europe. His last days at Abbotsford are cheered by a visit from Wordsworth; and by the end of September he is again in London, then excited over the Reform Bill, and in a "foam of politics." Times are threatening, and the aspect of the mob is so alarming that the christening of the Duke of Buccleuch's son and heir, at which the King was to stand godfather, and to which Sir Walter was invited, had, at the King's request, to be postponed, lest the rabble should pull the house about the ears of his Majesty and the guests assembled to meet him. Scott's vivid imagination is fired by the disturbed condition of the public mind. He even pictures to himself a disputed succession—a Fitzclarence holding London, and the North proclaiming the young Princess

Victoria, with the Duke of Wellington as dictator! As we now see, such fears were unnecessary; but, remembering the then recent occurrences in Paris, we may look on Scott's alarm as not unnatural.

His stay in London is not a long one; and Scott soon leaves for Portsmouth, there to await a favourable wind for his start for the Mediterranean. A man-of-war, the *Barham*, has kindly been placed at his disposal by the King. After some delay, which causes Scott to exalt steam at the expense of sail, the right wind blows; and on the 29th of October they weigh anchor, and glide smoothly along the Isle of Wight, coast the South of England, and steer through the Bay of Biscay. Then follow entries noting spots, which in those days, nearly touched either the memory or the hope of English sailors, and which Sir Walter, landsman as he is, cannot see unmoved: Cape St. Vincent, Cape Spartel, Tarifa, Trafalgar. Gibraltar is next reached; and from thence they go to Malta. Here they are harassed by quarantine regulations; and for ten days are imprisoned in an old palace which a *ci-devant* Grand-Master, Manuel by name, had built for his own residence. When released, Scott is housed in Valetta. Its picturesqueness suggests ideas for the further beautifying of Abbotsford; and he is greatly pleased with the quaintness of the town, and the magnificence of the Church of St. John. In spite of having suffered much from the rapacity of the French, it still contains ornaments of great value. Scott specially notes a rich railing of silver, placed round the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, which had owed its escape from the French soldiers by being painted to resemble wood, and thus eluded their notice.

Scott utilises his stay in the island to commence a novel entitled "The Siege of Malta," which, however, was never published. The locality was favourable to the usual style of his composition, and all mediæval associations had for him a special charm. When first shown the street where the young knights used to fight their duels, he remarked: "It will be hard if I cannot make something out of this."

After a short sojourn at Malta, the captain of the *Barham* offers to take Scott and his party on to Naples, an offer which Scott gladly accepts. He leaves Malta on December 13, and reaches Naples on the 17th, and again is subjected to quarantine, and is not allowed at once to land. The tedium is somewhat lightened by Sir Walter's enjoyment of the Bay of Naples, and by an eruption of Vesuvius which occurred at this time.

Scott remains at Naples from Christmas until April. From the routine of his daily life and the excursions which he is able to make, we gather that his health must have improved during

these months. He spends many hours in the royal library, searching amongst old manuscripts for romances out of which to weave future novels. The opera and visits to Court are mentioned amongst his pastimes, whilst drives to Pompeii and Pæstum serve as pleasant distractions. His stay at Naples is, however, saddened by the news that his little grandson, John Hugh Lockhart, who had been so constantly in his thoughts, has at length succumbed to long illness, and, to the great grief of his parents, died in December. As a distraction to this melancholy intelligence, Scott receives welcome news from his publishers. His hold on the taste of novel readers is evidently still firm. The two last tales ("Castle Dangerous" and "Sir Robert of Paris"), of whose merit he himself had felt doubtful, had both sold to the extent of 3400 copies in two following years. He writes to Lockhart, "I am ashamed, for the first time in my life, of the two novels; but, since the pensive public has taken to them, there is no more to be said, but to eat my pudding and hold my tongue."

The "pudding" promises to be so profitable that Sir Walter believes himself to be within sight of his long desired goal. He is ready to buy the new hat which he would owe Cadell when his debts were paid (they had had a bet on the subject); and one of the last entries in his Journal shows that he is now hoping once more to gratify his old tastes, and to buy some land adjoining Abbotsford, which lies "mighty convenient," and which he has coveted for twenty years.

Sir Walter now, we are told by Lockhart, experienced a great desire to return home; and although it is not expressed in the Journal, we may believe that this wish was the reason for his leaving Naples at the moment when its delightful neighbourhood is in its greatest beauty. He had been greatly affected by the news of Goethe's death in March, and on hearing it, exclaimed: "Alas for Goethe! but he at least died at home. Let us to Abbotsford."

His intention had been to return to England through Germany, and one of the chief attractions of this route had been the hope of visiting Goethe at Weimar. Although this was no longer possible, he did not change his plans, but started for Rome as the first halting place in his homeward journey, through Italy, to Venice; through the Tyrol, by Munich, Frankfort, and Rotterdam. We know from other sources that the journey was safely accomplished; that Scott spent a month in Rome; that he enjoyed the snowy journey over the Appenines, as reminding him of Scotland; and that although he was then able to say little, he seemed interested in the succession of crags and ruined castles and monasteries *which so quickly* succeed one another in a journey

down the Rhine. But, touching all this the Journal is silent. The last entry is written in Rome, on the day after his arrival from Naples. The journey he had accomplished in one day; and he and his family must have reached Rome in the middle of the night. After some slight confusion as to where they were to be lodged, they were at length comfortably housed and retired to rest. The last entry was written on the following morning, and the Journal terminates abruptly:

"We slept reasonably, but on the next morning"—

Thus ends a work which will deepen and increase the affectionate regard with which all English speaking peoples revere the name of Sir Walter Scott, and which, although he himself was a sincere Protestant, is echoed in every Catholic heart to whom his works are familiar. Indeed, we are disposed to think that to him we specially owe a debt of peculiar gratitude.

How nearly effect may follow cause, and the hidden source of a change may be absolutely indicated, is always a matter of doubt, and therefore how far the toleration of the Church which now obtains, is due to Scott, may be questioned. Yet, we may here suggest that at least in two ways Sir Walter has done good service to the Church. If we remember the popular delusions and unfounded prejudices which surrounded the English view of Catholicity in the early years of this century, we may be grateful to the romances of Scott as tending in a great measure to dispel them. He changed the animus against all things Catholic into a romantic interest in our faith, and threw a halo around our doctrines, devotions, and customs. The monk and the nun ceased to be objects of scorn and aversion; and the monastery and cell the dark abodes of shameless luxury and sin. The chantry and the vesper bell became connected in the public mind with deeds of piety and religion; and if little real or exact knowledge was imparted, the charm of mystery conveyed was all the greater. Following hard and closely connected with the romantic and picturesque interest in Catholicism which Scott awakened, arose the enthusiasm for mediævalism which characterised the middle of this century, and which found its religious expression in the Tractarian Movement. England for awhile persisted in being nothing if not mediæval. She became Gothic in her architecture, pre-Raffaelite in her art, Gregorian in her music, and so-called Anglo-Catholic in her religion. In the place of the classical and Palladian taste, which was rampant during the reign of the Georges, we have the idealism of the Middle Ages in that of Victoria.

It may be difficult to decide whether it is to Scott that we owe the origin of this transformation, or whether his great *success as a novelist* was due to the fact that his writings fell

in with the prevailing taste of his contemporaries. Probably both theories are to some extent true, and that, whilst in many minds he first created a love of the romantic, in others he merely increased, whilst he satisfied, a taste which already existed. This, however, matters but little. If the disposition to admire the days of chivalry and state of society in which the power of the Church was paramount existed, then Scott's writings shed a bright and engaging colouring over those centuries: if he created a love and veneration for the religious aspect of mediævalism, then to him we owe the happy results which have followed the exaltation of the Catholic Church as the ideal of so many of our countrymen. In either case, Catholics may well be grateful to Sir Walter Scott. That his own beloved Abbotsford should to-day be in the hands of those who, whilst they are his direct descendants, are also Catholics, seems a fitting reward for the large and intelligent charity with which he treated our holy religion.

Art. VI.—THE JACOBIN MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

IN two former numbers of this Review, I endeavoured to give some account of those portions of Mr. Lecky's great work, which especially deal with Irish history. In October 1882, I traced the steps by which Ireland recovered her national existence, her civil freedom, after she had lain for centuries in darkness and the shadow of death; a great change in her condition, which I ventured to call her Resurrection. Of her vindicated nationality, the Constitution of 1782 was the symbol and pledge. It meant, Grattan declared, in one * of his most memorable and masterly speeches, that "Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a separate Parliament, and that this Parliament alone had a right to frame laws for her:" or, as a celebrated Resolution of the Irish House of Commons affirmed, that "the exclusive right of legislation in the Irish Parliament, in all cases external and internal, had been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, irrevocably, and definitely acknowledged by England." The working of this Constitution, during the first decade of its existence, was the subject of an article of mine, published in October 1887, in which I followed the progress of material prosperity under it, and pointed out its two great blots, "the outlawry" (the phrase

* Delivered *on the Amendment* to the Address on the 17th of April 1782.

is Burke's) of the great mass of the Irish people, the Catholics, and the extremely illusory character of its representative institutions. The strenuous efforts of some of the noblest Irishmen then living—Grattan foremost among them—were directed to the removal of those blots. The efforts failed; and their failure was due, mainly, to the determined opposition of Fitzgibbon. In the present article, I shall take up the thread of Irish history where I left it; and, availing myself of the materials provided by Mr. Lecky in his two last volumes, I shall sketch the course of Irish affairs from 1793 down to the present time. Compared with Mr. Lecky's profound and far-reaching studies in this period, mine are but slight and superficial. On some points, indeed, I venture to differ from him. But they are minor points, and do not affect his main argument. In executing the task which I have set to myself, I shall, therefore, as far as I can, employ his words in preference to my own; and shall make the amplest use possible of his clear, complete, and candid narrative, upon every page of which, accurate knowledge and judicial impartiality are luminously written.

The French Revolution introduced a new element into European politics; an element which, however perverted and corrupted, was assuredly, at the beginning, in harmony with the principles of Christian public law. The Revolution may be considered as a protest, erroneously formulated, for the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, in an age when the very notion of right seemed to have almost disappeared from the public mind. It was a plea for justice, as no mere matter of convention, but an absolute and aboriginal principle of that moral law, whereof all human codes are mere imperfect transcripts. It was a plea for the liberty of man—"slave by his birth, neither to man nor to sin," in St. Augustin's words—at a time when the servile principles of Renaissance Cæsarism dominated the Continent of Europe. The new ideas swiftly made their way among the quick witted and oppressed masses of the Irish people who, of course, were quite unable to distinguish between their abstract truth and their false application. In this connection, let us hear Mr. Lecky:

> The elements of revolution were indeed abundantly provided; and two aspects of the French Revolution had a very special significance for Ireland. It claimed as its first principle the abolition of every kind of religious disqualification, and it swept away the whole system of tithes. The triumph of the volunteers in 1782, though it had been used with great moderation, formed a very dangerous precedent of a Legislature overawed or influenced by military force; and the volunteers, though they had dwindled in numbers, and were now generally discountenanced by the better

classes, were still a formidable body. . . . . Towards the close of 1790 the Irish Government sent information to England that a dangerous movement had begun among the volunteers at Belfast. Resolutions had been passed, and papers circulated, advocating the abolition of all tithes, or at least of all tithes paid by Protestant Dissenters and Catholics, as well as a searching reform of Parliament, and of Administration; eulogising the "glorious spirit" shown by the French in "adopting the wise system of Republican Government, and abrogating the enormous power and abused influence of the clergy"; inviting the Protestant Dissenters to support by all their influence the enfranchisement of the Catholics, and to co-operate with the Catholics in advocating parliamentary reform and the abolition of tithes. The volunteers were reminded that whatever constitutional progress Ireland had obtained had been due to them, and they were urged to make every effort at once to fill their ranks. In July 1791, the anniversary of the French Revolution was celebrated at Belfast with great enthusiasm. All the volunteers of the neighbourhood attended. An address, drawn up in a strain of the most fulsome admiration, was sent to France. Democratic toasts were drunk, and speeches made eulogising Paine, Washington, and the French Revolution, and demanding an equal representation in Parliament, and the abolition of the remaining Popery laws. A resolution was shortly after drawn up by the first volunteer company, in favour of the abolition of religious disqualifications, and it was responded to by an address of thanks from some Catholic bodies. This was said to have been the first considerable sign of that union of the Presbyterians and Catholics which led to the formation of the United Irish Society (vol. vi. p. 461).

It was in 1791 that the Society of United Irishmen was started at Belfast by Wolfe Tone: its original object being the perfectly legitimate one of forming a political union of Catholics and Protestants for the purpose of obtaining a liberal measure of Parliamentary reform.

It consisted of thirty-six original members, and was intended to aim at "an equal representation of all the people of Ireland." It adopted as its first principles three resolutions asserting "that the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce; that the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament, and that no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion" (vol. vi. p. 465).

But although these were the professed objects of the Society, the views of its *founder, Wolfe Tone*, went far beyond them:

My unalterable opinion, he wrote in 1791, " s that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England. I believe that influence will ever be extended while the connection between the countries continues. Nevertheless, as I know that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions; I have only proposed to set up a reformed Parliament as a barrier against that mischief, which every honest man that will open his eyes must see in every instance overbears the interest of Ireland. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion that such an event would be a regeneration to this country " (vol. vi. p. 467).

Over against Wolfe Tone must be set Grattan, the champion of Constitutional reform.

Grattan was quite as earnest as Tone in advocating the enfranchisement of the Catholics and the reform of Parliament. He was quite as fully convinced that it should be the supreme end of every Irish patriot gradually to blend into a single body the descendants of the conquerors and of the conquered. But in every period of his career he maintained the necessity of the connection with England, and in times of danger and of war there was scarcely any sacrifice he was not prepared to make to support imperial interests. He had nothing of the French and cosmopolitan sympathies of the English Whigs, and he always made it a vital principle of his Irish policy to discourage all hostility towards England. The spirit of the United Irishmen was from the beginning wholly different. They believed, in opposition to Grattan, that it was possible for Ireland to subsist and flourish as a separate State, and their attitude towards Great Britain, when it was not one of disaffection and hostility, was at least one of alienation and indifference.

Grattan's theory of Parliamentary reform, again, was essentially a Whig one. He looked with undisguised abhorrence on the subversive and levelling theory of Government which the French Revolution had introduced into the world; that " Gallic " plant as he picturesquely describes it, " whose fruit is death, though it is not the tree of knowledge." He always believed that a country with social and religious divisions, and antecedents of property such as exist in Ireland, is totally unfit for democracy, and he clearly saw that to govern Ireland on democratic principles would lead to political ruin. Although he strenuously maintained that religious belief should not form the line of political division or exclusion, he was in one sense a strong advocate for Protestant ascendency. At every period of his life, he contended that Ireland could only be well governed when its political system was so organised that the direction and control of the country was in the hands of Irish property and Irish intelligence. He declared that, bad as was the existing state of Irish representation, he would prefer it to the system of personal and individual representation advocated by the United *Irishmen, which* would " destroy the influence of landed property,"

and thus give up the vital and fundamental articles of the British Constitution; and he proceeded to predict with a terrible distinctness what an Irish Parliament would be, if it were disconnected from the property of the country. "This plan of personal representation," he said, "from a revolution of power would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion. For if you transfer the power of the State to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property. . . . . Of such a representation the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery, murder" (vol. vi. p. 468).

Such were the two types of policy dividing the minds of Irishmen bent on Reform. In 1793 an effort was made in the Irish Parliament to settle the Catholic question on the lines advocated by Grattan, and Mr. Lecky is of opinion that, if this effort had been successful, the whole subsequent history of Ireland would probably have been changed. "The Rebellion of 1798 would almost certainly never have taken place, or have been confined to an insignificant disturbance in the North, and the social and political convulsions which were produced by the agitations of the present century might have been wholly, or in a great measure averted." The measure which was passed in 1793 bestowed the electoral franchise upon Catholics, but withheld from them the power of sitting in Parliament. In 1795 an effort was made to supplement and complete this instalment of justice by Lord Fitzwilliam, certainly one of the ablest and most enlightened rulers that Ireland has ever had. It was his wise design to grant Catholics emancipation, accompanied by commutation of tithes and moderate Parliamentary reform; and well worthy of being recalled after the lapse of nearly a century are his noble words in which he vindicated this policy. "It is," he wrote to the Duke of Portland on the 10th of February 1795, "upon the large principle of leaving not a point of distinction between Protestants and Catholics, that I propose, as I do, that no reserve be made, not even of the highest offices of the State, not even the seals, nor the bench. To make the reserve would be to leave a bone of contention. It would be leaving a splinter in the wound that would, to a certainty, sooner or later, break out again. It would mar the great object of laying the question to rest for ever." Burke, who knew more of Irish politics than any English statesman, strongly took the same view as Lord Fitzwilliam, and fully discerned the transcendent importance of the opportunity which the Viceroy was eager to embrace. "Ireland," he said, "will be a strong digue to keep out Jacobinism, or a broken bank to let it in. There is a set of *men in Ireland* who, by their innumerable con-

ruptions, frauds, oppressions, and follies are opening a back-door for Jacobinism to rush in. As surely as you and I exist, so surely will this be the consequence of their persisting in their system." Prophetic words indeed, upon which subsequent events cast a lurid light. The wise policy of Lord Fitzwilliam was put aside, chiefly through the intrigues of that set of men whom Burke so vehemently denounced: the nest of place-holders and place-hunters, whose stronghold was Dublin Castle. Lord Fitzwilliam had determined to clean that Augean stable, and one of his first acts had been to dismiss John Beresford, the Commissioner of Revenue, whose dependents or connections, it was said, held a fourth of all the places in the island. The Herculean task was beyond his powers. The Beresford influence proved too much for him.* That influence was strongly exerted against the concession of justice to Irish Catholics. And the English Ministers, "with the normal ignorance of their class," Mr. Lecky pungently observes, appear to have supposed that the Catholic question might be indefinitely postponed. The King was uncompromisingly hostile to Catholic emancipation, his conscience having been touched by an argument, due apparently to Fitzgibbon, that to assent to it would be to violate his coronation oath. To brave that hostility at a time when England was engaged in a life and death struggle with Jacobinism, no doubt appeared to Mr. Pitt extremely impolitic. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the project for Legislative Union with Ireland—to which the reform of the Irish Parliament would undoubtedly have been an obstacle—was already engaging the Premier's thoughts. The golden opportunity was lost: Fitzwilliam was recalled, and sailed for England on the 25th March, 1795, amid signs of universal mourning. From that time the spirit of sullen and violent disloyalty overspread the land, "creeping," in the words of Grattan, "like the mist at the heels of the countryman."

It appears to me not easy to overrate the disastrous importance of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. It meant the abandonment of the policy—so strongly urged by Burke upon Pitt and the English nation—of bringing the Catholic Church into alliance with themselves against the Revolutionary movement, which had by that time shown itself as avowedly hostile to the Christian religion as to Constitutional monarchy. Burke discerned in the Catholic Church a vast conservative force; a bulwark of civil order and rational freedom. And with all the intensity of his ardent nature he pleaded for the restoration of Irish Catholics to their political rights as a great act of justice, which would rivet their

* "Had Mr. Beresford never been dismissed," Lord Fitzwilliam wrote, "I should have remained," Lecky, vol. vii. p. 81.

affections to the anti-Revolutionary cause and to the British Crown. The Irish Catholic Bishops, and the leading Irish Catholic peers and country gentlemen, entered heartily into his views. Under their guidance Catholic Ireland would very probably have weathered the Revolutionary storm. So it seems to me, from the ample materials available for forming a judgment nearly a century after the event. So it seemed to the most competent observers then. Dr. Hussey, whom Mr. Lecky accounts "the ablest English speaking Catholic Bishop of the time," solemnly declared, that the question of the Emancipation involved another very awful one—whether the Cabinet meant to retain Ireland, or to abdicate it to a French Government, or a revolutionary system of its own. And Lord Charlemont, whose opinion is entitled to the more weight, because he had previously opposed the concession of political power to Catholics, pronounced that, in the existing state of Ireland, to recall Lord Fitzwilliam was utterly ruinous, and predicted that by the next Christmas the mass of the people would be in the hands of the United Irishmen. But let us, on this subject, listen to the well considered words of Mr. Lecky :—

> Great classes who were as yet very slightly disaffected, now passed rapidly into Republicanism; and Catholic opinion, which had been raised to the highest point of excited hope, experienced a complete, a sudden, and a most dangerous revulsion. The recall of Fitzwilliam may be justly regarded as a fatal turning point in Irish history. For at least fifteen years before it occurred, the country, in spite of many abuses and disturbances, had been steadily and incontestably improving. Religious animosities appeared to have almost died away. Material prosperity was advancing with an unprecedented rapidity. The Constitution in many important respects had been ameliorated, and the lines of religious disabilities were fast disappearing from the statute book. The contagion of the French Revolution had produced dangerous organisations in the North, and a vague restlessness through the other provinces; but up to this time it does not appear to have seriously affected the great body of the Catholics, and Burke was probably warranted when, in estimating the advantages which England possessed in her struggle with France, he gave a prominent place to the loyalty, the power, and the opulence of Ireland. With the removal of the few remaining disabilities, a settlement of tithes, and a moderate reform of Parliament, it seemed still probable that Ireland, under the guidance of her resident gentry, might have contributed at least as much as Scotland to the prosperity of the Empire. But from the day when Pitt recalled Lord Fitzwilliam, the course of her history was changed. Intense and growing hatred of England, revived religious and class animosities, a savage rebellion savagely repressed, a *legislative union prematurely* and corruptly carried, mark the

closing years of the eighteenth century, and after ninety years of direct British government, the condition of Ireland is universally recognised as the chief scandal and the chief weakness of the Empire (vol. vii. p. 98).

In fact, the effect of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the disallowance of his just and healing measures, was to impress upon the popular movement in Ireland a Jacobinical character, which has clung to it unto this day. Burke's keen eyes at once detected the fatal symptoms; and in a letter written to Dr. Hussey on May 18, 1795—less than two months after Lord Fitzwilliam's departure—he dwelt upon the madness and weakness of those Irish Catholics

> . . . . who ally themselves with a power which is the inveterate enemy of all religions, but especially of Catholicism, and he warned the Catholic leaders that some of their members were entering on a course which would deprive them of their oldest and most trusted allies. "Catholics, as things now stand," he added, "have all the splendid abilities, and much of the independent property, in Parliament, in their favour, and every Protestant (I believe, with very few exceptions), who is really a Christian. Should they alienate these men from their cause, their choice is amongst those who indeed may have ability, but not wisdom or temper in proportion, and whose very ability is not equal, either in strength or exercise, to that which they lose. They will have to choose men of desperate property, or of no property, and men of no religious and no moral principle." *

Lord Charlemont's prediction was too amply verified, and the Irish movement passed at once under the direction of the Society of United Irishmen—refounded in 1794 upon a new and distinctly treasonable basis—and issued in the bloody and abortive rebellion of 1798. Abortive I mean, so far as the result which its authors contemplated; but pregnant with the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Up to the outbreak of rebellion, there was no party in Ireland which desired such a measure, no party which would even tolerate its proposal. And, as we all know, the belief that the English Government deliberately planned and fomented the rebellion as a means of carrying it, sank deep into the Irish mind. Even O'Connell explained upon this hypothesis the whole of the Fitzwilliam episode. Mr. Lecky justly remarks: "Such an accusation will appear to most readers too wildly extravagant to require a lengthened explanation. Very few Englishmen will believe that Pitt was capable either of the extreme wickedness of deliberately kindling a great rebellion for the purpose of carrying his favourite measure, or of the extreme folly of

* Vol. vii. p. 133.

doing this at a time when all the resources of England were strained to the utmost in a desperate and most doubtful contest with the mighty power of Napoleon." But he continues, with his accustomed candour: . . . . "Fluctuating and unskilful policy has often the effects of calculated malevolence, and the mistakes of the Government, both in England and Ireland, undoubtedly contributed very largely to the hideous scenes of social and political anarchy, to the religious hatreds and religious panics, which alone rendered possible the Legislative Union. Nor can it, I think, be denied that it is in a high degree probable that a desire to carry a Legislative Union had a considerable influence in dictating the policy which in fact produced the rebellion, and that there were politicians who were prepared to pursue that policy even at the risk of a rebellion, and who were eager to make use of the rebellion, when it broke out, for the purpose of accomplishing their design." *

The story of the Legislative Union with Ireland has been often told. I have no intention of telling it again here. But there is one circumstance in connection with it which, very generally, has been altogether overlooked, or but slightly noticed. And that is the large degree in which the passing of the measure was due to Catholics. Unquestionably, the great preponderance of Protestant feeling was against it. Nay, more, there was a very sullen and resentful spirit among Protestants when the intention of proposing it was announced, and had war not been raging, and an invasion probable, their opposition would probably have defeated it. Grattan was most strenuous in his resistance to the measure, on the ground that it would take the government of the country out of the hands of the resident gentry, shatter or seriously weaken the authority of property and education, and thus throw the political guidance of the nation into the hands of demagogues and charlatans. "Ireland," he predicted, "will one day avenge herself for the loss of her Parliament and Constitution, by sending into the English Parliament a hundred of the greatest scoundrels in the kingdom." †

But the Catholic bishops appear to have been unanimous in favour of the Union, and in the recess of 1799 they exerted themselves strenously, persistently, and, on the whole, successfully, in supporting it. In July the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel wrote to Archbishop Troy, expressing his decided good wishes for the measure, and promising to exert his influence "discreetly" in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford to procure the signatures of respectable Catholics to an address in its favour. In the course of the summer Lord Cornwallis received strong declarations in favour

* *Vol. viii. p. 285.* † Vol. vi. p. 470.

of the Union from bodies of Catholics in both Waterford and Kilkenny, and he wrote that, as the clergy of that Church, particularly the superiors, countenance the measure, it is likely to extend itself. Archbishop Troy was indefatigable in procuring signatures to addresses, and in urging his brother prelates to depart from the neutrality which they appear at first to have desired to maintain. Dr. Moylan, the Bishop of Cork, was in the close confidence of the Government, and he spent some days with the Duke of Portland at Bulstrode. "Nothing, in my opinion," he wrote in September, "will more effectually tend to lay those disgraceful and scandalous party feuds and dissensions, and restore peace and harmony amongst us, than the great measure in contemplation, of the legislative union, and incorporation of this kingdom with Great Britain. I am happy to tell you it is working its way, and daily gaining ground on the public opinion. Several counties which appeared most averse to it have now declared for it, and I have no doubt but, with the blessing of God, it will be effected. . . . . The Roman Catholics in general are avowedly for the measure. In the South, where they are the most numerous, they have declared in its favour, and I am sure they will do the same in the other parts of the kingdom, unless overawed (as I know they are in some counties) by the dread of the powerful faction that opposes it." He believed that all "seeds of disaffection" would be removed, if the religious disabilities were repealed at, or immediately after, the Union, and if, in addition to the provision which was intended for the Catholic clergy, measures were taken to abolish the gross abuses which existed in the collection of tithes (vol. viii., p. 422).

It is noteworthy that in the humane and sagacious mind of Lord Cornwallis the advantages which Catholics were likely to derive from the Union occupied a large place.

He was convinced that without an Union Ireland would not long be a part of the Empire; but he was convinced also that it could enjoy no internal peace or permanent content unless the Government of the country was taken out of the hands of the men who had triumphed in the civil war. As we have already seen, he had been long since convinced that Catholic emancipation was the only solution of Irish troubles. . . . . He believed that the existing system of government had hopelessly broken down, and that the very first condition of security, prosperity, and civilisation was to place the government of Ireland in the hands of an impartial and unimpassioned Legislature. Very reluctantly he yielded to the representations of the English Ministers, that it was impossible to carry Catholic emancipation concurrently with the Union, but he hoped that this measure would speedily follow, and he anticipated the best results from taking the government of the country out of the hands of a loyalist class, who were now deeply tinged with Orange passions. The Union, in his eyes, was carried against this class, for the benefit of the Catholics, with their approval, and in a large measure by their assistance (vol. viii., p. 435).

Unquestionable is it that the Union was carried because the great Catholic body in Ireland did not throw their weight into the movement against it. The Catholics, wrote Lord Cornwallis, certainly had it in their power to frustrate the views of the Government and to throw the country into the wildest confusion. And as certainly their policy was dictated by their confidence in the intention of the English Government to abolish their political disabilities, to commute tithes, and to make a pecuniary provision for their clergy, as soon as the Union was accomplished.* An absolute pledge may not have been given them. But no reasonable doubt can exist that they were deliberately led to believe in this intention of the English Cabinet, and were thereby restrained from throwing themselves heartily and as a body into the anti-Unionist movement in the spring of 1800, and that the Union was carried in consequence.

It is well known how their hopes were disappointed, and the story is both a melancholy and a shameful one. Though the Catholic leaders probably knew that they had to encounter an indisposition on the part of the king, they did not know that he had already told his Ministers that he would consider his consent to Catholic emancipation a breach of his coronation oath, and that, on the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, he had expressly written to Pitt, "Lord Cornwallis must clearly understand that no indulgence can be granted to the Catholics farther than has been, I am afraid unadvisably, done in former sessions." They did not know that the overtures that had been made to them were made entirely without the knowledge of the King, without any attempt to sound his disposition or to mitigate his hostility, without any resolution on the part of Pitt to make Catholic emancipation an indispensable condition of his continuing in office, without even any real unanimity in the Cabinet" (vol. viii., p. 508).

Pitt resigned office when George III. peremptorily refused to sanction the three great concessions which he proposed to make to Catholics, and declared that his resignation was based "on the unalterable sense of the line which public duty required of him." Dundas, Grenville, Windham, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh took the same course, and Pitt defended himself and them in Parliament on the ground that he and his colleagues deemed it equally "inconsistent with their duty and their honour to continue in office when they were not allowed to propose with the

* Pitt had originally intended to make these measures of conciliation to Catholics an integral portion of the Union, but had been dissuaded from doing so by Fitzgibbon, who visited him at Holwood in October 1798, with the double object of confirming his opinion in favour of the Union, and of convincing *him that it must be unaccompanied with emancipation. This double object was only too successfully* accomplished.

authority of Government a measure which they deemed the proper sequel of the Union."

Not until more than a quarter of a century later were Catholic Emancipation and the commutation of the tithes conceded; and then, in the changed circumstances of the time, the concessions had lost well-nigh all their efficacy to heal and to unite. A pecuniary provision for the Catholic clergy of Ireland has never been so much as seriously proposed, although the most considerable English statesmen, of every party, have been agreed as to its justice and expediency.

History, according to the hackneyed dictum, is ever repeating itself. The effect of the rejection of Pitt's healing measures in 1800 was similar to the effect of the rejection of Lord Fitzwilliam's healing measures five years before. Little as Fitzgibbon, and the half-mad king who became the instrument of his policy, intended it, they were, in Burke's words, "opening a back door for Jacobinism to rush in." What, viewed as a whole, is the history of the Irish movement during the present century, but a history of the ever increasing advance of Jacobinism? The very essence of Jacobinism is the doctrine of the sovereignty of the individual, which means this, that all the adult males of a country —"citizens" they are somewhat oddly called—are politically equivalent; that a majority of them are the only legitimate rulers of the country; and that the will of that majority, expressed through their delegates, is the sole source and fount of all powers, of all rights. It is not, unfortunately, only in Ireland that this absurd and anarchical dogma has made way. But in Ireland its working has been peculiarly disastrous; how disastrous Mr. Lecky has shown in some masterly pages, which I am unfortunately obliged to abridge:

The end of every rational system of representation is to reflect, in their due proportion and subordination, the different forms of opinion and energy existing in the community, giving an especial weight and strength to those which can contribute most to the wise guidance and the real well-being of the State. In the representation of the British Empire, the part which is incontestably the most diseased has the greatest proportionate strength, while the soundest elements in Irish life are those which are least represented. About a third part of the Irish people are fervently attached to the Union, and they comprise the great bulk of the property and higher education of the country; the large majority of those who take any leading part in social, industrial, or philanthropic enterprise; the most peaceful, law-abiding, and industrious classes in the community; nearly every man who is sincerely attached to the British Empire. In three provinces such men are so completely outvoted by great masses of agricultural peasants that they are virtually disfranchised; while in the whole island this minority of about a third

commands only a sixth part of the representation. A state of representation so manifestly calculated to give an abnormal strength to the most unhealthy and dangerous elements in the kingdom is scarcely less absurd, and it is certainly more pernicious, than that which Grattan and Flood denounced. To place the conduct of affairs in the hands of loyal, trustworthy, and competent men, is not the sole, but it is by far the most important end of politics. No greater calamity can befal a nation than to be mainly represented and directed by conspirators, adventurers, or professional agitators, and no more severe condemnation can be passed upon a political system than that it leads naturally to such a result. We have seen how clearly Grattan foresaw that this might one day be the fate of Ireland.

It was under these conditions or circumstances that the great political movement arose which forms the central fact of the modern history of Ireland. The Fenian conspiracy, which sprang up in America, but which had also roots in every large Irish town, was not directed to a mere repeal of the Union; it aimed openly and avowedly at a separation and a republic, and it differed chiefly from the Young Ireland movement in the far less scrupulous characters of its leaders, and in its intimate connection with atrocious forms of outrage directed against the lives and properties of unoffending Englishmen. Growing up chiefly in the comparatively prosperous population beyond the Atlantic, being skilfully organised, and appealing for contributions to a wide area of often very honest credulity, it obtained command of large financial resources, but its leaders soon found that unassisted Fenianism could find no serious response among the great mass of the Irish people. Like the Young Ireland movement, its supporters were almost exclusively in the towns. In the country districts it was received with almost complete apathy. The outbreaks it attempted proved even more insignificant than that of 1848, and altogether contemptible when compared with the great insurrection of the eighteenth century. In spite of the impulse given to the conspiracy when the author of the Act for Disestablishing the Irish Church publicly ascribed the success of that measure mainly to a murderous Fenian outrage, it is not probable that Fenianism would have had much permanent importance if it had not taken a new character, and allied itself with a great agrarian movement. . . . . The keynote of the alliance is to be found in the writings of Lalor, one of the least known, but certainly not one of the least important of the seditious writers of 1848. He thought that a national movement in Ireland would never succeed unless it were united with a movement for expelling all loyal owners from the soil. "The reconquest of our liberties," he wrote, "would be incomplete and worthless without the reconquest of our lands, and could not on its own means be possibly achieved; while the reconquest of our land would involve the other, and could possibly, if not easily, be achieved. . . . I selected as the *mode of* reconquest to refuse payment of rent *and resist process of ejectment*. Our means, whether of moral

agitation, military force, or moral insurrection, are impotent against the English Government, which is beyond their reach; but resistless against the English garrison who stand here, scattered and isolated, girdled round by a mighty people. The land question contains, and the legislative question does not contain, the materials from which victory is manufactured. You can never count again on the support of the country peasantry in any shape or degree on the question of repeal. Their interest in it was never ardent, nor was it native and spontaneous, but forced and factitious. In Ireland, unluckily, there is no direct and general State tax, payment of which might be refused and resisted. Rent is the one impost which can be so resisted; a struggle against it is the one means of enlisting the great mass of the farming classes in the army of sedition, and kindling in them a strain of genuine passion. There is but one way alone, and that is to link repeal to some other question, like a railway carriage to the engine, some question possessing the intrinsic strength which repeal wants, and strong enough to carry both itself and repeal together, and such a question there is in the land. . . . . Repeal had always to be dragged. There is a wolf-dog at this moment in every cabin throughout the land, nearly fit to be untied, and he will be savager by-and-by. For repeal, indeed, he will never bite, but only bay; but there is *another* matter to settle between us and England. The absolute ownership of the lands of Ireland is vested of right in the people of Ireland. . . . . All titles to land are invalid not conferred or confirmed by them." It was on these lines that a great agrarian organisation was created, and connected with, and largely paid by, the Fenian conspirators, and intended to accomplish the double task of drawing into sedition, by appeals to self-interest, multitudes who were indifferent to its political aspects, and of breaking down the influence and authority of the class who were the most powerful supporters of the Union and the connection. A period of severe agricultural depression, some real abuses, and much modern English legislation assisted it, and the conspiracy soon succeeded in establishing, over a great part of Ireland, what has been truly termed an "elaborate and all-pervading tyranny," accompanied by perhaps as much mean and savage cruelty, and supported by as much shameless and deliberate lying, as any movement of the nineteenth century. It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which it has demoralised the Irish people, and destroyed their capacity for self-government, by making cupidity the main motive of political action, and by diffusing the belief that outrage, and violence and dishonest and tyrannical combinations against property, contracts, and individual liberty, are the natural means of attaining political ends. A Parliamentary representation, subsidised by the same men who paid agrarian conspiracy and dynamite outrages, supported it; and the Fenian leaders, without abandoning any of their ulterior objects, consented, after a short period of hesitation, to make the attainment of an Irish Parliament their proximate end, under the persuasion

that, in the existing state of Ireland, the establishment of such a Parliament would be in effect to confer legislative powers on the National League, and that it would furnish the conspiracy with an immensely improved vantage ground or leverage for working out its ultimate designs. In this manner the old social type, over a large part of the kingdom, has been broken up, and ninety years after the Union the great majority of the Irish members are leagued together for its overthrow (vol. viii. p. 542).

Such is the issue for which England has to thank her own persistent refusal of justice to Catholic Ireland, until it was too late. Who, that has eyes to see, can look upon the spectacle and doubt that the moral law rules in history, supreme over nations as over the individuals of whom nations are composed; no more to be violated by nations than by individuals without incurring that chastisement which is "the other half of crime?" Yes; there is a temporal debt of punishment for nations as for individuals—a debt that must be paid. Has not the reckoning already begun for England? And who can tell where it will end?

Stern and imperial Nemesis!
  Daughter of Justice, most severe,
Thou art the world's great arbitress,
  And queen of causes reigning here,
  Whose swift, sure hand is ever near.

W. S. Lilly.

Art. VII.—ENGLISH CATHOLICS AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

"EVERY year it is more manifest that we need to have more knowledge, and to get it soon, in order to escape, on the one hand, from the cruelty and waste of irresponsible competition, and the licentious use of wealth; and, on the other hand, from the tyranny and the spiritual death of an iron-bound Socialism."

With these words, Professor Alfred Marshall, the President of the Economic Section of the British Association, concluded in September last his inaugural address, thereby making with praiseworthy frankness a remarkable admission. For the leading professor of Political Economy in England ought to possess, if any one possessed it, the knowledge of principles and facts enabling him to point out plainly and decidedly the way of escape from that alarming Scylla on the one hand and Charybdis on the other. What else is Political Economy for? it may well be asked; and asked also whether all the oracles are dumb? Cannot Ricardo help us, or Malthus, or John Stuart Mill? What has become of that imposing body of doctrine they taught so confidently? Or were those right, after all, who said that half of this doctrine was mere verbiage, and most of the remainder in contradiction with the elementary principles of Christian morals? Professor Marshall, indeed, does not say this; and in the large and able work he has lately published, burns a remarkable quantity of incense before the shrines of the old economic gods. But they are dumb for all his incense, and leave him searching in hot haste for a confutation of the Socialists, searching even now about the very elements of Political Economy, though Adam Smith has been dead and buried more than a century. Clearly something is wrong somewhere in our science.

There is, indeed, something very wrong; but this something is to the enlightened no mystery, is not a strange malady, but one well known and intelligible. For let us remember, putting aside unseasonable modesty, that in all ethical sciences those who are well instructed in Christian doctrine are the enlightened, whereas those who lack the opportunity or the will to follow the Christian system of ethics, are in comparative darkness; nor will the greatest mental gifts, even the trancendent genius of Plato or Aristotle, prevent them from falling into the most degrading errors. Now Political Economy, or, to use a better phrase, *Economic Science*, is an ethical science or branch of morals; and

hence there is nothing to surprise us in endless confusion and darkness outside the city of light, and in economic doctrines, like the Malthusian doctrine of wages and population, as horrible and humiliating as the Platonic defence of infanticide and the Aristotelian of slavery; or in doctrines like those of the Socialists which threaten to bring us in no long distant time to civil war. And though most of these errors can indeed formally be confuted by the teachings of natural law, practically they can only be confuted by Christianity. For those who will not hearken to the clear and precise teaching of the Christian Church, will not hear the low and indistinct sounds of the Natural Law. Indeed, the fashion among them just now is to deny that there is any such thing as a Natural Law at all. But the truth is not less the truth because they shut their eyes and ears to it, and our business is to proclaim from the housetops, now that the social question is so dangerous, that the danger can only be averted by Christian homes, Christian schools, Christian workshops, and the Christian State. As Bishop Mermillod wrote to the Social Congress at Liège: "The terrible problem of social discord can only be solved by all our institutions being vivified by the Catholic spirit." And the Socialists are not unaware of their true foe; one of their greatest men in Germany has proclaimed that Catholicism is their most irreconcilable enemy.

But although a true system of economic as well as political science is implicitly contained in Catholic theology, this is not the same as an explicit body of doctrine, with all the consequences worked out in view of the special circumstances of the time. And so great has been the change of circumstances in the last hundred years, changes in the technical methods of work, and changes in the moral relations of masters and workmen, that the consequences and practical applications of Christian ethics require to be studied and set out afresh. This process, under the guidance and with the encouragement of the Holy See, is being rapidly accomplished, and there appears every prospect that in a few years all centres of Catholic teaching throughout the world will be in substantial agreement on the main practical problems of economic science. Such agreement is much promoted by meetings like the International Social Congress held at Liège last September. The very diversity of opinion which was manifested and the lively debates that ensued, only made plain the benefit of discussion and inquiry where the debaters are agreed on first principles. For the disagreement is only on the surface and tends to disappear; being due to one of four causes—either because, living in a vitiated intellectual atmosphere, Catholics have adopted the conclusions of those around them without seeing that they *rest on a false* principle; or have adopted a

false principle without seeing the consequences that follow; or thirdly, are suffering from the verbal confusion of our age, and while their meaning is right, they use words that sound wrong; or lastly, are misinformed on the circumstances of particular times and countries, and, being furnished with a wrong diagnosis, naturally make a wrong estimate of the disease. It is to be hoped that much has been done towards the removal of these grounds of difference by the brilliant Congress of Liège, in which the Catholics of England took so conspicuous a part. And I propose to comment on some of the resolutions of the Congress, and draw a moral for our conduct at home. These resolutions, indeed, as no Catholic requires telling, are no official pronouncements of the Church claiming either assent or obedience. They are liable to error and open to criticism; and, in fact, there is a Catholic Economic School in France, to which I will presently refer, that is not in harmony with several of them. Still, what has been approved by the great majority of an assembly where the episcopate, clergy and religious orders were so strongly represented, and nations under such different circumstances and governments as England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, is very unlikely to be a mistake; and the opposition of any considerable body of Catholics will probably be found after a little further friendly discussion to be an opposition not to things, but only to words.

A certain number of the resolutions of the Liège Congress cover much the same ground as the recommendations of the International Labour Conference held at Berlin in the previous March; and are substantially the recommendation that the actual laws and practice of England relating to the hours of work of women and children in mines, factories, and workshops, and the observance of the Sunday rest and Saturday half-holiday be extended to other countries. But let us by no means think that here, at least, there is nothing for English Catholics to do. For there are three departments in which, if we are to act as this Congress bids us act, there is plenty of work for us touching the protection of women and children. First, among the factory population the absurd and cruel system prevails of little children of ten rising at five o'clock, working six hours in the factories, and then working at school in the afternoon, and at high pressure for fear of the examiners; and in the mines of Northumberland and Durham, where the men work for less than eight hours a day (quite enough for such hard, damp, dark work), the boys have to work over ten hours. Catholics in England should not leave it to others to denounce these abuses, but should be united in demanding an instant reformation, and some provision also to carry out the Liège *resolution that* women after childbirth should not be admitted to

factory work till after an interval of at least six weeks. And this pending the happier times when married women shall be restored permanently to their homes, and not work in factories at all. Then, secondly, we should be all united in demanding the immediate extension of our beneficent Factory and Workshop Acts to all the so-called "sweated" industries; and, thirdly, their extension to all countries under our sway, notably and immediately to British India. For in India at this moment the horrible cruelties practised on women and children that once disgraced our own land, and the interested sophistries by which these cruelties were defended, are being repeated, and the new Factory Act proposed by the Indian authorities is not a relief but a mockery. Here is a plain case for English Catholics not to wait for an Indian Lord Shaftesbury to arise, but themselves to take the lead and persevere in the demand that at least the recommendations of the Berlin Conference be applied to our helpless and unrepresented fellow-subjects in India.

This brings us to another head of the Liège resolutions, on international labour agreements primarily for the protection of women and children. Not long ago such agreements might well have been thought, even by well-informed Catholics, to be needless or illusory; but now, with the growing dangers and international character of the labour question, with the experience of the Berlin Conference, and with the views of the Holy See before us, few would hesitate to assent to the three following propositions:

To secure adequate legal protection for women and children, international concert seems indispensable, in the form of an Agreement (*convention*), or at least of a periodical Conference.

This international concert, moreover, is to be considered urgent, so as to avert social danger.

It is desirable that all Catholics strive in every way to teach the absolute necessity of the arbitration of the Holy See on the international regulation of labour.

The plea in favour of oppressing, overworking, underpaying women, children, and even men, that it cannot be helped because of foreign competition, is a bad plea at any time; but with international agreement it will cease to be even a specious plea.

Let us turn to two other heads of resolutions—those on vagrants and on prisoners, whose wretched treatment in our own land is well known to those that are not content to be misled by the bland phrases of official optimism, and to whose condition General Booth has recently forced attention by his lively pictures and suggestions in "Darkest England." The condition of vagrants, indeed, in Belgium, France, or Germany, or again in America, is not the same as in England, nor the method of dealing with them the same. Still, the following resolutions which the Congress passed

for the *dépôts de mendicité* (houses of correction for beggars and vagabonds) might with advantage be applied to the workhouses and casual wards of this island.

Dépôts de mendicité should be gradually abolished. At any rate, they should only be used for those tramps who are both adults, able-bodied, and second offenders, or who refuse to give up a life of vagrancy.

If the dépôts are kept up even to a limited extent, they must be reformed as follows: (*a*) complete separation at night between those detained; (*b*) classification and no habitual contact between the different groups; (*c*) supervision aiming at the amendment of those detained, and at preventing the spread of vice; (*d*) compulsory labour and detention long enough to enable habits of labour to be taught, and a substantial sum to be earned by the time of release; (*e*) primary instruction, full of the religious spirit, to be well organised [for the inmates], and religious influence over them to be strengthened; (*f*) the inmates on their release to be helped by Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.

Let the Catholics of England be united in demanding poor-law reform; united also in demanding prison reform. Listen to the following passage from General Booth's work:—

Our prison system has practically missed aiming at that which should be the first essential of every system of punishment. It is not reformatory; it is not worked as if it were intended to be reformatory. It is punitive, and only punitive. The whole administration needs to be reformed from top to bottom, in accordance with this fundamental principle—viz., that while every prisoner should be subjected to that measure of punishmeut which shall mark a due sense of his crime both to himself and society, the main object should be to rouse in his mind the desire to lead an honest life, and to effect that change in his disposition and character which will send him forth to put that desire into practice. At present every prison is more or less a training school for crime, an introduction to the society of criminals, the petrifaction of any lingering human feeling, and a very Bastille of despair. The prison brand is stamped upon those who go in, and that so deeply, that it seems as if it clung to them for life. To enter prison once means, in many cases, an almost certain return there at an early date. All this has to be changed, and will be, when once the work of prison reform is taken in hand by men who understand the subject, who believe in the reformation of human nature in every form which its depravity can assume, and who are in full symputhy with the class for whose benefit they labour; and when those charged directly with the care of criminals seek to work out their regeneration in the same spirit ("In Darkest England," pp. 73–4).

This passage, like so many others in that remarkable book, *sets forth* the Catholic view of human nature and society; and

let me take this opportunity of urging the debt of gratitude we owe to General Booth for placing so clearly before a vast audience we could never have hoped to reach the very view we have long exposed or held on the horrible character of the godless prisons, godless workhouses, godless schools, godless homes that disgrace our land; for having so loudly proclaimed that these evils are not incurable, and above all for having so boldly asserted the absolute need of all pervading religious influence, and that it is primarily for the sake of saving the soul that he seeks the salvation of the body. True the reformation he is seeking will never be effected by the Salvation Army, not even in its first fervour and unimpaired organisation. That reformation can only be the work of the Catholic Church and the Christian State; but in preparing the way for the Christian restoration of society according to the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff, no one outside the pale of the Church has done better work than General Booth; and his efficacy may be tested by the violence and bitterness of the attack made upon him by one of the arch-enemies of the Christian name.

But to return to the treatment of prisoners—the following among the various resolutions passed at Liège on their behalf, may be useful for our guidance:

It is desirable that labour be organised in prisons in such a way as to enable each prisoner to continue his trade, or learn one that he can exercise on his release.

To avoid as far as possible any competition between prison labour and free labour, the Government should see that the different departments supplied their wants from Government workshops. [Thus the goods made by prisoners would not be sent to market, but used in different departments of the public service.] Prisoners aid societies should be formed, and allowed free action, only under certain restrictions for the public good. The members should be allowed to visit prisoners long enough before their discharge to know their moral character. . . . . Youthful prisoners and youthful discharged prisoners should receive their special attention. . . . . The emigration of discharged prisoners should be facilitated. The apprenticeship of youthful discharged prisoners to tradesmen or farmers should be organised.

These resolutions on the treatment of prisoners as well as the others already given will hardly meet among ourselves with serious objectors. It may be otherwise with the following, which relate to adult workmen; for long habit has induced many persons to hold as a sort of first principle that any protection or regulation of the labour of adult workmen is wholly different from similar protection or regulation applied to women and children, and is revolutionary or socialistic. In reality the differ-

ence is merely this, that under our present circumstances the conditions justifying the intervention of Government are more likely to be found in the case of women and children than in the case of grown men; but *if* they are found in the case of grown men (I mean habitually and considerably, not as exceptions, for laws are not meant to check mere occasional abuses), then the same reasons that justify any intervention in any case, justify it in this case. When a man's pocket is picked—I am speaking of a full-grown man—or a parcel snatched out of his hand, we do not lecture him on his incompetence and recommend self-help, but the Government does its best to catch and punish the thief. In this case, by the way, I think there is too much equality in the treatment of children and of men, and the law might with advantage be altered, not by absurdly withdrawing the present protection given to grown men against thieves, but by increasing the protection given to children, by ordering corporal punishment for the cruel, cowardly, and common offence (a recognised branch of the thieving trade) of robbing little children. But to return to the protection of grown men in their daily work, I cannot do better than repeat some of the words already given in a previous number of this REVIEW (April 1888), addressed by the Pope to the French pilgrims in October 1887:

> No doubt the intervention and action of these authorities [the central and local governments] are not indispensably necessary, when, in the conditions under which labour is carried on, there is nothing that offends against morality, justice, the dignity of man, and the domestic life of the workmen; but whenever any one of these goods is threatened or compromised, the State authorities, by interposing in a suitable manner and in a just measure, will promote the welfare of society; for it is their business to protect and defend the true interests of their subjects.

And if any one urges the necessity of adults being free and unhampered in making their contracts, or all society would be in a strait jacket, I answer that real freedom is where each man has the least hindrance in performing his duties, that to be able at law to make a contract to do wrong is not an increase of liberty, and that the State intervenes just as much when it enforces a contract as when it forbids one. But perhaps the best method of bringing home to every one the true state of the case is to bid them remember that the family is the foundation of all human society and of every State, that no gain in any other department of life can make up for any serious injury to family life; and that the vast multitude of mankind are not single and solitary individuals, but in the character of children, or husbands, or wives, or parents, are bound by duties of the utmost gravity towards others, and endowed with the rights needful to fulfil

these duties. Hence where the "adult male" is a husband and a father, all contracts and conditions of his labour must be such as not to interfere with his duties as a husband and a father. To use the words of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in his well-known letter to the Congress of Liège, "Le contrat précédent et sacré du mariage s'oppose à tout nouveau contrat d'intérêt qui serait une violation du premier."

It follows with irresistible logic that if the hours of labour or other conditions of work are such that a man cannot fulfil his duties as father or husband, the intervention of Government to prevent this violation of his rights, or this neglect of his duty, is a justifiable intervention. It is much to be desired that such intervention should be unnecessary, but this is not the question. We have to deal with actual not with possible or with ideal men. Again the fit amount and character of such intervention may vary much according to circumstances, and be very small where industry is well organised, and not tossing about on the sea of that irresponsible competition which Professor Marshall deprecates; but this does not touch the principle of intervention.

Having now said enough I hope to bring the reader into a reasonable and docile frame of mind, let us hear some of the resolutions of the Congress of Liège touching the industry of grown men. I have underlined a few passages:

Night work, regularly organised, without necessity, simply to get more out of the machinery, is to be considered an abuse, *even though only men are employed.*

Considering that the State, if it has not the function of regulating directly the conditions of the free activity of man, has the function of putting down abuses which injure either public health or family life, the Congress proclaims that the establishment by an international convention, of *the limit of the working day in factories* which is not to be exceeded, *is desirable.* This limit will vary according to the country and industry.

Although it is to be wished that strikes, always to be regretted, should be stopped at the outset, still the authorities have no right to suppress them by force as long as they do not disturb public order or violate the rights of others.

To avoid the great evils which always accompany strikes, the Government in the order of its competence should watch and see *that labour contracts be really free contracts,* and that employers fulfil towards their workpeople the duties of justice and equity.

Seeing that strikes are due to causes in the moral as well as in the material order, the Government, besides allowing the Church great liberty, should give her effectual protection in all the works by which she strives to effect the moral restoration of human society, so that workmen and masters *may be* animated by the Christian spirit.

Considering *that protective legislation* on Sunday and holiday

rest, on the labour of women and children, on night work, and on the limitation of the working day is not enough to satisfy all the rightful claims of the working classes; that in a well-organised society the workman ought to be able to find the necessary support for himself and his family; that the solution of the wages question is very difficult under present conditions, much less difficult in a society organised in corporations; the Congress recognises the *need of extending without delay the corporative organisation of society.*

The Congress recommends as the typical form of association the trade guild (*corporation professionnelle*) composed of both masters and workpeople. This form of association makes easy institutions for the benefit of the workmen and measures in favour of the trade, and thus is to the interest of both masters and workmen, besides promoting good relations between them. Moreover, it promotes the reform of society by realising as far as circumstances allow the organisation which we wish to see later applied in a more general way.

Such are these notable resolutions, passed, remember, at a Congress held in Belgium, where it has long been held as a sort of political and economic axiom that the intervention of the State should be reduced to a minimum, and that the solution of any labour difficulties was to be wholly accomplished without Government taking part in the process. But now we can fairly say that this brilliant Congress marks the definite abandonment by the Belgian Catholics of that mistaken doctrine into which many of them had been misled by their surroundings, and that they now definitely recognise that the civil power is no hostile and malignant agency, but ordained by God, and an essential factor in any general and lasting social reform. On which view of the matter it will not be out of place to give an Editorial Note from the well-known organ of German Jesuit Fathers, the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*:

The views on the social question always upheld in this magazine, and which we know are those held by our superiors, have lately received to our great joy a new and weighty confirmation in the magnificent Pastoral issued by the last Conference of Bishops at Fulda, in which the following passage among others occurs: "Above all things let this so necessary co-operation of Church and State be strengthened by justice and good feeling; let all that disturbs their harmony be kept far away; let the one-sided notion be excluded once for all, that the Church alone without the State, or the State alone without the Church, should seek to solve the social question; and still less let the notion prevail that this question concerns neither the State nor the Church, but that here we are to leave everything to private action, to the free play of forces, or even to the 'struggle for existence.'"

Let us make these words our own, and apply them to

n country, for example, to the amendment of those two dread-
evils that weigh down millions of our people in degradation
l wretchedness—namely, drink and bad dwellings; and thus
gnise that if the gin-palaces and the slums are to be abolished,
State by itself cannot indeed do the work, but yet without
State the work cannot be done.

But I may be asked why, if all this is so true and has such
thority on its side as well as reasonableness, there can not-
thstanding be found a body of men abounding in intelligence
d good works, and of undoubted loyalty to the faith, who yet
k askance on the State, and refuse to assent to the view that
general prevails through the Catholic world. Such a body
ists in France, and has a special association of its own (the
ciété Catholique d'Economie Politique et Sociale), numbering
ny eminent names among clergy and laity. I answer that
s body of men is really much more in accord than they seem
th their opponents; and, secondly, that the difference, such as
is, can be easily accounted for, and accounted for as follows.

First, it is almost impossible to help reasoning from particular
d familiar instances to general propositions; mankind ought
t to do it, but they do; and thus because in France for some
me past the dregs have got to the top, and a very ignoble
overnment has been the result, French writers are tempted to
ok on this odious caricature as though it were normal and
pical, and to forget the use of the civil power by the constant
ntemplation of its abuse. In reality they ought to repeat the
rds of the one representative of the French episcopate at Liège:
I reject Cesarism, which has only descended upon us to punish
r faults, and to draw us back from our errors; but the misdeeds
the civil power give us no right to forget that this power is
stituted by God, and that the State has received from God the
ission to make justice respected." In a word, the French must
t ban all Governments, but must baptize their own.

Secondly, the absurd worship of everything German that has
evailed for some twenty years past has caused a natural re-
tion; and the real danger of France (and England too) being
vaded by *la statolâtrie allemande* makes good people shrink
m all that seems to savour of State Socialism. In reality the
st method of meeting a great movement is not by indiscri-
inate denunciation, but by appreciating and adopting the good
the movement, and rejecting the bad.

Finally, certain exaggeration of statement and misleading
hrases used by their opponents has acted as a sort of irritant
on the school in question, and induced them to insist with
nfortunate vehemence *on their own* phrases; but as I have
eady indicated, whatever both sides may *say*, they really mean

much the same, as the following notable example may show. The very president of that society I have named, Mgr. Freppel, the Bishop of Angers, in a discourse directed against the intervention of the State, lays down the following principles:

Whensoever in the interest of all, for sanitary reasons and the sake of the public health, the Legislature interposes in the physical conditions of the workshop and the factory; or when it secures for workpeople, with a divine law supporting it, one day of rest in seven, to prevent the destruction of the domestic and social, the religious and moral order, it does not exceed its legitimate functions. On this all Christians are agreed; the measure of intervention may be discussed, but not the principle.

What could we wish plainer or stronger than this declaration? True, Mgr. Freppel soon afterwards denies the right of the Legislature to fix a maximum working day for adult workmen. But we must take him to mean that the Government has no right to interpose in such matters where there is no abuse, and that it is not one of the ordinary and normal functions of the civil power to settle the conditions of industry and the hours of labour. Taken in this sense, there is no real contradiction between Mgr. Freppel and the resolutions of the Liège Congress. For if the law is right in requiring a factory for grown men to be properly ventilated, and the machinery properly fenced in, on the ground of the men's health, then, on precisely the same ground, fourteen or sixteen hours' work may be forbidden. And since long hours of work, as we have already seen, are incompatible with the fulfilment of a grown man's duty as father and husband, precisely the same reasons that justify the prohibition of Sunday work, even for adult males, will justify the prohibition of long hours—namely (using the bishop's own words), to prevent the destruction of the domestic and social, the religious and moral order.

I trust I have now said enough to explain the seeming differences among Catholics touching social questions, and to make evident the propriety of our shaking hands all round, presenting an unbroken front to our common foes, and a clear uniform social doctrine to the vast multitudes who now at last, disquieted by the evident growth of social dangers, and dissatisfied with the contradictions and feebleness of irreligious social science, are willing and eager to hear us. Indeed, a great opportunity is opening before us, and for action as well as teaching. For just as the Christian doctrine on man and society has only to be properly worked out in order to give a social science adequate to our needs, so also the aid of the Catholic clergy has only to be invoked to prove its efficacy in practical mediation. And in these days when masters and workmen in so many countries are coalescing into groups, and fortifying themselves for gigantic conflicts, there is a press-

ing call for impartial mediators, a function that none can fulfil better than the clergy and bishops of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as they are drawn from all classes, represent no class, are interested in all; and thus they are the fitting mediators in labour disputes within each State, while the delicate matter of arranging international agreements on labour legislation, and of arbitrating between different nations, can be brought to a successful issue by the impartial mediation of the Holy See. The diseases of nations are not incurable, and we have good grounds for confidence in the future. True, indeed, that if the leading classes of a nation adopt and apply the principle *le cléricalisme c'est l'ennemi*, then, truly enough, that nation is approaching the edge of a dark abyss of social revolutions. But in England, at least, that mischievous principle seems to be rapidly becoming discredited, and we may well adopt the words and hopes of the eloquent Bishop of Geneva, Mgr. Mermillod, that we have already reached the dawn of a brighter day.

C. S. Devas.

Art. VIII.—THE LINCOLN JUDGMENT; OR CONTINUITY.

The Lincoln judgment has been delivered, and has been received with acclamations of joy by (it would seem) a very large number of the members of the Church of England. The Bishop of Lincoln himself has accepted its rulings, and in one point even "concurs in His Grace's interpretation" of the Rubric. Such an eminent and influential "Churchman" as Lord Halifax hails it as affording a "prospect of peace." The *Guardian* welcomes it on the same ground, and even the *Church Times* follows suit. The *Church Review* is prepared to fall back on the Archbishop's judgment, if the Privy Council should reverse it. No protest against it has appeared from the High Church quarter. The *Times* is satisfied with it, remarking that the Ritualists have had the shell given to them without the kernel; and the *Standard* is almost in raptures with the ingenuity with which the Archbishop has managed to steer clear of any irritating deliverance, and the wisdom which prompted His Grace to speak of the "continuity of the Church." The *Daily Telegraph* applauds His Grace for his judicial impartiality, and for his seasonable reminder that the points in dispute are, after all, "minute questionings," *which it would be* well to avoid in the future.

Altogether the chorus of applause with which the judgment has met seems to have so inspirited the Archbishop that he has published in the *Times* a pastoral to his clergy, in which he reassures all who may have fears about any Romeward tendencies, that the Ancient Church of England is "with" him, and that considering the "independence" of authority which is allowed to the clergy, and the fact that they can become "fathers of families," the "New Italian Mission," as he calls the Catholic Church, is not likely to find favour with them.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the *Times*, and *Standard*, and *Daily Telegraph*, and the mass of Broad Churchmen, should welcome the Lincoln judgment. The surprising fact is that High Churchmen and people who want to be thought Catholic should have acquiesced without protest in a decision grounded on such thoroughly Protestant principles, and that they should not have seen that they have surrendered much for which their immediate predecessors would have contended. Their position has for some time been singular enough; but it is rendered still more singular by their acquiescence in this recent judgment. Their position is as follows:—

The Book of Common Prayer, they hold, teaches Catholic truth. Besides its actual statements of much that is Catholic, it refers us (they say) to the principle of "Catholic consent," and thereby it indirectly teaches all that comes under the head of that consent. Now the doctrines of the Real Presence, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and Eucharistic adoration, are part of the faith which has been taught by "Catholic consent."* Therefore they are taught by the Prayer-book. True, these doctrines are not taught by the Episcopate of the Church of England, and they never have been. Here and there a bishop can be quoted in favour of them, such as Bishop Andrewes, when he said that in the Sacrament we adore not "it," but "Him." But he expressly states that there is no warrant for saying that our Lord is either "in," or "with," or "under," the bread and wine in the Sacrament. So that he does not inculcate adoration of our Lord as being in or under the species, but merely teaches that our adoration of Him should be stimulated by the consecrated symbols, which are the media of His Presence, but are not to be regarded as containing that Presence *extra usum*. But even if Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Cosin could be fairly quoted as teaching a Real Presence in the consecrated elements, they do not represent the teaching of the Episcopate of the Church of England during the last 300 years. One or two swallows do not make a summer. It would indeed be strictly accurate to say

* *I.e.*, the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

that, until fifty years ago, scarcely one recognised divine of the Church of England had taught unequivocally the doctrine of a Real Substantial Presence, and the consequent necessity of Adoration, in the sense in which the Ritualists (a term here used with no sort of intentional reproach) now teach that doctrine. In 1839 Dr. Newman's curate was accused of kneeling at the Elevation of the Host in a Catholic Chapel. Dr. Newman spoke of this as an awkward matter. But his curate explained that he happened to be saying his prayers from the Anglican Prayer-book at the moment of the Elevation, so that he was kneeling by accident, not of set purpose. And Dr. Newman may be considered as, at that time, giving the high-water mark of the Church of England's teaching on the subject. Mr. Keble had not written his book on Eucharistic Adoration, but had spoken of our Lord at Holy Communion as being in the heart, "Not in the hands," an expression which he afterwards maintained was capable of a Catholic interpretation, though it is certain that it was not his own original meaning in using it. We may therefore safely say that the Anglican Episcopate at that date did not teach this doctrine, seeing that they were admittedly "below" Dr. Newman and Mr. Keble. But, say our friends, the Prayer-book taught it—as though a book, and not the living Episcopate, could constitute the *Ecclesia docens*. Few Catholics, who have not lived in the present movement in the Church of England before conversion, can realise the extent to which this conviction has rooted itself in the Anglican mind. The idea of a book being the voice of the Church is to a Catholic so supremely absurd that even if he has passed a portion of his life in the Church of England, he soon has a difficulty in suppressing a smile at the singular delusion in which he was once ensnared. Yet so it is. The Prayer-book is the voice of the Church to the Anglican; it saves his position; it being (he conceives) Catholic, and not Protestant, he may claim to be a Catholic.

It has, however, been a constant hope that in some more or less distant future there will be an Episcopate which will teach the truths supposed to be enshrined in this Book of Common Prayer; and the elevation of Dr. King to the Episcopate seemed to many the dawn of this new era. One member of the Episcopal bench* had at last appeared teaching and doing, or ready to do, all that they say is taught in the book, especially on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. At last the *Ecclesia docens* was no longer confined to ink, but had emerged on the platform of diocesan life.

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* The late Bishop Hamilton taught equally "advanced" views, but his treatment of "the remaining *elements*" (to use Bishop King's phrase) showed that he *had not really taken in the* truth.

One diocese, at any rate, there was, whose chief teacher held the faith and expressed it in his Ritual acts.

The result has been a struggle which the late Lord Carnarvon predicted would be the beginning of the end. It is not improbable that Lord Carnarvon's prediction will come true. Cardinal Newman was asked a few years ago what he thought of the Ritualistic movement in the Church of England; and he replied, "It cannot be permanent, it is such a copy"; and we may perhaps say of the momentary hush since the Lincoln judgment, that it cannot be permanent, because it is so unreal.

There are one or two features about this judgment which are specially worthy of notice—such as its dissociation of ritual from doctrine, and its condemnation of the Bishop of Lincoln for not reciting the Prayer of Consecration with proper "visibility."

The Archbishop and his assessors reprimand their brother of Lincoln for the way in which he has hitherto understood the most vital act of his ministerial life. No High Churchman will question the statement that the highest service of the Priest's Office takes place in that moment when he begins the Canon of the Mass. The Canon, it is true, was in the Anglican Prayer-book of 1549 cut to pieces, and conformed to the Liturgy of Brandenberg-Nuremberg, and is, in its present form, still further shorn of its Catholic character; but there remains what is called the Prayer of Consecration; and believing themselves to be priests, and to be engaged in offering the tremendous unbloody sacrifice of the Mass, every clergyman in the Church of England who holds the highest views (higher far, of course, than the Archbishop indicates when he speaks of Laud as holding high views) believes himself to be engaged in the most transcendant act of his Ministry when he comes to the Prayer of Consecration. But it is publicly announced that the Bishop of Lincoln has all these years been mistaken in his interpretations of the Church's directions as to the proper mode of performing that transcendant act. He has failed to catch the "tenour" of the Book of Common Prayer—its characteristic feature. That feature is, so the Archbishop informs us, nothing less than "openness." This is why the clergyman is bound to make his act visible, whilst he breaks the bread. This is why he ought at that moment to turn no longer *ad Deum*, but in some way or other to the congregation, and thus "restore to them their right and share in the Divine service."

This the judgment considers a vital point. The English Church had, we are told, an office to perform towards the whole Catholic Church, at the time of the so-called Reformation. How on this supposition the judgment "recognises the continuity of

the English Church," which is its commendable feature in the Bishop of Lincoln's eyes (cp. his pastoral), we fail to see. It seems that East and West, the English Church included for 900 years, had been egregiously mistaken, and Cranmer and others were born to set things right. At the glorious era of the Reformation Christendom once more had its chance of knowing what is primitive. The Lutheran Liturgy of Brandenburg-Nuremberg, the English Liturgy of 1549, and some Continental "Reformed" Prayer-books gave the start. A new impulse was communicated. The schismatic East failed to respond; the Catholic Roman Church continued its devout use of the Liturgy which, in this part of it, is traced to sub-Apostolic times, and must have come from the very hands of the Apostle St. Peter. The restoration of "openness," and of the people's share in Divine worship eventuated in "communions" once each quarter of the year, to which a tiny handful of the congregation stayed, including always some aged poor, who received loaves from the parish "after service," whilst the rest of the congregation invariably left the church as soon as the sermon was over. It passes our comprehension how the Archbishop and Bishops could bear, in the face of history, so much as to mention the words "openness" and "worship" in connection with the Communion Service of the Church of England, when no religious body on earth has so closely shut up its communion service from the general congregation, whilst the Catholic Church for centuries has borne the insults of the Protestant world for the "open idolatry" (as the blasphemous accusation ran) which she has taught her children, rich and poor alike.

But not only does this most unhistorical judgment consider that the Bishop of Lincoln has missed the most fundamental feature of his Prayer-book, viz. that of "openness," in its most critical portion, viz. the Prayer of Consecration, but the singular provision for the due performance of the particular manual action selected for notice, is based, according to His Grace, on our Lord's example. And not to do all that our Lord did in the Institution, *as recorded in Holy Scripture*, is according to His Grace's theology, to fail in the very essence of the sacred action. So that the point on which the Bishop is condemned is the only one which touches doctrine. The Bishop and the Ritualists may light their lights, but these mean nothing; nothing, that is, in regard to Eucharistic truth. The Bishop had taught, in a previous public utterance, that the Church of England's retention of lights was one of the indications of her continuity with the pre-Reformation Church on the subject of the Eucharist; but no! lights mean nothing but the simple truth that Christ is the Light of the World, not that being such He is in His Sacra-

ment. It is even suggested that the Bishops of the Catholic Church in England before the Reformation held this, but we can hardly suppose that the Archbishop or any one laying claim to the most elementary knowledge of the subject would maintain that. Again, the Bishop of Lincoln had given the public to understand that he adopted the Eastward position, because it symbolised sacramental doctrine, indeed the whole sacerdotal system; but the Archbishop and Bishops have decided that the Eastward position, as allowed by the Church of England, symbolises no doctrine whatever. It merely resulted from the turning of the tables, when people were tired of moving them about. So that lights and the Eastward position mean nothing in the way of symbolism, and their adoption henceforth cannot with any honesty be quoted by the Bishop of Lincoln and his friends after their acquiescence in the judgment, as any indication of "the progress of Catholic truth." But whilst lights and Eastward position symbolise nothing, this matter of "openness," which is to be expressed by the clergyman making the manual act of breaking the bread "visible" in such a way as to distinguish him from "the Romish priests" (for so Bishop Wren, whom the Archbishop here quotes, expresses the idea of the openness required) is a matter of the highest importance. It is, according to Bishop Cosin, whom the Archbishop also quotes, a "needful circumstance" of the Consecration, and that because, according to the judgment, it is "the rule of the Gospel."

Such is the count on which the Bishop is condemned.

To a Catholic, of course, such a condemnation would be the heaviest that could be passed on his ministerial career. No shame could equal that which he would feel, no remorse could surpass that which would sting him in the depths of his soul, at being convicted of having continuously performed the most vital act of his priesthood, in a way contrary to the Church's intention; but then in the Catholic Church such a misinterpretation could not be unintentional. There can be no mistake about what the Catholic Church orders in such important matters; and, of course, it is otherwise inconceivable that such a thing *could* happen in the Catholic Church. At High Mass, where all is "open" to the last degree, the officiant has the deacon and subdeacon close to his elbow in worshipful attendance on the great act of his Priestly Office, and no slightest flaw could occur without notice in that awful moment of "common" and "open" worship, when the congregation in hushed awe, at the sound of the bell, takes its part in the tremendous Act of Sacrifice which is being consummated on the Altar by the visible representative of the Great High Priest. Every syllable, every movement, is regulated by the Church. For she is the guardian of a Divine

Treasure, and the priest is her minister; and no Catholic layman would dream of a Catholic priest performing any phase or act of that solemn action in any way unauthorised by the Church. The whole thing, therefore, is absolutely impossible in the Catholic Church.

But to an Anglican such a state of things does not appear strange or compromising. Indeed it seems quite natural, and compatible with a claim to be called Catholic. And for this reason. It is enough, in his creed, to establish that anything which has been omitted is not absolutely necessary, and that anything wrongly done does not affect the "essence" of the Sacrament. As for preserving the *integrity* of the Sacramental Action, on which the Catholic Church with the true spirit of a guardian lays such stress, with the Anglican the very conception of integrity may be said to have vanished in the absorbing thought of just preserving the "essentials." In her office for the administration of Confirmation, the idea of integrity might seem to find expression in the opening sentence which gives a reason for bringing into such extraordinary prominence the renewal of vows. But whilst providing for the "edifying" performance of her Confirmation Service by magnifying this renewal of vows, resulting in the rest of the service being thrown into the shade, and in the bulk of her bishops having taught for at least a century that Confirmation consisted in the renewal of the Baptismal vows, as its essence, she laid aside the holy Unction, and thus, even if she had had bishops with Apostolical succession, would have impaired the integrity of the Sacrament. "The 'laying on of hands' is mentioned in Holy Scripture; therefore that alone is necessary; therefore we break our continuity with ages upon ages, but we preserve that alone which is essential, because that alone is mentioned in Holy Scripture." But when men set out with the idea of doing for God as little as possible, and aim at keeping just above the line of what is essential to keep out of mortal sin, they are apt to fall below their standard, and depart from the state of grace. So, in cutting out from her services everything which could be called not absolutely essential, the Church of England has succeeded in over-stepping the line and omitting that which is essential, at least in one point. In her Ordinal, whilst setting out to retain only what is absolutely necessary, on the vicious principle that nothing is necessary except what is recorded in Holy Scripture, she retained the words, "Take the Holy Ghost," in her Edwardine Ordinal; but she clipped away all those accessory expressions, which alone, as the defining circumstances, render the formula adequate. So that as Canon Estcourt has shown, whilst the same formula was considered adequate by the *Congregation* of Rites in the matter of

Abyssinian Orders, it has been rendered inadequate by the omission of certain accompanying expressions in the Edwardine Ordinal; and so the continuity with all previous life of the English Church, even if it had not been broken, as it was, by severance from the See of St. Peter, would have been rudely snapped by the use of that insufficient "form" of ordering.

This, however, is the constant contention of Anglicans, viz., that "we secured in the troubles of the Reformation all that was absolutely essential." Imbued with this idea, a High Churchman would not feel it any great reproach that he had been convicted of conducting the central act of Divine worship in contradiction of his Church's meaning, and even in contravention of our Lord's example. It does not, he would say, affect the essential part. Nothing, as we have said, could better illustrate the completely different tone on these matters between the "highest" members of the Church of England and the Catholic Church.

By way of emphasising this point, it will be well to describe the Consecration in the words of a manual much used in instructing our people in the Ceremonies of the Mass, written by the late Canon Oakeley.

The priest has now to perform the most solemn act of the highest office in the world. In the exercise of the power which he has received at ordination, he is to make the most precious Body and Blood of our Lord present on the Altar, to the unspeakable benefit and consolation of all faithful souls. This power it is which raises the priest, as St. Chrysostom says, above angels; for to compare any dignity of this world would be simply preposterous. Nay, if dignity there ever were to which it may suitably be likened, it was that of the Blessed Virgin, chosen by the Holy Trinity to be the means of giving the Eternal Son of God to the world. Collect, then, dear brother, all your devout attention, while I instruct you in the ceremonies which the Church has prescribed on this great subject.

The priest having concluded the forementioned prayer, which he says with hands joined, prepares for the Consecration, by first separating his hands, and gently rubbing the thumb and forefinger of each within the corporal. The reason of this action is to free them from any grain of dust, or other substance, which they may have gathered up since the "Lavabo," or, at any rate, to remind himself of the reverence due to the august mysteries he is about to approach. While performing this action, he says (still secretly) the following words of preparation: *Who, the day before He suffered, took bread into His holy and adorable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven to thee, God, His Almighty Father* (here the priest raises his eyes to the crucifix) *did bless* (here holding the Host in the left hand, he makes over it with the right the sign of the Cross) *break and give to His disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this,* &c. (Here he pronounces

attentively and devoutly the words of Consecration.) These words over, he kneels and adores our Blessed Lord, now present in the Sacrament. Then rising, he elevates the Sacred Host above his head, for the adoration of the faithful, and afterwards slowly lowers it, and places it reverently upon the corporal; after which he again kneels and adores. During each of these actions, subsequently to the Consecration, the server rings his bell to excite the devotion of the faithful.

Everything, therefore, in the Catholic Church in this momentous act is matter of regulation. The very life of the Church consists in loving obedience in return for faithful guidance; and every priest performs the act in the same way, and every layman that cares to be instructed knows exactly what it is that the priest is doing. Now it is in respect of the act which corresponds to this, the most solemn act of the Christian Ministry, that the Archbishop and his assessors have convicted the Bishop of Lincoln of error. The Bishop has hitherto acted much as a Catholic priest acts in that solemn moment; in so doing he has contravened the "tenour" of the Book of Common Prayer; and the Bishop (which is the surprising part of the whole matter) has informed the public that he "concurs with His Grace's interpretation" of this point. We say that it is surprising; for the Bishop of Lincoln is looked upon as the Episcopal champion of the "Catholic" party (as it calls itself) in the Church of England. Yet here is his Lordship concurring in an interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer, which is enough of itself to disprove the darling theory of the High Church, viz. that the present Church of England, as by law established, is continuous in its faith with the pre-Reformation Church. For is it possible not to connect this ruling with the deliberate change of faith ostentatiously inaugurated in the sixteenth century by the Elizabethan divines? It was easy enough for the Caroline Divines, with totally different aims and interests (different, but not therefore more Catholic) to say that the Church of England did not intend to depart from the Churches of France, Italy and Spain in those things in which these churches agreed with the primitive Church. It was easy enough to say this, but it was not so easy to persuade the said Churches who had, at any rate, a right to say what they thought of the matter; but in order to prove it, the whole history of Elizabeth's reign has to be ignored. For the divines of Elizabeth's reign boasted of having changed their religion, and the very reason given by Bishop Wren for the Rubric in question, and quoted, as we have seen, by the judgment, was to distinguish Anglican clergy from "the Romish priests."

And, *it must be remembered*, the Bishop's judges assign most

tremendous significance to this point of letting the people see the particular manual act of breaking the bread.

The Consecration consists in the rehearsal and repetition of what the Lord said and did. The gestures which the Great High Priest is minutely recorded to have used were without doubt not only seen by the partakers, but meant for them—and it is no rehearsal of His action if the spirit and meaning of His acts are hidden [here we have passed from the "acts" to the "spirit and meaning," which are also to be visible], acts full of Divine teaching and power. At Emmaus He repeated them, and was instantly known through them. If any ceremonial is to be visible to the people, that action of Christ unquestionably ought to be so by the rule both of the Gospel and of our Prayer-book. The Court decides that the Order of Holy Communion requires that the Manual Acts should be visible.

The theology of this crucial passage in the judgment is of the most startling character. And it is in this interpretation that the Bishop of Lincoln "concurs."

The Archbishop speaks of the gestures of the High Priest having been minutely recorded in Holy Scripture, of this "visible" breaking of the bread being one of them, and of such "visible" fraction before the consecration being part and parcel of the spirit and meaning of the consecrating Act, and of the rehearsal of His action not having taken place, being, in fact, null and void ("it is no rehearsal"), unless this feature be exhibited. Alas! for the entire East, which transacts the Sacred Action always behind the Iconostasis! Alas! for the English Church with its "Romish Priests," for 900 years; alas! for the whole of Christendom! The English Church, consisting of a tiny handful of bishops—whose character, according to the great champion of Anglicanism, Dr. Littledale, will not bear inspection (not to use that writer's rather foul words), whose work he compares to that of Marat and Robespierre—inaugurated an important reform. They leapt the chasm of more than a thousand years, and found themselves in a Primitive Church, with which the Church of a thousand years had been discontinuous in faith and worship, and brought forth a new "open" ceremonial from some supposed antiquity, a ceremonial "strictly Scriptural," in which once more the actions of our Lord were really rehearsed, and the meaning and spirit of His action restored to a benighted idolatrous Christendom.

And the Bishop of Lincoln selects as a commendable feature in the judgment the fact that "it recognises the continuity of the English Church." Surely this is precisely what it destroys. The constant repetition of the phrase cannot create the fact denoted by it. Is it, then, possible that the Archbishop and his Episcopal assessors, and the Bishop of Lincoln, can be so lost to

all sense of historical truth, as to pretend to any continuity of faith in regard to this vital matter of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (the *Sacrificia Missarum*, or *Missarum Solemnia*, as the Mass was called) with the Church of England from the days of St. Augustine of Canterbury onwards, or even from the days of St. Theodore of Canterbury down to the reign of Henry VIII.? Can they mean that Lanfranc, or St. Anselm, or indeed any Archbishop of Canterbury before Cranmer, held this view of the necessity of the manual act of breaking the bread being visible to the people? Impossible.

What really emerges from the judgment, as a whole, is the same kind of continuity, or idea of continuity, as the leading Elizabethan divines claimed in regard to the Apostolical succession. They, living so close to the actual date of the "Barlow" fiasco, could not in honesty, and did not in fact, claim a lineal succession. When pressed with the necessity of a lineal succession, they replied that they had something better. They had Apostolical succession, inasmuch as they had Apostolical doctrine. This was Jewel's answer to Harding. This was the defence set up by a celebrated Bishop of Lincoln, Cooper by name. He says:

> Now if they will continue to ask of us where our succession is? We answer, that wheresoever since the coming of Christ, there hath been any persons upon the face of the earth that have confessed this * sincere truth and doctrine, we say that they are our predecessors, and we are their successors, and with them members of the true Church. Wherefore our Church is not so new a Church as they would make it, but as ancient as the doctrine is. . . . . It is not always necessary that the Church of God should be notable . . . . by continual succession of bishops. Though they (*i.e.*, the Papists) pretend to have the ordinary succession of bishops in their Sees, sure we are that we have the succession of the sincere doctrine of our salvation, which they have not."†

The continuity here was between the sixteenth century and what they called the primitive Church, intervening centuries counting for nothing.

In like manner, the Archbishop's idea of continuity appears to admit of enormous leaps and gaps. It reminds us of Darwin's admission, that he found gaps in his chain of descent, which he was unable to fill up. So the Archbishop, speaking of the necessity of the visibility of the manual acts, lets us see, for a moment, that there are gaps which, *however* wide, are not, in his opinion, serious enough to impair the continuity of his

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* He has just *given an outline* of Protestant teaching.

† *Certain sermons of the Bishop of Lincoln*, A.D. 1580, p. 36.

position. "The significance of those acts being open lies in what was the principle from the beginning, *however overlaid at times.*" The principle he enunciates, *as applied to the necessary "visibility" of the acts to the eyes of the congregation*, was overlaid in the sub-apostolic times, for there is no trace of this "necessary feature" in the earliest liturgies.

The Archbishop, therefore, goes back to the Apostles themselves, and imagines that their unique position was to supply a law for every subsequent "celebration." His continuity is of the same kind as that which the Elizabethan divines claimed, a connection established, not through intervening links, but by a tremendous leap of private judgment, with the Apostolic body.

But though he cannot prove continuity with the previous life of the Church, he can show connection with some representative divines since the Reformation, and so far establish a sort of continuity. For it is clear, from the words of the learned author (as he is generally called) of the work called "The Unbloody Sacrifice," which embodies the highest teaching that the Church of England has exhibited on that subject, that he held the same view of the meaning of the Rubric, as that propounded in the Lambeth judgment. He says:

> Dr. Wise slyly insinuates that it is my practice to elevate the bread and wine; and it is true that I did sometimes about four or five years ago, in the act of consecration, lift up the bread and wine higher than usual, that the people might see the bread broken, and the cup taken into my hand, as the rubric directs, and for no other reason, some people who seemed very anxious to see the holy action sitting at a great distance from the Lord's table in this very large Church, but I never elevated the elements after consecration.

He adds that

> to elevate and adore the Sacrament, according to the practice of the Church of Rome, is downright idolatry.*

From instances such as this, and others that the Archbishop gives, there can be no doubt that the Archbishop and his assessors are "continuing" the traditional idea of the Church of England since the sixteenth century on this matter of the breaking of the bread. The emphasis laid on the manual act of breaking the bread, symbolised (as we shall presently see) a fundamental difference in the *rule of faith* adopted by the Church of England from that which is held as such by the Catholic Church. But, besides this, the emphasis laid on this particular ceremonial act is a purely Protestant idea. The Eliza-

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* Johnson's "Propitiatory Oblation." Pref. to vol. ii. p. xxviii., quoted in Ryder's reply to Dr. Littledale.

bethan divines dropped the fraction of the Host, a deeply symbolical act common to the early Liturgies, though not expressly mentioned in one (the Liturgy of St. Clement),* and raised the manual act of breaking the bread—which was a matter of necessity for the purpose of distribution—into an essential ceremonial act. This re-arrangement of the Church's order by a few perfidious bishops in a small province was accompanied by, and was clearly in the interest of, uncatholic teaching concerning the Sacrifice. They were already apostatising. They had had the heart to lay sacrilegious hands on the Sacred Canon of the Mass. That Canon, the very ark of the New Covenant from a Liturgical point of view, was Luther's *bête noir*. He called it "that abomination," and considered that all the idea of Sacrifice and oblation was due to that ancient and thrice-sacred portion of the Holy Mass. He expunged it altogether in 1533; Cranmer in 1549 cut it up, and distributed its limbs, till it lost its original shape and meaning. At this time Cranmer had lost his faith in the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrifice. He had first fallen into the Lutheran heresy, but before 1549 he had descended a stage lower. "You must know," says Traheron, writing to Bullinger, September 28, 1548, "that Latimer has come over to our opinion respecting the true doctrine of the Eucharist, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops who heretofore seemed to be Lutherans."† Latimer himself speaks of Lutherans being too like the Papists. Consequently when the Prayer-book of 1549 came forth from the mangling of Parliament,‡ it had lost, thanks to Cranmer and some of the bishops under the Presidency of the Protector Somerset, everything which could give a Catholic determination to the words of Consecration. It was intended no longer to express the Sacrifice as understood by the Catholic world; it was a breaking of bread, that being the Scriptural phrase; but a breaking of bread no longer in the Scriptural, but in the Lutheran, and, to some extent, Zwinglian sense. The late Mr. Scudamore imagined that Cranmer got his Prayer of Consecration from the Mozarabic Rite. But Father Gasquet has given good reasons for concluding that Cranmer never

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* Palmer considers that St. Paul alludes to this Fraction in Cor. x. 16. "The bread, according to St. Paul, was the communion of Christ's body when it was broken: now it could not have been the communion of Christ's body until after it was blessed: and therefore it was then ble-sed before it was broken, even as it has been in all after ages, &c." "Orig. Lit.," vol. ii., p. 145. Of the Clementine Liturgy he says: "This Liturgy, however ancient it may be, ought not to be regarded as an authentic copy of the liturgy of any Church." Vol. i., p. 38.

† *Cf.* "Sanders' Anglican Schism," p. 183. By D. Lewis.

‡ *Cf.* Gasquet's Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, ch. xi.—an invaluable *contribution to the meaning* of the said Book.

saw that rite. The words of Consecration, moreover, are not, as a matter of fact, the same in the Prayer-book of 1549 as in the Mozarabic Liturgy. They *are* the same as in the Lutheran Liturgy of Brandenberg-Nuremberg. And the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., as well as the Prayer-book in use at present in England, omits a word, which was the subject of contention, which occurs in the Mozarabic Rite, but is omitted in the Prayer of Consecration of the Liturgy of Brandenberg-Nuremberg. The Prayer-book of 1549 contained the word "blessed" immediately before the words "given thanks and brake" in the Prayer of Consecration. The Lutheran Book omitted it. And it disappeared in the next revision of the English Prayer-book, which was thus completely conformed to the Lutheran. And we know why it disappeared. The better-minded Prelates of 1549 laid great stress on the word as involving the mystery of consecration. It was a common teaching of that time (though not endorsed by the Council of Trent) that our Lord uttered the words of consecration as He "blessed" the bread, and that he then brake and distributed to the disciples. Ridley strongly objected to retaining the word on the ground that Pope Innocent and Duns "do attribute this work (*i.e.*, of Transubstantiation) unto the word *benedixit* 'he blessed,'" whilst Latimer maintained that it is merely the equivalent of "gave thanks," and since the latter involved no offering, neither did the former. The word vanished, and has never been restored. Having thus obliterated the word "blessed," the Reformers brought into prominence the expression "breaking of the bread," and discontinuing the Fraction of the Host after consecration, common to the early Liturgies, introduced a manual act, unauthorised by Liturgical authority, simultaneous with the words descriptive of our Lord's action whereby He made the distribution of His Body to the disciples possible.*

It is, therefore, a noticeable coincidence that in the first solemn judgment on the part of Anglican Bishops on the subject of the Eucharist, they have placed themselves in the closest connection (whether intending it or not) with the Elizabethan divines. They have brought into prominence a ceremonial act which is connected with their predecessors' denial of the Real Substantial Presence and Propitiatory Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist, and their conformity of sentiment with half Lutheran and half Zwinglian teaching. They have spoken much of

* This ceremonial art of breaking the bread before the Consecration is found only in the Liturgy of St. Basil as used by the Coptic Monophysites, which differs in this, as in other points, from the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrian versions of St. Basil's Liturgy. That is to say, the Church of England has for its one companion in this manual act, a Liturgy altered *from its original form* by heretics on the subject of the Incarnation.

continuity with the old English Church, but have shown none. The only continuity which they have evinced is with that denial of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in the Catholic sense of the word, which is indelibly enshrined in the Anglo-Lutheran Book of Common Prayer; that Book, which is supposed to teach Catholic truth of itself, though every bishop should deny the same. In point of fact, prescinding the question as to whether the Anglican Prayer-book has retained what is "absolutely essential" to the validity of the Consecration (supposing that there were priests to use it) its texture witnesses to heresy on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Its type is strictly that of the "Reformed Lutheran;" it belongs to a family, and the family likeness is marked and, to a stranger, unmistakable. Having carefully obliterated every feature of the ancient Liturgies which spoke of the Sacrifice, it retained one expression which had been already "passed" by Luther as innocuous, *i.e.*, as not involving any sympathy with the doctrine of the *Sacrificia Missarum*, as the Holy Mass was called. It retained the expression "Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" and expelled the word "blessed," though Scriptural, in favour of the words "gave thanks," which it interpreted in an anti-Catholic sense; and it eventually assigned a prominent position to a ceremonial act, which the Church had never ordered. And yet, as we have said, the great bulk of High Churchmen, in default of living orthodox teachers, in view of the persistent heresy on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, enunciated by bishop after bishop, fall back on the Prayer-book. "The Prayer-book teaches the truth, and it suffices." As if the existence of a book were sufficient to constitute the teaching of a Church. In point of fact, this said Prayer-book started, as we have seen, with heresy. It was born of hatred towards the Catholic Church. It sprang from the mind of a man, who having sunk in the moral scale to be the time-serving instrument of a lustful despot, was assisting at the birth of an independent National Church under this murderous tyrant, and whose sympathies with foreign Protestantism were so strong that even Bucer counselled moderation, lest the Catholic instincts of the nation should be too rudely shocked by his religious innovations. Such is the book, in its origin. And every one who uses that Prayer-book participates, with what amount of guilt it is not for us to say, in that denial of the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which is involved in the changes it made from the existing Liturgy of the Catholic Church. It is in vain, therefore, to plead that, however the bishops may fail in their witness, the Prayer-book remains and teaches Catholic doctrine on the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

It is in vain, too, since the reception accorded to the Lincoln judgment, to say that any living member of the English Episcopal Bench teaches by the use of lights and eastward position, the doctrine held as of faith by the English Church from the days of St. Augustine to the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign. It seemed until this event, as though there were one member of the Anglican Episcopate, who taught and acted like a Catholic. But the Bishop of Lincoln has submitted, and shown his desire to keep the peace. It is not for us to judge him. It must be a disappointment to some ardent "Catholics" (as they wish to be called) in the Establishment. Many an Oxford man must remember a celebrated sermon preached by his lordship, before his appointment to the headship of a theological college, in which he spoke of two transits, which the soul must make, accompanied, each of them, by a different sort of confession. There must be a transit of the soul from the world into self, and a transit from self to God—the confession in the one case being that of sin, in the other, that of faith. And under the confession of faith the preacher included the avowal of Eucharistic truth by means of ritual, by the use of those symbols which are connected in men's minds with a belief in the Real Presence and the Sacrifice, such as lights, vestments, position. But his lordship has now, for peace sake, accepted a judgment which divests those external symbols of all doctrinal import, and which requires him to perform one of the manual acts during the prayer of consecration in a way which was originally adopted as distinguishing Anglican clergymen from "the Romish priests," and is connected with the Protestant view of the whole action, and which is required of him on the ground (must one not say the ridiculous ground?) that thereby the Church of England "restores the ancient right and share of the people in Divine service" (*see* Judgment). He accepts, we repeat it, the ruling of the Court under the following circumstances.

The English Church has been torn well nigh to pieces with disputes as to whether our Lord is actually in His Sacrament. The highest doctrine taught is not, after all, that of the Catholic Church; for, as we have said, it amounts at the most to believing, not that our Lord's words, "This is My Body," are literally true, but that He meant "My Body is here"—not "This is My Body," but "My Body is in this." The difference, however, between believing this, and holding merely the view that there is a stimulated memory of Him, or even that He is only virtually present, or present only to the heart of the faithful, is enormous. Faith in the doctrine cannot effect the Sacrament, but it is a more stimulating belief, and has led many a soul to the true home of the Eucharist—the Catholic Roman Church;

and it has led to the question, Is Jesus Christ on the Altar, or is He not? Can any question be more vital? Yet this is the question that has been publicly raised. The Bishop of Lincoln publicly announced that he felt justified in disturbing the peace of the Church of England, because of the vital truth which his Ritual was intended to express. The Archbishop of Canterbury, after denying that he had any jurisdiction in such a matter over the Bishop is taught by the Privy Council on appeal that he has the power of judging. He accordingly elects to sit with four episcopal assessors to try the suit. Would any Catholic Bishop, from St. Ignatius of Antioch downwards, have failed to announce clearly and emphatically the Church's teaching as to the vital underlying question which has been for fifty years agitating the minds of the religious public, outside the Catholic Church? Inconceivable. It would be held to be simply a betrayal of the faith; but then a decision on this question would convulse the Church of England. No fear, then, of any authoritative statement on this, the real question at issue. Not a word to the children of his Church (so to speak) as to whether Jesus Christ is or is not in the Sacrament—not a word; but His Grace rules that the use of lights and the eastward position do not symbolise any doctrine as to Presence or Sacrifice, but that the bread *must* be broken in sight of the congregation. The Agnus Dei may be sung, but without the meaning attached to it by the Catholic Church, a permission which Luther gave, as it need, he contended, indicate no *Eucharistic* Sacrifice—and the chalice may be mixed, but not during the service—*may, not must*, although it is (1) admitted that our Lord Himself used the mixed chalice, and (2) asserted that "the Consecration consists in the rehearsal and repetition of what our Lord said and did"; and the Bishop of Lincoln bows to the judgment, and even "concurs with His Grace's interpretation" of the manual act of breaking the bread.

But there is a further point on which the judgment is undeniably Protestant.

The Archbishop speaks of the imitation of our Lord in the Act of Consecration forming its essence and necessary feature, as the primitive rule. This, of course, is true enough; but how does he derive his knowledge of what our Lord said and did with a view to imitation?

From the words of Holy Scripture. "The gestures which the Great High Priest is minutely recorded to have used were without doubt not only seen by the partakers, but meant for them. . . . At Emmaus He repeated them, and was instantly known through them."

The Archbishop *appears to imagine* that the Scriptural record

was given for the purpose of our knowing how the Holy Sacrifice ought to be offered. He does not appear to rise even to Mr. Keble's view of the authority of the Church, which, however high, as it is considered, is not the teaching of the Catholic Church on the subject. Mr. Keble, in his celebrated sermon on the subject of tradition, adopts the opinion that tradition *was* the Divine authority before the Canon of Scripture was written, but that then it lost its prerogatives. It was the Word of God before Holy Scripture was written; traditional, authoritative teaching formed the Infant Church; it was the only standard and measure and judge of Christian knowledge and truth; but he holds that it is "no less evident that Scripture being once ascertained, became, in its turn, a test for everything claiming to be of apostolic tradition." This is Protestant as opposed to the Catholic principle. Mr. Keble does not prove this substitution of Scripture for tradition; he assumes it as self-evident. He does indeed quote one passage from St. Irenæus, in which the Saint asks the question, "What if the Apostles had left us no Scripture?" but he answers the question in a different way from the Saint. The latter says, "it is easy to receive truth from the Church"—not from Scripture. The only other argument that Mr. Keble advances is one taken from the more frequent quotations from Holy Scripture in the Fathers, after the Canon was fixed—which is simply due to the fact that Holy Scripture had been publicly attested as such by the authoritative teaching of the Church, not to its having ousted tradition from its place as the "unwritten word." The tradition of the Church as to what our Lord did with a view to our repetition and imitation, is as certainly from heaven, as the narrative in Holy Scripture. The authoritative traditional teaching of the Church cannot, in the nature of things, be other than infallibly true; the Church started on her way with the body of truth which she had received from her Lord; she possessed from Him an organisation which was to last till His second Advent; that organised ministry was for the purpose of preserving the truth; none were admitted thereto but those who were in agreement with it; and it was a law of the Church's life, it was part of her very essence, to exclude antagonistic elements so soon as their antagonism became apparent; and for this purpose she was endowed with the unction of the Holy Ghost. When, therefore, Cranmer set to work to revise the Liturgy which had come, in its essential features, from the lips of Apostles, he was rebelling against the Holy Ghost; and those who decide upon what Holy Scripture teaches, apart from the authoritative teaching of the Church, or who reject the tradition of the Church because they do not find it in

Holy Scripture, proceed upon a principle of interpretation which is fundamentally opposed to that of Holy Church.

Now the Lincoln judgment, after laying down the necessity of doing in the consecration of the Eucharist what our Lord did, proceeds to gather from Holy Scripture what it was that our Lord did. Not being content with the tradition of the Church; having rejected this in the person of his predecessors in the sixteenth century, naturally enough the Archbishop turns to the sacred narrative. But there he does not find that our Lord stood, yet he stands to consecrate. He does not find in the sacred narrative the relation in which we stand to the Apostles, so he determines it without reference to either Scripture or tradition. He calls the Apostles merely "the partakers," and assumes that each congregation now stands in the same relation to the officiant that the Apostles did to our Lord. Whereas the Apostles were the first priests, and if it was necessary for them to see what our Lord did, it does not follow that it is necessary for the congregation in each case to do the same. Then the Archbishop selects the manual act of breaking the bread as the one ceremonial act which must be seen, and yet it was probably of all the others the least necessary to be seen. For our Lord broke the bread as a necessary act previous to its distribution, and the whole action is called in the Acts of the Apostles "the breaking of the bread," not because this was the most important act, but because it is the natural expression for placing it as food. Further, the Archbishop quotes the scene at Emmaus, and supposes that it was the visible acts which made Him known to the disciples, which, from the words that follow, would involve the position that our Lord did not give them communion at all, or at any rate that He communicated to them in one kind. Such are some of the results of taking the Scriptural record, as though it contains all things necessary to be known, and as though it could supersede the necessity of relying on the "unwritten word" in such a matter as the administration of the Sacraments. The result must ever be, that with the law, but without the judge, there will be interminable wrangling as to the meaning of the law. St. Augustine says, in reference to another point in connection with the Holy Eucharist:

> For the Saviour, that He might more vehemently commend the height of this mystery, wished to impress this last mystery on the hearts and memories of the disciples, from whom He was about to depart to His passion; and for this cause He did not enjoin in what order it was to be received henceforth, that He might reserve this matter for the Apostles, through whom He was about to order the Churches.

And the saintly Bishop of Rochester, B. John Fisher, recognised as the ablest and holiest of our English bishops throughout Europe, gives as the teaching of the Church of England in his day the same principle.

These are his words:

First let us teach that without the interpretation of the Fathers, and *their usage handed down by them to us*, no one will prove from the naked words themselves of the Gospel that any priest in these days consecrates the true Flesh and Blood of Christ. Not that this thing is indeed doubtful, but that its certainty is not derived so much from the words of the Gospel as from the interpretation of the Fathers, and also at the same time from the usage of so long a period, which they have left to posterity. For every one must be convinced, who is not ignorant of the Gospel, that the Holy Ghost, who was given to the Church as her perpetual teacher, would never have allowed her to err in a matter of such great weight, during such a protracted succession of ages. . . . . It is therefore manifest that the long usage and concordant interpretations of the Fathers—no one contradicting them—afford a more solid certainty as to how any obscure place of Scripture ought to be understood than the bare words themselves, which can be variously twisted aside by the disputations, according to each one's fancy. . . . . Whoever should wish now to introduce another meaning or usage, that man will go entirely contrary to the Holy Ghost, under whose inspiration the earlier Fathers handed down this rite and ceremony in the consecration of the Eucharist.

It would require no small intellectual "legerdemain" to show any continuity between this teaching and the principle on which the Lincoln judgment proceeds in the passage that has been chiefly considered.

It only remains to consider whether the Church of England shows any signs of exhibiting to the world that primary and fundamental note of the Church—unity of teaching on this vital subject.

Hearts have been beating high with hopes of peace and visions of unity. Is there any reason to suppose that the Lincoln judgment will subserve the interests of peace and unity? Of course it will not tend to peace and unity with the Catholic Church. The principle that, in the highest service of Christian worship, ritual can be so divorced from doctrine as that lights and the position of the Celebrant symbolise no Eucharistic truth, is in itself a separating doctrine. But will it produce peace to the distracted Church of England itself? It is certain that it will not. It is safe to predict that the clergy of the Church of England will not obey the judgment. They don't know how to

obey it. Already bishops have entered in print* upon the difficulties of obedience. One points to the "contemporanea expositio" of the rubric afforded by the huge high pews, which rendered any sight of the manual acts a physical impossibility. He himself proposes to break the bread in two, and hold up the one part in his right and the other part in his left hand—whereas, according to Eastern Liturgical interpretation, our Lord broke the bread into several parts for distribution. This bishop is evidently thinking of the fraction of the Host after Consecration in the early Liturgies. And another bishop suggests a different plan, which is forthwith characterised by a well-known elderly clergyman as "irreverent, awkward, and unrubrical." Another writes to say that if he adopted the second bishop's method, "a contentious person might still contend that he had not seen the bread broken." He himself has performed the act for twenty-five years in the very way which one of the bishops calls "mean and slovenly"; whilst another has been in the habit for years of turning round on doctrinal grounds—a practice which was adopted by the "Metropolitan of India." And a well-known layman writes to say that "nowadays he is never satisfied that the bread has been broken at all." The *Church Review* considers it would be well to keep the Archbishop's judgment in reserve, and to "elect to rest on it," if it should be reversed by the Privy Council, whilst the *Church Times* thinks it its duty to "carefully maintain that the judgment is of no spiritual validity at all." Meanwhile a respected layman, the President of the English Church Union, issues an Encyclical to the "Bishops and Priests," and other members of that body, recommending that they should celebrate on a certain day with the intention of thanking God for the "prospects of peace" held out by this admirable judgment.

Altogether it is a disquieting prospect for those Catholics who may have hoped that the Church of England would play the man for at least some portion of the Catholic Faith. She seems to be steadily losing her hold of the dogmatic principle altogether. Peace is her cry. And yet the very course of history delineated in the judgment itself shows that discord and disunion have been the normal condition of things in the Church of England ever since she severed herself from the See of St. Peter.

The judgment presents us with a picture of the clergy of the Church of England all over the land moving the table backwards and forwards, sideways and endways, longwise and shortwise, for more than a century.

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* *See* Letters in the *Guardian* week by week.

How long were you learning to place the table . . . . the minister being in contention on whether part to turn their faces towards the west, the north, or south . . . . some would stand westward, some northward, some southward (*see* Judgment).

This the Archbishop calls "the period of doubtfulness." Then, on account of the "ado about the position of the table," there is an attempt at resolving the doubts, and the Bishop of Lincoln of the day states, with regard to seventy-five years, that he did not believe that "ever the Communion-tables were (otherwise than by casualty) placed altarwise in country churches." Then comes Elizabeth with the Injunction that "there seemeth no matter of great moment, &c.," and that "the holy table in every church be set in the place where the Altar stood, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed." "This frequent moving of the tables," says the Archbishop, continued up to and into the reign of Charles I. Then "the inclination gained ground to regard them more reverently." Then the King in Council settled the matter in one case in which he "confirmed the act of the ordinary," and the table was placed at the east end. But another Order in Council reintroduced confusion. "A condition of doubtfulness," says His Grace, "had a second time been introduced." Next comes a time of "half compliance" with the Rubric, the idea being that the Communion should be celebrated "as familiarly with the congregation as possible." After 1633 the Privy Council steps in again.

When the decision of the Privy Council in that year sanctioned universally the reverting to the ancient place of the holy table, the change to that place was pushed on.

Then came the Savoy Conference, in regard to which the Archbishop makes some most damaging admissions.

No change was made in the rubrics as to the minister's position, except in that before the consecration. It is clear that the bishops wishing the prayers to be said eastward, and the divines westward, it was impossible to frame a new one.

For peace' sake truth was sent to Coventry; but still more compromising is what follows. The influence which, as we have seen, determined the form of much in the Prayer-book of 1549, is stated by the Archbishop as having assisted the English Church to get its tables lengthwise at the East end of the church.

Neither must the influence be forgotten of the Lutheran Churches on the Continent, among which the eastward was, and is to this day, in use. Much, however, must be ascribed to the influence of Bishop Cosin (called by the historian Fuller, "the Atlas of the Protestant religion)" who presented, &c.

So that by the aid of the "Atlas of the Protestant Religion," and the existing sympathy with and respect for Lutheranism, the tables regained the position which they had, when they, or rather their predecessors of stone or marble, served as Altars for the Holy Mass.

Such is the picture of the religious life of the Church of England, after she left her first love, and took the Queen for her governess, in place of the successor of the Apostle St. Peter; and the resulting decision is that the position of the table involves no doctrine, nor the position at the table of the officiating minister. The important matter is, that he should perform one ceremonial act, viz. that of breaking *a piece of the bread* in sight of the congregation. He is not to perform "the breaking of the bread," taken strictly, with this essential visibility, but merely the breaking of one piece. He *may*, if he likes, use the mixed chalice, but it must be mixed, not before he uses it merely, but out of sight of the congregation, for "openness" which is the "tenour" of the Book of Common Prayer, does not apply here, nor is the congregation to enjoy the right of knowing whether it is being communicated after the example of our Lord, or with a cup, in which the wine has not been mixed since it left the merchant's hands. And this is the judgment for which Lord Halifax desires the whole English Church Union to render thanks to God; and this is the judgment which the Bishop of Lincoln accepts.

It settles nothing in regard to the underlying cause of dispute. That, probably, never will be settled. It needs authority to settle that—an authority that is accepted as final, because it is felt to be Divine, and the Catholic Church alone claims such authority, and receives the joyous obedience which is the counterpart to Divine guidance. When any one presents himself to us for instruction previous to being received into the Church, we can argue nothing as to his belief in these matters, from the mere fact that he has belonged to the Church of England. If he has been a Wesleyan, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, we know something about him. But membership in the Church of England conveys no definite meaning. For she has settled nothing as to her own central act of Divine worship, though some of her members would fain settle her faith for her. She teaches nothing under anathema, except, perhaps, that Transubstantiation is a false doctrine. Whether our Lord is actually in His Sacrament after Consecration, or whether He is only "virtually" present, or present only to the faithful heart—in other words, whether He may be adored as having rendered Himself present in the species of bread and wine; and whether what the Bishop of Lincoln calls "the remaining elements" con-

tain His Presence as Ritualists would say, or, are merely bread and wine as others say—all this she refuses to settle, though the question has been publicly raised. But her whole bearing for three hundred and fifty years has been in contradiction of such a notion as that which the Ritualists thought to express by their Ritual; indeed, the sacrilege which would have been committed, on their supposition, throughout the breadth and length of the land would be too awful to contemplate. That which they teach to be the body of our Divine Lord (although through denying Transubstantiation, there is a vagueness about their teaching), allowed to be given to the birds, or thrown about on the ground, to be swept up with common dust—that which they teach to be the Precious Blood, poured back into the bottle with the unconsecrated wine (a frequent practice) to be "consecrated" over again, or consumed as ordinary wine, or poured away, anyhow and anywhere—who can bear to think of this? The Church of England by the allowance of such common practices, has taught with every possible emphasis, for three centuries, that she has had no belief in the reality of the consecration, that she is no guardian of the Divine Treasure. We have but to go back to the last Archbishop but one, and we learn from him that "the idea that an essential element in the Holy Communion is the offering to God a sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, which abide with the elements in a mysterious manner after the act of consecration. . . . . This view is not recognised by the Church of England in her formularies."*

Is this teaching which the Archbishop reprobates in the name of the Church of England, her teaching now, or is it wholly altered? It is too late to save her position; but it is not too late for such a change of teaching to produce remorse for the past, and a confession of her wrong-doing in having led her children astray for so many years.

But in point of fact, her present teaching as a body, *i.e.*, on the whole, seems to be much the same as that of her leading Elizabethan divines. There is a defence of the Church of England in the sixteenth century by a Bishop of Lincoln, which adopts much the same ground as we are bound to assume is that of the present Archbishop of Canterbury and his assessors. This defence is by Thomas Cooper, Dean of Christ Church in 1567, and of Gloucester in 1569. He was Bishop of Lincoln from 1570 to 1584, when he was translated to Winchester. He is described by Bale as "a very learned man, eloquent and well acquainted with the English and Latin languages." In his "Defence," he describes the contention that was going on in reference to the

* Archbishop Longley's last charge.

Holy Communion. He says that many of the sects abroad "far better agree with the Church of Rome than with us," and he continues:

But haply they will say, that even we that challenge most of all to have the Gospel and truth of God's words, do foully disagree among ourselves. For I pray you hath not the controversy of the Sacrament, a long time, with bitter contention, distracted the two Churches of Wittenberge and Tigure? Doth not the same contention at this day remain among us here in England? Do we not even now strive for the matter of apparel! I would to God (if it were His holy will), I might in this point say, as I have before, that it were not so. . . . . But it is true, I confess it, and with sorrowful heart I do confess it.

He then goes on to state that the difference between them is one that ought not to divide them. The difference consists only in that one side, who are but few, approach more nearly to Rome, in teaching a Real, Carnal Presence, than the great majority of teachers do. He cries for peace. Let each teach his own doctrine on the subject, but let there be unity.

As for the controversy of the Sacrament among us, it is not great, the parties of it on one side are but few, yet I confess they are too many. But where the contention is greatest (*i.e.*, as the context explains, as to a Real or Virtual Presence) the matter is not so heinous, nor the dissension so diverse, as Staphilus and such others, of very malice, would have it seem to be. Both parties in the right use of the Sacrament do well agree. . . . ."

And here he sums up their points of agreement, which include all the Protestant conceptions of the Eucharist, and then he adds:

Only the contention is about the manner of the Presence and eating, while the one part affirmeth with the Church of Rome, that it is Real and Carnal; the other is to be only spiritual and by faith. How this controversy may be agreed, and of what force this Carnal Presence and eating is, for which only they contend, if I should now stand to declare, I should make too long a digression. . . . . This only, I trust (by this time), you may see that the matter is not so grievous as it is pretended to be.

Here is the real note of a religious body which has no Divine authority—no Divine Commission—no Divine Presence accompanying its formal teaching. And this is the upshot of the Lincoln judgment, as explained in the Archbishop's pastoral, viz., that the Church of England teaches nothing positive on this subject under anathema.

Compare with her lack of clear and positive teaching on this subject of the Eucharist, the teaching of the Eastern (Schismatic) Church. When the English Non-juring Bishops, in

their isolation, turned to the East, they were met with all sorts of courtesies; but after a while they received a final reply to their expressed desires of intercommunion, in the shape of the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem. Those decrees have been repeated again and again by Eastern synods; and we may see from them that if the Anglican "Episcopate" desires intercommunion of any real character, one of two things must happen. Either the schismatic East will break her continuity with her own past, or she will never hold real intercommunion with the Church of England. The seventeenth Canon of the Council of Bethlehem, runs thus:

After consecration, the bread and wine are transmuted, transubstantiated, converted, transformed, the bread into the Lord's Body . . . . and the wine into the Blood. . . . . And that the bread and wine no longer remain after consecration, but only the very Body and Blood of the Lord under the appearance and form, that is to say, under the accidents of bread; and that the Body and Blood of Christ are received into the mouth and stomach of the evil and faithful, but that the accidents only are broken, Christ being wholly and ever under each portion.

And Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed and anathematised for teaching the contrary.

Compare with this what the Bishop of Lincoln says, in his letter to the Archdeacon and Rural Dean of his diocese, as a cause of thankfulness in regard to the Lambeth judgment:

That the remaining elements may be reverently consumed by the cleansing of the vessels immediately after the close of the service.

"The remaining elements"—
"May" not "must."

The gulf between the tone of this, and the "ordo" of the Catholic Church could hardly be wider.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

ICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF ITALY.

Ai Vescovi al Clero e al Popolo D'Italia

LEONE PP. XIII.

ERABILI FRATRELLI DILETTI FIGLI, SALUTE ED APOSTOLICA BENEDIZIONE.

ALTO dell'Apostolico seggio, dove la Provvidenza divina Ci collocato per vegliare alla salvezza di tutti i popoli, il Nostro vente si posa sopra l'Italia, nel cui seno Iddio per atto di predilezione ha posto la sede del suo Vicario, e dalla quale i vengono al presente molteplici e sensibilissime amarezze.— ristano le personali offese, non le privazioni e i sacrificî im- l'attuale condizione di cose, non le ingiurie e i dileggi, che a procace ha piena balia di lanciare ogni giorno contro di si trattasse solo della Nostra persona, se non fosse la rovina vediamo andare incontro l'Italia minacciata nella sua fede, o in silenzio le offese, lieti di ripetere anche Noi ciò che è uno dei più illustri Nostri Predecessori: *Si terrae meae per quotidiana momenta non excresceret, de despectione mea sione laetus tacerem**—Ma, oltrechè dell'indipendenza e la Santa Sede, trattasi della stessa religione e della salute di nazione, e di tal nazione, che fin dai primi tempi aprì il seno attolica e conservolla in ogni tempo gelosamente. Sembra , ma è pur vero: siam giunti a tanto da dover temere per stra Italia la perdita della fede.—Piú volte abbiam dato perchè si avvisasse al pericolo: ma non per questo crediamo to abbastanza. Di fronte ai continuati e ognor più fieri tiamo più potente la voce del dovere che Ci sprona a parlare Voi, Venerabili Fratelli, al vostro Clero e al popolo Italiano. fa tregua il nemico, così non conviene rimanere silenziosi od Noi nè a Voi, che per divina mercè fummo costituiti cus- lici della religione dei popoli alle nostre cure affidati, Pastori gili del gregge di Cristo, pel quale dobbiamo esser pronti, se a tutto sacrificare, anche la vita.

emo cose nuove, perchè i fatti, quali accaddero, non si di essi abbiamo dovuto parlare altre volte, secondo che Ce destro.—Ma qui intendiamo ricapitolarli in certa guisa ed i come in un sol quadro, per ricavarne a comune ammaes- e conseguenze che ne derivano. Sono fatti incontestabili, la gran luce del giorno; non isolati ma connessi fra loro per nella loro serie rilevano con piena evidenza un sistema, di 'attuazione e lo sviluppo. Il sistema non è nuovo: ma è

* *Gregor. M.* "*Lettera all' Imperatore* Maurizio," Regist. 5.

nuova l' audacia, l' accanimento, la rapidità con cui si va ora attuando. È il piano delle sètte, che si svolge ora in Italia, specialmente nella parte che tocca la Chiesa e la religione cattolica ; collo scopo finale e notorio di ridurla, se fosse possibile, al niente.—Ora è superfluo fare il processo alle sètte che diconsi massoniche : il giudizio è già fatto : i fini, i mezzi, le dottrine, l' azione, tutto è conosciuto con certezza indiscutibile. Invasate dallo spirito di Satana, di cui sono strumenta, ardono, come il loro ispiratore, di un odio mortale ed implacabile contro Gesù Cristo e l' opera sua ; e fanno ogni loro potere d' abbatterla od incepparla. Questa guerra al presente si combatte più che altrove in Italia, dove la religione cattolica ha gittato più profonde radici, e soprattutto in Roma, dove è il centro della cattolica unità e la Sede del Pastore e Maestro universale della Chiesa.

Giova riprendere fin dalle prime le diverse fasi di questa guerra.— Si cominciò col rovesciare sotto colore politico il principato civile dei Papi : ma la caduta di esso nelle intenzioni segrete dei veri capi, apertamente poi dichiarate, doveva servire a distruggere o almeno tenere in servitù il supremo potere spirituale dei Romani Pontefici.— E perchè non rimanesse alcun dubbio sullo scopo vero a cui si mirava, venne subito la soppressione degli Ordini religiosi, che assottigliò di molto il numero degli operai evangelici per il sacro ministero e per l' assistenza religiosa, come pure per la propagazione della fede tra gl' infedeli.—Più tardi si volle esteso anche ai chierici l' obbligo del servizio militare, colla necessaria conseguenza di ostacoli gravi e molteplici frapposti alla recluta e alla conveniente formazione anche del Clero secolare. Si misero le mani sul patrimonio ecclesiastico, parte confiscandolo assolutamente, e parte coricandolo delle più enormi gravezze, a fine d' impoverire il Clero e la Chiesa, e privar questa dei mezzi di cui abbisogna quaggiù per vivere e promuovere istituzioni ed opere in aiuto del suo divino apostolato. Lo hanno apertamente dichiarato gli stessi settari. *Per diminuire l' influenza del clero e delle associazioni clericali, un solo mezzo efficace è da impiegare : spogliarli di tutti i loro beni e ridurli ad una povertà completa.*—D' altra parte l' azione dello Stato è tutta diretta per sè a cancellare dalla nazione l' impronta religiosa e cristiana : dalle leggi e da tutto ciò che è vita officiale ogni ispirazione ed ogni idea religiosa è per sistema sbandita, quando non sia direttamente osteggiata: le pubbliche manifestazioni di fede e di pietà cattolica o sono proibite o sotto vani pretesti in mille modi intralciate.—Alla famiglia si è sottratta la sua base e la sua costituzione religiosa col proclamare quello che chiamano *matrimonio civile*, e coll' istruzione che si vuole al tutto laica, dai primi elementi fino all' insegnamento superiore delle Università ; di guisa che le nuove generazioni, per quanto dipende dallo Stato, sono come obbligate a crescere senza alcuna idea di religione, digiune affatto delle prime ed essenziali nozioni dei loro doveri verso Dio.—È questo un mettere la scure alla radice, nè saprebbe immaginarsi mezzo più universale e più efficace per sottrarre all' influenza della Chiesa e della fede la società, la famiglia, gl' individui. *Scalzare con tutti i mezzi il clericalismo* (ossia il cattolicismo) *nelle sue fondamenta e nelle stesse sue*

sorgenti di vita, cioè nella scuola e nella famiglia, è la dichiarazione autentica di scrittori massonici.

Si dirà che ciò non avviene solo in Italia, ma che è un sistema di governo, al quale gli Stati generalmente si conformano.—Rispondiamo che questo non distrugge, ma anzi conferma quanto Noi diciamo degl'intendimenti e dell'azione della massoneria in Italia. Sì, quel sistema è adottato e messo in uso dovunque la massoneria esercita la sua empia e nefasta azione; e poichè questa è largamente diffusa, così quel sistema anticristiano è pur largamente applicato. Ma l'applicazione ne addiviene più rapida e generale e si spinge più agli estremi in quei paesi, i cui governi sono più sotto l'azione della sètta e meglio ne promuovono gl'interessi.—E per mala sorte nel numero di questi paesi è presentemente la nuova Italia. Non è da oggi che essa soggiace all' influsso empio e malefico delle sètte: ma da qualche tempo queste, addivenute assolutamente dominanti e strapotenti, la tiranneggiano a loro talento. Qui l' indirizzo della pubblica cosa, per ciò che concerne la religione, è tutto conforme alle aspirazioni delle sètte; le quali per attuarle, trovano nei depositarî del pubblico potere fautori dichiarati e docili strumenti. Le leggi avverse alla Chiesa e le misure per essa offensive sono prima proposte decretate risolute in seno alle adunanze settarie: e basta che una cosa qualunque abbia una cotale, sebbene lontana, apparenza di far onta o danno alla Chiesa, per vederla incontanente favorita e promossa.—Tra i fatti più recenti ricorderemo l' approvazione del nuovo codice penale; in cui quello che si è voluto con maggior pertinacia, nonostante tutte le ragioni in contrario, furono gli articoli contro il Clero, che costituiscono per esso come una legge di eccezione, e vanno fino a considerare come criminosi alcuni atti che sono per lui sacrosanti doveri di ministero.—La legge sulle *Opere pie*, per la quale tutto il patrimonio della carità, accumulato della pietà e dalla religione degli avi all'ombra e sotto la tutela della Chiesa, venne sottratto ad ogni azione ed ingerenza di essa, quella legge era stata già da più anni promossa nelle adunanze della sètta, appunto perchè doveva infliggere una nuova offesa alla Chiesa, diminuirne l'influenza sociale, e sopprimere d'un tratto una grande quantità di lasciti a scopo di culto.—Si aggiunse a questo l'opera eminentemente settaria, l'erezione cioè del monumento al famigerato apostata di Nola, promossa, voluta, attuata coll'aiuto e il favore dei governanti della Frammassoneria, che per la bocca degli stessi più autorevoli interpreti del pensiero settario non arrossì di confessarne lo scopo e di dichiararne il significato: lo scopo fu di far onta al Papato; il significato è che si vuole ora sostituire alla fede cattolica la libertà più assoluta di esame, di critica, di pensiero e di coscienza: e si sa bene ciò che significhi in bocca dei settarî un tal linguaggio.—Vennero a mettere il suggello le dichiarazioni più esplicite fatte pubblicamente da chi è capo del governo, dichiarazioni che suonano appunto così: La lotta vera e reale, che il governo ha il merito di aver compreso, è la lotta tra la fede e la Chiesa da una parte, il libero esame e la ragione dall'altra. Che la Chiesa cerchi pure di reagire, di incatenar di nuovo la ragione e la libertà del pensiero e di vincere. Quanto al governo, *in questa lotta*, si dichiara apertamente in favore

della ragione contro la fede, e si attribuisce come còmpito proprio di far si, che lo Stato italiano sia l'espressione evidente di questa ragione e libertà: triste còmpito, che udimmo testè in occasione analoga audacemente riaffermato.

Alla luce di tali fatti e di queste dichiarazioni torna più che mai evidente che l'idea maestra, la quale, per ciò che tocca la religione, presiede all'andamento della cosa pubblica in Italia, si è l'attuazione del programma massonico. Si vede quanta parte ne fu già attuata; si sa quanto ancora ne rimanga ad attuare; e si può preveder con certezza che, fino a tanto che i destini d'Italia saranno in mano di reggitori settarî o ligi alle sètte, se ne spingerà l'attuazione più o meno rapidamente, secondo le circostanze, fino al più completo sviluppo.—La loro azione ora è diretta a raggiungere i seguenti scopi, secondo i voti e risoluzioni prese nelle loro assemblee più autorevoli, voti e resoluzioni tutte ispirate da un odio a morte contro la Chiesa. *Abolizione nelle scuole di qualsiasi istruzione religiosa, e fondazione d'istituti, in cui anche la gioventù femminile sia sottratta ad ogni influenza clericale, qualunque essa sia: giacché lo Stato, che deve essere assolutamente ateo, ha il diritto e il dovere inalienabile di formare il cuore e lo spirito dei cittadini, e nessuna scuola deve essere sottratta nè alla sua ispirazione nè alla sua vigilanza.—Applicazione rigorosa di tutte le leggi in vigore dirette ad assicurare l'indipendenza assoluta della società civile dalle influenze clericali.—Osservanza rigorosa delle leggi che sopprimono le corporazioni religiose ed uso di tutti i mezzi per renderle efficaci.—Sistemazione di tutto it patrimonio ecclesiastico, partendo dal principio, che la proprietà di esso appartiene allo Stato e l'amministrazione ai poteri civili.—Esclusione d' ogni elemento cattolico o clericale da tutte le amministrazioni pubbliche, dalle opere pie, dagli spedali, dalle scuole, dai consigli nei quali si preparano i destini della patria, dalle accademie, dai circoli, dalle associazioni, dai comitati, dalle famiglie: esclusione da tutto, dovunque, per sempre. Invece l'influenza massonica deve farsi sentire in tutte le circostanze della vita sociale, e divenire padrona e arbitra di tutto.—Con questo si spianerà la via all' abolizione del Papato; così l' Italia sarà libera dal suo implacabile e mortale nemico, e Roma che fu in passato il centro della Teocrazia universale, sarà nell' avvenire il centro della secolarizzazione universale, d'onde deve essere proclamata in faccia al mondo intero la* Magna Charta *della libertà umana.* Sono altrettante dichiarazioni, aspirazioni e risoluzioni autentiche di frammassoni o delle loro assemblee.

Senza esagerar punto, è questo lo stato presente e l' avvenire che si prevede per la religione in Italia. Dissimularne la gravità sarebbe un errore funesto. Riconoscerlo qual è, ed affrontarlo con evangelica prudenza e fortezza, dedurne i doveri, che esso impone a tutti i cattolici, e a noi specialmente, che come Pastori dobbiamo vegliar su di essi e condurli a salvezza, egli è entrare nelle mire della Provvidenza, e fare opera di sapienza e di zelo pastorale.—Per quello che riguarda Noi, l'Apostolico officio C' impone di protestare altamente di nuovo contro tutto ciò che a danno della religione si è fatto, si fa o si attenta in Italia: difensori e tutori quali siamo dei sacri diritti della Chiesa e del

Pontificato, apertamente respingiamo ed a tutto il mondo cattolico denunziamo le offese che la Chiesa e il Pontificato ricevono del continuo, specialmente in Roma, e che rendono a Noi più malagevole il governo della cattolicità, più grave ed indegna la Nostra condizione. Del resto abbiamo fermo nell'animo di nulla omettere per parte Nostra, che possa valere a mantener viva e vigorosa in mezzo al popolo italiano la fede e a proteggerla contro gli assalti nemici.—Facciamo perciò appello, Venerabili Fratelli, anche al vostro zelo e al vostro amore per le anime, affinchè compresi della gravità del pericolo che esse corrono, avvisiate ai remedî e tutto poniate in opera per isconginrarlo. Nessun mezzo è na trascurare che sia in poter nostro: tutte le risorse della parola, tutte le industrie dell' azione, tutto l' immenso tesoro di aiuti e di grazie, che la Chiesa pone in nostra mano, sono da adoperare per la formazione di un Clero istruito e pieno dello spirito di Gesù Cristo; per la cristana educazione della gioventù, per l' estirpazione delle ree dottrine, per la difesa delle verità cattoliche, per la conservazione del carattere e dello spirito cristiano nelle famiglie.

Quanto al popolo cattolico, è necessario innanzi tutto che sia istruito del vero stato delle cose in Italia in fatto di religione, dell' indole essenzialmente religiosa che ha in Italia la lotta contro il Pontefice, e dello scopo vero a cui costantemente si mira, affinchè vegga coll' evidenza dei fatti in quante guise è insidiato nella sua religione, e si persuada quanto rischio corre di essere derubato e spogliato del tesoro inestimabile della fede.—Formatasi negli animi tale persuasione, e certi d' altra parte che senza la fede è impossibile piacere a Dio e salvarsi, comprenderanno che trattasi di assicurare il massimo, per non dir unico, interesse che ciascuno quaggiù ha il dovere il porre in salvo innanzi tutto, e a costo di qualunque sacrificio, sotto pena della sua eterna infelicità. Comprenderanna altresì facilmente che, essendo questo un tempo di lotta accanita e manifesta, sarebbe viltà disertare il campo e nascondersi. Il loro dovere è di rimanere al posto, di mostrarsi a viso aperto veri cattolici per credenze ed opere conformi alla loro fede, e ciò tanto a onor di quella e a gloria del sommo Duce, di cui seguono le insegne; come per non aver la somma disgrazia di essere sconfessati nel dì finale e non riconosciuti per suoi dal Giudice supremo, il quale ha dichiarato che chi non è con lui è contro di lui.—Senza ostentazione e senza timidezza, diano prova di quel vero coraggio che nasce dalla coscienza di compiere un sacrosanto dovere innanzi a Dio e agli uomini. Con questa franca professione di fede i cattolici devono unire una perfetta docilità e un filiale amore verso la Chiesa, un sincero ossequio ai Vescovi, e una assoluta devozione ed obbedienza al Romano Pontefice. Insomma riconosceranno quanto sia necessario cessarsi da tutto ciò che è opera delle sètte o che dalle sètte ha favore ed impulso, perchè certamente contaminato dallo spirito anticristiano che le anima: e darsi invece con attività, coraggio e costanza alle opere cattoliche, alle associazioni ed istituzioni benedette dalla Chiesa, incoraggiate e sostenute dai Vescovi e dal Romano Pontefice.—E poichè il principale strumento di cui si servono i nemici è la stampa, in gran parte ispirata e sostenuta da *loro*, conviene che i cattolici oppongano la

buona alla cattiva stampa per la difesa della verità, per la tutela della religione, e a sostegno dei diritti della Chiesa. E come è còmpito della stampa cattolica mettere a nudo i perfidi intendimenti delle sètte, aiutare e secondare l'azione dei sacri Pastori, difendere e promuovere le opere cattoliche, così è dovere dei fedeli di sostenerla efficacemente, sia negando o ritirando ogni favore alla stampa perversa; sia direttamente concorrendo, ciascuno nella misura che può, a farla vivere e prosperare: nella qual cosa crediamo che finora non siasi in Italia fatto abbastanza.—Da ultimo i documenti da Noi dati a tutti i cattolici, specialmente nell'enciclica "*Humanum genus*" e nell'altra "*Sapientiae christianae*" debbono essere particolarmente applicati ed inculcati ai cattolici d'Italia. Che se per restar fedeli a questi doveri avranno qualche cosa da patire o da sacrificare, si rincorino pensando, che il regno dei cieli patisce violenza e che sol con farsi violenza si conquista; e che chi ama sè e le cose sue più di Gesù Cristo, non è degno di lui. L'esempio di tanti invitti campioni, i quali per la fede tutto generosamente in ogni tempo sacrificarono, gli aiuti singolari della grazia che rendono soave il giogo di Gesù Cristo e leggiero il suo peso, debbono valere potentemente a ritemprare il loro coraggio e a sostenerli nel glorioso combattimento.

Non abbiamo considerato fin qui della presente condizione di cose in Italia che il lato religioso, come quello che per Noi è principalissimo ed eminentemente proprio, per ragione dell'officio Apostolico che sosteniamo.—Ma è pregio dell'opera considerare eziandio il lato sociale e politico, affinchè veggano gl'italiani, che non è solo l'amor della religione, ma altresì il più sincero e il più nobile amor di patria che deve muoverli ad opporsi agli empî conati delle sètte.—Basta osservare, per convincersene, quale avvenire si prepari all'Italia, nell'ordine sociale e politico, da gente che ha per iscopo, e non lo dissimula, di guereggiare senza tregua il cattolicismo e il Papato.

Già la prova del passato è per se stessa molto eloquente.—Ciò che in questo primo periodo della sua nuova vita sia addivenuta l'Italia per moralità pubblica e privata, per sicurezza, ordine e tranquillità interna, per prosperità e ricchezza nazionale, è più noto per fatti di quello che Noi potremmo dire a parole. Quelli stessi che pur avrebbero interesse di nasconderlo, costretti dalla verità, non lo tacciono. Noi diremo solo, che nelle condizioni presenti, per una triste ma vera necessità, le cose non potrebbero andare altrimenti: la sètta massonica, per quanto ostenti uno spirito di beneficenza e di filantropia, non può esercitare che un'influenza funesta: ed appunto funesta perchè combatte e tenta distruggere la religione di Cristo, vera benefattrice dell'umanità.

Tutti sanno quanto e per quanti capi influisca salutarmente la religione nella società. È incontestabile, che la sana morale pubblica e privata fa l'onore e la forza degli Stati. Ma è incontestabile egualmente che senza religione non vi è buona morale nè pubblica nè privata. Dalla famiglia solidamente constituita sulle naturali sui basi piglia vita, incremento e forza la società. Ora senza religione e senza

oralità il consorzio domestico non ha stabilità e i vincoli di famiglia indeboliscono e si dissolvono.—La prosperità dei popoli e delle azioni vien da Dio e dalle sue benedizioni. Se un popolo non solo on la riconosce da lui, ma contro di lui si solleva, e nella superbia del uo spirito tacitamente gli dice di non aver bisogno di lui, quella non che una larva di prosperità destinata a svanire, non appena piaccia l Signore di confondere la superba audacia dei suoi nemici.—La eligione è quella, che penetrando nel fondo della conscienza di cias- uno gli fa sentire la forza del dovere e lo spinge a seguirlo. La eligione è quella, che dà ai principi sentimenti di giustizia e di amore ei loro sudditi, che rende i sudditi fedeli e sinceramente ad essi evoti, che fa retti e buoni i legislatori, giusti ed incorrotti i magistrati, aloros fino all'eroismo i soldati, coscienziosi e diligenti gli amminis- ratori. La religione è quella, che fa regnare la conordia e l' affezione ra i coniugi, l'amore e la riverenza tra i genitori ed i figli; che ispira i poveri il rispetto pei beni altrui e ai ricchi il retto uso delle loro ostanze. Da questa fedeltà ai doveri e da questo rispetto ai diritti ltrui nasce l' ordine, la tranquillità, la pace, che sono tanta parte della rosperità di un popolo e di uno Stato. Tolta la religione, tutti questi eni immensamente preziosi in un colla religione sparirebbero dalla ocietà.

Per l' Italia la perdita sarebbe altresì più sensibile.—Le sue mag- iori glorie e grandezze, per cui tra le più colte nazioni ebbe per lungo tempo il primato, sono inseparabili dalla religione; la quale o le produsse, o le ispirò, o certo le favorì, le aiutò e diede ad esse incre- mento. Per le pubbliche franchigie parlano i suoi Comuni: per le glorie militari parlano tante imprese memorande contro nemici dichi- arati del nome cristiano: per le scienze parlano le Università che fondate, favorite, privilegiate dalla Chiesa, ne furono l' asilo e il teatro; per le arti parlano infiniti monumenti d' ogni genere, di cui è seminata a profusione tutta Italia; per le opere a vantaggio dei miseri, dei disere- dati, degli operai parlano tante fondazioni della carità cristiana, tanti asili aperti ad ogni sorta d' indigenza e d' infortunio, e le associazioni, e corporazioni cresciute sotto l'egida della religione. La virtù e la forza della religione è immortale, perchè viene da Dio: essa ha tesori di soccorso, ha rimedî efficacissimi per i bisogni di tutti i tempi, e di qualsivoglia epoca, ai quali sa mirabilmente adattarli. Quello che ha saputo e potuto fare in altri tempi, è capace di fare anche adesso con una virtù sempre nuova e rigogliosa. Togliere pertanto all' Italia la religione è inaridire d' un colpo la sorgente più feconda di tesori e di soccorsi inestimabili.

Inoltre, uno dei più grandi e dei più formidabili pericoli che corre la società presente sono le agitazioni dei *socialisti*, che minacciano di scompaginarla dalle fondamenta. Da tanto pericolo l' Italia non va immune; e sebbene altre nazioni sieno più dell' Italia infestate da questo spirito di sovversione e di disordine, non è men vero però che anche nelle sue contrade va largamente serpeggiando quello spirito e ogni giorno si afforza. E tale è la sua rea natura, tanta la potenza della sua organizzazione, tanta l'*audacia* dei suoi propositi, che fa

mestieri riunire tutte le forze conservatrici, per arrestarne i progressi, ed impedirne con felice successo il trionfo. Di queste forze prima e principalissima tra tutte è quella che può dare la religione e la Chiesa: senza di essa, riusciranno vane od insufficienti le leggi più severe, i rigori dei tribunali, la stessa forza armata. Come già contro le orde barbariche non valse la forza materiale, ma la virtù della religione cristiana, che penetrando nei loro animi, ne spense la ferocia, ne ingentili i costumi, li rese docili alla voce delle verità e della legge evangelica; così contro l'infuriare delle moltitudini sfrenate non vi sarà riparo efficace senza la virtù salutare della religione; la quale facendo balenare nelle menti la luce della verità, e stillando nei cuori i santi precetti della morale di Gesù Cristo, faccia loro sentire la voce della coscienza e del dovere, e prima che alla mano ponga freno all'animo e smorzi l'impeto della passione,—Osteggiare pertanto la religione è privare l'Italia dell'ausiliare più potente per combattere un nemico che diviene ogni giorno più formidabile e minaccioso.

Ma non è tutto.—Come nell'ordine sociale la guerra fatta alla religione riesce funestissima e sommamente micidiale all'Italia, così nell'ordine politico l'inimicizia colla Santa Sede e col Romano Pontefice è per l'Italia sorgente di grandissimi danni. Anche qui la dimostrazione non è più da fare; basta, a compimento del Nostro pensiero, riassumerne in brevi parole le conclusioni.—La guerra fatta al Papa vuol dire per l'Italia, al di dentro, divisione profonda tra l'Italia officiale e la gran parte d'italiani veramente cattolici, e ogni divisione è debolezza; vuol dire privarla del favore e del concorso della parte più schiettamente conservatrice; vuol dire alimentare nel seno della nazione un conflitto religioso che non approdò mai a pubblico bene, ma porta anzi sempre in se stesso i germi funesti di mali e di castighi gravissimi.—Al di fuori, il conflitto colla Santa Sede, oltre che priva l'Italia del prestigio e dello splendore, che le verrebbe infallibilmente dal vivere in pace col Pontificato, le inimica i cattolici di tutto il mondo, le impone immensi sagrificî, e ad ogni occasione può fornire ai nemici un'arma da rivolgere contro di lei.

Ecco il benessere e la grandezza che apparecchia all'Italia chi, avendone in mano le sorti, fa quanto può per abbattere, secondo l'empia aspirazione delle sètte, la religione cattolica e il Papato!

Si ponga invece, che rotta ogni solidarietà e connivenza colle sètte, sia lasciata alla religione e alla Chiesa, come alla più gran forza sociale, vera libertà e il pieno esercizio dei suoi diritti.—Qual felice cambiamento non avverrebbe nelle sorti d'Italia! I danni e i pericoli che lamentavamo qui sopra come frutto della guerra alla religione e alla Chiesa, cesserebbero al cessar della lotta: non solo, ma tornerebbero altresì a fiorire sull'eletto suolo dell'Italia cattolica le grandezze e le glorie, di cui la religione e la Chiesa fu sempre altrice feconda. Dalla loro divina virtù germoglierebbe spontanea la riforma de' pubblici e de' privati costumi; si rafforzerebbero i vincoli della famiglia; e in ogni ordine di cittadini sotto l'influsso religioso si desterebbe più vivo il sentimento del dovere e della fedeltà nell'adempierlo.—Le questioni sociali, che ora tengono tanto preoccupati gli animi, si avvierebbero

migliore e la più completa soluzione, mercè la pratica applidei precetti di carità e di giustizia evangelica; le pubbliche mpedite di degenerare in licenza, servirebbero unicamente la diverrebbero veramente degne dell' uomo: le scienze, per al cui la Chiesa è maestra, e le arti, per l' ispirazione potente, ligione deriva dall' alto, e che ha il segreto di trasfondere mi, salirebbero presto a nuova eccellenza.—Fatta la pace colla rebbe vie più cementata la unità religiosa e la concordia esserebbe la divisione tra i cattolici fedeli alla Chiesa e a quale acquisterebbe cosi un elemento potente di ordine e di ione. Fatta ragione alle giuste domande del Romano , riconosciuti i sovrani, diritti, e ripostolo in condizione di effettiva indipendenza, i cattolici delle altre parti del mondo bero più motivo di considerare l' Italia come nemica del loro nune: essi che non per alieno impulso, nè inconsapevoli di vogliono, ma si per sentimento di fede e dettame di dovere, concordemente la voce a rivendicare la dignità e libertà del upremo delle loro anime.—Che anzi crescerebbe all' Italia considerazione presso gli altri popoli dal vivere in armonia e Apostolica; la quale, come fece sperimentare in particolar italiani i beneficî della sua presenza in mezzo a loro; cosi della fede che si diffusero sempre da questo centro di benedi salute, fece che si diffondesse presso tutte le genti grande to il nome italiano. L' Italia riconciliata col Pontefice e la sua religione, sarebbe avviata ad emular degnamente le rie; e da tutto ciò che è vero progresso dell' età nostra non che ricevere novello incitamento ad avvantaggiarsi nel suo ammino.—E Roma città cattolica per eccellenza, preordinata centro della religione di Cristo e Sede del suo Vicario, il che e della sua stabilità e grandezza a traverso di tante età di si icende, riposta sotto il pacifico e paterno scettro del Romano , tornerebbe ad essere ciò che la fecero la Provvidenza e i n rimpicciolita alla condizione di capitale di un regno partidivisa tra due diversi e sovrani poteri, dualismo contrario storia; ma capitale degna del mondo cattolico, grande di maestà della Religione e del sommo Sacerdozio, maestra ed li moralità e di civiltà ai popoli.

no queste, Venerabili Fratelli, vane illusioni, ma speranze ul più solido e verace fondamento.—L'asserzione che si va divulgando, essere i cattolici ed il Pontefice i nemici d'Italia, ltrettanti alleati dei partiti sovversivi, non è che gratuita spudorata calunnia, sparsa ad arte dalle sètte per palliare i isegni e non incontrare intoppo nell' opera esecranda di scate l'Italia. La verità che discende chiarissima da quanto detto finora, è che i cattolici sono i migliori amici del proprio che dànno prova di forte e verace amore non solamente verso ne avita, ma anche verso la patria loro distaccandosi interalle sètte, avversandone lo spirito e le opere, facendo ogni iocchè l'*Italia non perda, ma* conservi vigorosa la fede; non

combatta la Chiesa, ma le sia fedele qual figlia, non osteggi il Pontificato, ma si riconcili con lui.—Adoperatevi a tutt' uomo, o Venerabili Fratelli, affinchè la luce della verità si faccia strada in mezzo alle moltitudini, sicchè queste abbiano finalmente a comprendere dove si trova il loro bene e il loro verace interesse, ed a persuadersi che solo della fedeltà alla religione, dalla pace con la Chiesa e col Romano Pontefice si può sperar per l' Italia un avvenire degno del suo glorioso passato.—Alla qual cosa vorremmo che ponessero mente, non diremo gli affigliati alle sètte, i quali di proposito deliberato s' argomentano di assodare sulle rovine della religione cattolica il nuovo assetto della Penisola, ma gli altri, che senza accogliere si biechi intendimenti, aiutano l' opera di quelli col sostenerne la politica: e particolarmente i giovani, si facili a errare per effetto d' inesperienza e predominio di sentimento. Ognuno vorremmo si persuadesse, come la via che si sta percorrendo, non possa essere che fatale all' Italia: e se Noi denunziamo ancora una volta il pericolo, non altro Ci muove che coscienza di dovere e carità di patria.

Ma ad illuminare le menti e rendere efficaci i nostri sforzi, è d'uopo d'invocare soprattutto gli aiuti del cielo. E però alla nostra comune azione, Venerabili Fratelli, vada unita la preghiera, e sia una preghiera generale, costante, fervorosa, che faccia dolce violenza al cuore di Dio, lo renda propizio a questa nostra Italia, si che allontani da essa ogni sciagura, quella in ispecie che sarebbe la più terribile di tutte, la perdita della fede.—Mettiamo per mediatrice appresso Dio la gloriosissima Vergine Maria, l'invitta Regina del Rosario, che tanta potenza ha sopra le forze d'inferno e tante volte ha fàtto sentire all'Italia gli effeti della sua materna dilezione.—Facciamo altresi fiducioso ricorso ai santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo che questa terra benedetta conquistarono alla fede, sanctificarono colle loro fatiche, bagnarono del loro sangue.

Auspice intanto degli aiuti che domandiamo, e pegno del Nostro specialissimo affetto vi sia l'Apostolica benedizione, che dall'intimo del cuore impartiamo a Voi, Venerabili Fratelli, al vostro clero e al popolo italiano.

Dato a Roma presso S. Pietro, li 15 Ottobre 1890, anno decimoterzo del Nostro Pontificato.

Leo PP. XIII.

The text of other Papal letters—*Religiosus Ordo, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ*, &c.—have, from pressure on our space this quarter, to be held over until April.]

Science Notices.

on of Nebulæ.—A moving object may happen to be
ight across the line of sight of an observer, in which
of its motion will be visible and directly measurable;
nay lie straight towards or away from him, when it
e at rest; but the chances are greatly in favour of its
ing oblique—that is, compounded, in some certain
thwartwise and end-on speed. All this applies as well
to terrestrial bodies. The stars can be seen to move if
hes them long enough, though the "long enough"
to centuries. Observations with the telescope,
e only one ingredient of their motion—that aimed
ial ray; the lines really traversed are, hence, as viewed
d-point on the earth, foreshortened, and foreshortened
n extent. But this perspective element, undiscover-
telescope, has most fortunately been found to come
ovince of the spectroscope, and, by its effects upon the
of light, astronomers are now able to determine with
y what is called the radial component of motion, that
other words, which serves to increase or diminish the
e moving object from the eye. Measurements of this
reover, the remarkable advantage of being complete in
stead of, like telescopic determinations of thwartwise
imply forming starting-points for future comparisons.
nout delay or circumlocution whether the source of the
copically examined is receding or advancing, and with

however, within the last year that this method has
ully applied to nebulæ. From these strange cosmical
direct evidence of movement has even yet been
ted by careful observations, repeated at long intervals
have hitherto remained, to all appearance, fixed,
ally revolving, like binary stars, nor travelling onwards
here. Nor were even the marvellous powers of the
sufficient, for close upon a quarter of a century after
successful with the stars, to elicit sure symptoms of
from nebulæ, so that astronomers seemed to be con-
the singular anomaly of aggregations stationary in
anomaly has, however, now at last been removed
ast increase of light-power made available in the clear
nia by the great refractor on Mount Hamilton, as well
e skill of Mr. Keeler, one of the observers there, in
account. *Shiftings* detected and accurately measured

in the green rays emitted by gaseous nebulæ, have enabled him to assign end-on velocities to ten of the "planetary" kind, summing up to an average of thirteen and a half miles a second. If we suppose them—as we are fully entitled to do—endowed one with another with equally rapid movements across the line of sight, their total average speed comes out nineteen miles a second, or just that of the earth in its orbit. The whole of this does not, however, belong to them of their own right. The solar system is also travelling through space at a rate which may be provisionally estimated at fifteen or sixteen miles a second, and which in appearance is transferred to the drifting objects around. The disentanglement of the two kinds of effect may safely be looked for in the immediate future, but as yet there is much doubt as to the share rightly appertaining to each. The achievement, nevertheless, of proving nebulæ to be masses neither more nor less mobile than stars, is a considerable one, and opens the door to further investigations of the highest import to celestial science.

A Scientific Ascent of Mont Blanc.—M. Janssen, the well-known solar physicist of Meudon, has never been content to remain in the ranks of stay-at-home pedestrian astronomers. One total eclipse drew him all the way to India; the desire to observe another —frustrated, after all, by bad weather—stimulated him to an aeronautic escape from besieged Paris, his instruments weighting his balloon; he purchased the opportunity of viewing a third at the price of a voyage to and from the Caroline Islands in the Pacific; and his studies of atmospheric absorption, for which, in 1864, the elevation of the Faulhorn was deemed sufficient, have now been completed at the summit of Mont Blanc. The closeness of their connection with investigations of the solar constitution is evident from the statement that their object was to discriminate among the multitude of dark lines ruling the solar spectrum, those due to the action of our own air from others, the vast majority, produced by the glowing vapours surrounding the sun. One patent characteristic of telluric rays is that they thicken and deepen as the sun nears the horizon; another, less easily ascertained, is that they tend to become effaced with the ascent of the observer to higher and higher altitudes above the sea-level, these opposite effects being, of course, due to opposite variations in the depth of the atmospheric strata traversed by the sun's rays previous to their experimental analysis. The earliest result of M. Janssen's inquiries was to prove aqueous vapour a main agent in our *domestic* encroachments, so to speak, upon sunlight, but there were residual defalcations brought home to atmospheric oxygen by later persevering experiments, including a spectroscopic determination of the effects upon an electric beam of transmission through the stratum of air included between the top of the Eiffel Tower and the Meudon Observatory. The question only remained to be answered whether this oxygen-action was wholly, or only in part, terrestrial?

Attempts had hitherto failed to get evidence of the presence in

of the vital element *par excellence*; but the possibility was ereby excluded of its existence at some distance from the here, in a state of sufficient coolness to render its impress ght liable to be masked by identical telluric effects. To n whether this was so or not, that is, whether the oxygen the solar spectrum grew weaker in the strict proportion of n in our atmosphere, M. Janssen mounted to the Grands- in 1888. The result was confirmatory of their terrestrial but the indefatigable inquirer was not yet content; his *excelsior* prompted further endeavour, and arrangements were made journ, until all doubt should be removed, on the topmost e of the Alps.

n elderly man, stout, and by no means robust, the enterprise arduous one; but resolution conquers unheard-of difficulties. y of seventy guides and porters was provided to carry, not e required apparatus, but the intending operator, the whole e physical resources it was necessary to husband, lest their tion should impair the delicacy of hand and eye, and the promptitude indispensable in critical observations; the te upshot of these precautions being that their subject, during of four days and nights at a height of 15,700 feet, suffered no inconvenience so long as he strictly refrained from bodily n, while his quickened mental faculties made intellectual leasurable and easy. He descended, accordingly, more than nvinced of the advantages of high scientific stations, and full for the establishment of one, in the interests of meteorology rrestrial physics, on the lofty summit he had just quitted. rk there had, as regards the point immediately at issue, the tory result of completing and confirming the observations of ars previously at the Grands-Mulets, leaving no doubt that ar rays start on their long outward journey absolutely un- l by oxygen-absorption in any form within the range of ial experience.

conclusion, as M. Janssen remarks, is not without some bear- n the future destinies of our race. For oxygen, if present atmosphere of the sun, should eventually, as temperature l sufficiently to allow of chemical affinities asserting their enter into combination with the hydrogen diffused in pro- volumes through the corona, when the aqueous vapour pro- by their union, and interposed as a veil between us and the uminary, should, as it rapidly accumulated, so quench his as to leave them without heating and lighting efficacy to n life upon our globe. This, in the best belief of science, *may* some millions of years to come, but *must*, sooner or later, o an end. Its accelerated extinction, however, through the ust indicated, need not be apprehended.

Rotation of Venus.—Readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW eady aware that the planet Mercury, owing to its rotation on in precisely the *period of its orbital* revolution, turns always

the same face towards the sun. The significance of this most remarkable fact has been accentuated by the further discovery, recently announced by M. Schiaparelli, that Venus is in the same case. Grave doubts have always attached to the rotation period of 23 hrs. 21m. assigned to this planet half a century ago by De Vico. The filmy and ill-characterised shadings, from the apparent displacements of which it was deduced, were in truth mere clouds, evanescent in character although continually renewed under the same recurring meteorological conditions. Markings of a different and more permanent kind are nevertheless sometimes to be seen. These are brilliant white spots, of an oval shape, and subject to changes so slow as to be scarcely perceptible from day to day. Occurring most conspicuously in the neighbourhood of the south pole, they seem, although unquestionably of atmospheric production, to be nevertheless localised, like the "red spot" on Jupiter, by peculiarities in the actual surface of the planet. The first notice of them was by Gruithuisen at Munich in 1813; and they have since several times dissolved and reformed, while rigidly maintaining their original position. From their fixity for weeks together in 1877–1878, ascertained by a series of observations not published until 1880, Schiaparelli demonstrated the impossibility of rapid rotation, and he gathered with great probability, from a collection of various data, that the "terminator," or division-line between light and darkness, never shifts over the face of the planet, the same two hemispheres of which, accordingly, remain always illuminated respectively and obscure. This suggested coincidence between the periods of rotation and revolution has been corroborated by observations made at Nice during the summer of 1890, with one of the three largest telescopes in the world. For they are altogether incompatible with a rotation-period of less than 190 days, and indicate the strong likelihood of its equality with the Aphroditean year of 225 terrestrial days.

Thus, we find disclosed to our wondering consideration a second planet devoid of the alternations of light with darkness, which alone make the earth habitable by creatures physically akin to ourselves. And this state of things was most probably brought about while the bodies in question were as yet molten, by what is called "solar tidal friction," or the stopping action of the tidal wave raised by the sun's attraction upon the spinning globe held by it as in a vice. So that it was a primitive and inherent condition of development, by which the masses it prevailed in were from the first unfitted, according to our notions, to become the abodes of life. It may also have incapacitated them for the production of satellites, which, in point of fact, neither Mercury nor Venus possesses. Secondary bodies are generally believed to have been formed in consequence of the accelerated whirling of parent masses; hence, where, as in the two planets under discussion, axial movement was always kept, by tidal resistance, below the disruption stage of velocity, there could be no production of satellites.

Mercury and Venus are singularly unlike in appearance, and perhaps in constitution. The atmosphere of the former is thin enough to permit the detection of brownish-red patches diversifying the roseate ground of a genuine solid surface. The analogy of Mars is hence forcibly suggested. Venus, on the contrary, may be thought somewhat to resemble Jupiter. Of what lies at the bottom of her ocean of air, nothing can be seen. All that is presented to our observation is an impenetrable shell of clouds almost as brilliantly reflective as new-fallen snow.

Dr. Koch's Remedy for Tubercular Diseases.—The attitude of the medical profession in Great Britain towards Dr. Koch's cure for tuberculosis is one of attention and reserve. They bear in mind the Professor's eminent scientific standing; but there are those who reflect that, the first injection of a human being having taken place about eighty days before the end of November, when the result or the remedy was ringing through the world, there has been haste in conclusion; and still more, that, after only eighty days' experience or the effect of the remedy on the human animal, no *permanent* result could possibly be pronounced. In this matter, the correspondents of the daily press are perhaps mainly to blame; in the medical journals there are no such arrogant statements, and no authoritative announcement of so assertive a nature can be traced to Dr. Koch himself. The misleading character of the daily press announcements in this connection have been pointed out by a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* in the following instance.

Dr. Koch says in his original communication to the "Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift" that "the remedy does not kill the tubercle bacilli but the tuberculous tissue." The *Times*' interviewer makes the Professor say, ... "I have since then been engaged . . . . . in endeavouring to obtain the inocculating fluid which would kill the bacilli. . . . . I believe I have it here."

Dr. Koch's hand has perhaps been forced into giving the result of his experiments. He seems determined no such pressure shall make him prematurely disclose the exact nature of the remedy. There has as yet been no official announcement as to the nature of the fluid injected. If, as rumoured, it is in part, at least, a product of disease, this fact would be in accordance with our past knowledge of the operations of nature, and a striking example of her economy.

Tubercle is now very generally held by the medical profession to be due to the action of a minute organism. It has not always been so held: there has been question of the possibility of the tubercle developing the bacillus. Also, in regard to phthisis a distinction has been made of tubercular from pulmonary; this distinction is still made by some, but there is a very general opinion that all consumption is tubercular; and, in this connection it is well to note that pulmonary phthisis has been to all appearances amenable to the new remedy. Dr. Koch first discovered that the tubercle growth is always due to a bacillus, which he calls bacillus tuberculosis: he also first gave us the knowledge that lupus is tuberculosis of the skin.

The new remedy can only act on living tuberculous tissue, wherever situated in the body, and it always so acts; thus is it a valuable fresh means of diagnosis. Its effect is to produce necrosis, to destroy the living tuberculous tissue which the bacilli inhabit. This dead tissue has then to be got rid of surgically, or, if this is impossible, by unaided nature; and during that operation, the living tissue must be protected from fresh attacks of the bacilli by continuous application of the remedy. When the dead tuberculous tissue cannot be got rid of rapidly by surgical means, as in the case of the lungs, there is a possibility of a return of the bacilli, for the remedy does not seem to "protect" in man, as it does in guinea-pigs. The possibility of return is recognised by Dr. Koch, by his prescriptions for after treatment of the patient, mountain air, &c., &c. It thus appears that the effect of the remedy is to "hurry a natural process" which by itself sometimes cures. The effect clearly shows the danger of applying the remedy to advanced cases of phthisis; acute necrosis would be a great danger in such important organs as the lungs. The outlook of most of the phthisical patients hitherto treated is good; they have increased in weight, appetite, and so on. There is a report that in a lupus case there has been a return.

Dr. Koch dwells on the effectuality of the remedy for surgical tubercular affections, and for the earliest stages of phthisis; and, in connection with these early stages the remedy is invaluable as a fresh means of diagnosis, so also is it, in connection with laryngeal affections, so again, through the *local* reactive phenomena which often reveal unsuspected tubercular tissue. It must likewise be considered a step in the science of therapeutics, throwing light in its mode of action "upon the reason for the selective action of remedies, and upon the doctrine of tolerance." In the opinion of the *Lancet*, if Dr. Koch fulfils only a fraction of what he promises, he will be one of the greatest benefactors the world has ever seen.

The South London Electric Railway.—The promoters of the South London Electric Railway are to be congratulated on their enterprise in having made the first electric railway, worthy of the name, a *fait accompli*, in this country. Their original idea was to work the line by cable, and it was only on second thoughts that they resolved to try electricity as the motive power. One cannot doubt that from the engineering success of their efforts electric traction will receive an impetus generally, and that its advantages for underground lines will be more than ever apparent.

In the Metropolis the Underground Railway is now looked upon as a necessity by a very large class of the community; but its advantages are greatly counterbalanced by its injurious effect upon health, which ensues from breathing frequently the noxious fumes which are produced from steam locomotion in a confined space. A considerable number of delicate persons refuse to venture into its polluted atmosphere. The use of electricity in subways is unattended with the slightest pollution of the atmosphere, and its extension from the one railway lately opened to the underground

ilway system as a whole would be little short of a national oon.

The South London Electric Subway extends from King William reet, under the Thames to Stockwell. In the mechanical portion f the undertaking there are some striking features of novelty. The nnels are one below the other, to save space, which is quite a new ea, and the mode of tunnelling was a departure from ordiry practice. The tunnels, which are some sixty feet below the rface, are made of iron, and are ten feet only in diameter. The de of driving the tunnels may be compared to the sinking of a sson, an operation with which the building of the Forth Bridge s made us familiar. A steel shield was forced forward through the y while the material was excavated. As the work progressed, a g of cast-iron plates was built up, and a lime grout was forced into e space left by the sides of the shield between the lining-plates d the soil. The speed of working was some sixteen feet per day. the electrical portion of the railway there is almost complete ence of novelty, if we except the direct driving of the armatures. is an example of a simple, straightforward piece of electrical engiering, happily devoid of those complications which often creep to new electrical enterprises, and are sometimes responsible for laborate breakdowns in their subsequent working. The generating ant consists of three large Edison-Hopkinson dynamos, each rked by a vertical compound Fowler engine, working at a steamessure of 140 lbs. per square inch. It was on account of the mewhat irregular nature of the work that large and slow speed gines were selected, for though high speed engines are so largely ed with economical results for electric light installations, they uld not be adequate to cope with the variations of load experienced the working of a railway. The colossal dynamos are fine specimens f their class. The weight of the armature alone is two tons; the hole machine weighs seventeen tons. Each machine can generate 0 volts and 450 ampères. The total weight of copper wire on e magnet of each machine is nearly a ton and a half; an elecical efficiency of over 96 per cent. is claimed for the machine.

The electric current is conveyed from the machines to a distributg and testing switch-board placed in the engine-house, and from ence to various parts of the line. The rails on which the train ns are the conductors. They are of channel steel of great conductivity, carried on glass insulators. The conductor is divided into ctions, so that the permanent way can be easily tested and ared. As regards the insulation, the contractors estimate that hen the full pressure is on, the leakage current does not exceed one mpère. Fourteen electric locomotives have been already built for rking the line, of 100 effective horse power, and capable of runng about twenty-six miles per hour. In their construtions there s a motor fitted to each axle. The current from the conductor is nveyed to the motors by means of sliding shoes of iron or steel. curious feature of the locomotive is that electricity is not used for

the brake, Westinghouse automatic air-brakes being pro
is estimated that ten trains will be worked on the line at
time.

The Magneto-Optical Generation of Electricit recent article which appeared in the *American Journal of S* Samuel Sheldon, Ph.D., described those original experi which he claims to have reversed Faraday's famous expe rotating a plane of polarised light by the action of a magn As is now well-known, if a beam of plane polarised light through a tube containing bisulphide of carbon, and if th beam lie in the direction of the lines of force of an electr the plane of the emergent beam is rotated, when the r excited under the action of the electric-current, the directi rotation being the same as that of the current, and its an pending upon the electro-motive force. It occurred to t menter that a rapid rotation of a plane of polarised lig produce a current of electricity in the coil of wire; a c rotation should produce a continuous current, and an osci the plane an alternating current.

The coil he made use of in his researches was wound up brass tube closed at both ends with glass plates. This tub with bisulphide of carbon. He first made a quantitative ment of the effects produced in Faraday's experiment. In of the experimenter, "a beam of light from an incandesc after passing through a large nicol, was made to traverse phide of carbon in the coil. Upon emerging, the beam wa to extinction by the proper adjustment of an analysing measured current of electricity was now passed around This necessitated a readjustment and rotation of the analy to reproduce extinction of the beam. Within the limits rotation was proportional to the current strength. As a many measurements, it was found that a current of 1 required a rotation of 78 minutes of the analyser. Ac 278 ampères would be required to rotate the plane throu providing the proportionality between current strength an remained unaltered."

To rotate the plane of polarised light, it was necessary the polarising nicol prism by mechanical means. If it 278 ampères, which means an impressed e.m.f. of 2000 rotate the plane through 360°, to produce the same reversing the experiment, would require the polariser to b with a frequency corresponding with the vibrations of l practice, however, it was found that a "nicol" cannot be much above 200 times in a second, as the centrifugal for interfere with its polarising properties. Now, the rat revolutions per second would give a current no stron ·0000000001 volt. Such an infinitesimal voltage would indicated even by so sensitive an instrument as Sir W. T *mirror galvanometer*. It occurred to Mr. Sheldon that in

he would find an instrument sensitive enough to record a epresenting the electrical energy of such a minute fraction lt, and that the swinging of the plane of polarised light e more expedient than its rotation.

rrying out his experiment, he placed the telephone in a room s distant from the remaining portion of the apparatus by ories. In the upper room, the apparatus was arranged as : The source of light was the "electric arc." Its light was through a large "nicol," and reflected at a very obtuse om a small movable mirror, and then passed through the de of carbon in the coil. The terminals of the coil were to the lower room, and connected through the telephone. rror, arranged on a frame, so that it could rotate about an ost parallel with the ray of light, was made to oscillate 45 degrees, about 300 times per second. The plane of tion was then twisted through twice that amount. During llation of the mirror, a sound was heard in the telephone in n below, "an octave above that made by the moving mirror." Sheldon's opinion, this sound represented the electric current d in the coil by the oscillation of the plane of polarised

ical Tests in Competitive Examinations.—The anthro- cian, Mr. Francis Galton, is well known for his valuable n identification, natural inheritance and correlations, and easurements, but, as a result of these anthropometrical there is some chance of his becoming known to us all in a me-reaching manner—as the originator of another series of competitive examinations. He proposes these ever-present ares of our youth and its parentage should have their uncer- ncreased by the addition of a series of physical tests, not tests *h*—these we have already—but physical tests of *strength*. roposals were laid before the British Association in 1889, nicated by them to the authorities of the Army, Navy, Indian rvice, and Civil Service Commissioners. Their replies were ore the Council of the British Association this year at Leeds. il Service Commissioners, at the instigation of the Indian re now considering the practicability of Mr. F. Galton's pro- so that we may say they have already taken action in the It, therefore, behoves the British public to examine now nature of a scheme which, if executed, will so nearly touch ests. Mr. F. Galton, in a liberal spirit, courts such criticism, ly constructive criticism, and for that purpose spoke on the at the Society of Arts on the evening of November 26 last. o champion of competitive examinations, but he thinks them nt so one-sided that he is of opinion any additional know- oncerning the candidates must be useful. High physical ations are advantageous in some active professions. There- . Galton proposes that, in competitive examinations for these , physical *qualifications* should be recognised, that their

recognition should be within certain defined limits only, and not exaggerated in value—*i.e.*, the marks accorded should be moderate. These two latter points are important. They obviate, first, athletic competition, and all consequent training and expense to parents, as the faculties to be tested within the limits assigned do not need special preparation; secondly, they prevent undue predominance of physical advantages in the total marks of the competitive examination. The moderate character of the test is evidenced by an example. Objectors have said Nelson would not have passed such a *physique* examination. Mr. Galton points out that if he had not, that fact would not have excluded him from the Navy, as these tests cannot peremptorily exclude; that power is an attribute of the physical *health* examination, and Nelson would have qualified in the mental examination. The real value of the proposed new strength tests is, that by the aid of their moderate marks, a youth of mediocre mental power on the borderland of failure may, on account of his fine physique, be raised to the successful side of the line of division. It is a possible second plank to that broad band of mediocre minds that comes out in an examination list thick about the dividing line between success and failure. Those well endowed mentally and physically will not be overthrown by the new test, but by their mental or health deficiencies only, while those who are passed over the dividing line by its aid will be eminently fitted, at least physically, for active work for their country. And here is the place to point out that the batches of measurements made at Cambridge show mediocre physique is not always associated with mediocre minds, that there is as much variability in physique in connection with mediocre minds as in connection with any other class.

The tests proposed, Mr. Galton divides into three groups. The first group to consist of the five following faculties, to be measured independently one of the other, by their absolute achievement—absolute strength, quickness of response, swiftness of muscular action, keenness of vision, keenness of hearing. The second group to consist of three faculties to be measured relatively, strength and swiftness from a different point of view, and breathing capacity. Strength is now to be considered in the sense in which "a racer is stronger than a carthorse," that is, strength relatively to weight. The value of this fraction is easily obtained, when the units of strength form the numerator, and units of weight the denominator. Swiftness is to be considered relatively to weight, though not as a fraction, but as a product. "The units of swiftness have to be multiplied into the units of strength, to measure the momentum of a blow, or of a rush. Lung capacity is to be treated as strength, relatively to the size of the body, again, like strength in this group, as a fraction."

In the third group come symmetry and stature; in these, the mean of the race receives the maximum of marks, falling off on either side, to the two limits: for, in the system of marks, there *are to be two limits*, those candidates who fall below the lower in

ll the groups receiving no marks, those who exceed the higher
r the first and second groups, receiving a certain fixed maximum
ly, and for the third group receiving none.

It is the correlation of measurements, the just allotment of marks,
d the testing instruments, that present the difficulties of the pro-
t. Mr. F. Galton is of opinion that enough work has been done
eady under each of these three heads for the project to be tenta-
ely feasible, and, skilled as he is in the work generally, of measur-
g correlations and tabulating their values, we may safely trust this
ies to his elaboration. It has been pointed out by Dr. Delepine,
at the correlation of the measurements of height-weight muscular
wer and respiratory capacity could not be merely paired, as
ted above, but must be considered altogether; "for instance, if
man of a certain height weighed a little more than he should, if
muscular power and breathing capacity were not taken at the
me time, the excess of weight would be deemed rather a deficiency,
t if it were found that he had unusual muscular power, it would be
ident that the excess of weight might be due to a larger amount
muscle than the normal, and therefore the excess of weight would
a good feature." And so on of excess in chest measurement,
hich might be stoutness, or muscularity, or more than normal
ng development; so that height and symmetry of the third group
ould have to be considered relatively to faculties of the first and
cond groups.

As regards the suitable instruments, Mr. F. Galton has himself
rought out some, accurate and easy in their use, a great improve-
ent on some of the tedious known methods of testing. The pro-
ss of testing would take about a quarter of an hour per man, and
st about sixpence per head.

But all the same, if the object of all this care and elaboration is
o give a second plank to the mediocre minds, it seems a vast lot of
rouble for small gain to the nation; and we question whether some
f these qualifications might not be increased by training. If so,
terrible danger looms upon us, for the additional training that
ould start up must mean bewilderment to our already overstrained
ouths and their impoverished parents. There are those who wel-
ome the proposals of Mr. F. Galton, just for the reason that they
ay be considered the thin end of the wedge towards enforcing
hysical training, in the hope of making Britons as symmetrical a
ce as the Greeks.

There is one invaluable quality that these tests do not reach, that
energy. Suggestions have been made of taking the pulse, the
ffects of starts—these last to be registered by instantaneous photo-
raphy—and the condition of the digestion as data for tabulating
nergy. But Mr. F. Galton thinks it not impossible there may be
hysiological signs of at least some forms of energy, and that in the
uture, we may have the wit to discern them.

The Meteorology of Influenza.—Dr. Assmann of Berlin, who
as for some years *past been engaged* in researches into the relations

between meteorology and disease generally, has lately turned his attention to that species with which so many have been familiar. In a recent number of the *American Meteorological Journal* he published "A Study of Climatological Influence upon the Recent Epidemic of Influenza," which cannot fail to be of general interest. It is with the progress of the disease that Dr. Assmann alone deals, for he regards the cause as still enveloped in mystery, and he merely points out that there is a strong possibility that influenza is a specific bacillus. There are certain conditions that are favourable to the propagation of bacilli in the atmosphere: 1. Absence of precipitation of moisture. Raindrops and snowflakes are the scavangers of the air; they carry down the dust it contains to the earth's surface. In this atmospherical dust there are present micro-organisms which represent a variety of diseases. While in the atmosphere, these are a source of danger to the human subject who breathes the dust into the lungs; but when once they are brought to the surface of the earth, it is impossible for them to have ingress to the breathing organs until the soil becomes so dried that the wind carries them again into the atmosphere. Dr. Assmann tells us that snowflakes are still better scavangers of the air than raindrops, because, owing to their larger surface, they go a longer way through the air in falling. The reduction of the quantity of atmospheric dust by precipitation of moisture has been proved by experiment by M. Gaston, Tissandier, and others. M. Tissandier found that after dry weather there was four times as much dust in the air as after rain. In Paris, after a week of dry weather, there was 23 milligrams of dust in a cubic mètre of air, after rain only 0·25 milligrams. Snow, when lying upon the ground, has also an important influence in confining the dust to the earth. 2. The existence of fogs. Clouds contain dust either as the point of condensation or mechanically mixed; they act therefore as air filters. When, however, the clouds lie on the earth's surface in the form of fogs, we inhale the dust that has been confined in the water drops. Hence the harmful influence of dense fogs on the breathing organs. 3. Little vertical change of air. Ascending currents of air produce cloud formation in greater heights, and at the same time descending air currents bring down to the earth's surface the purer air of the higher strata. When a vertical motion of the air is wanting, the dust accumulates in the lower strata, and, clothed in fog, is breathed into the lungs. The cause of this atmospherical stagnation is a high barometric pressure.

Dr. Assmann has found, with regard to the influenza epidemic, that during the months of November and December 1889 the above-mentioned conditions of atmosphere generally existed where the epidemic was prevalent, and that, consequently, the climatic conditions were well adapted for the development and increase of the bacilli. During the summer and early autumn of 1889 there was a considerable amount of rainfall. This was followed by an unusually long drought in November in Eastern and Central Europe, which, in the East especially, was maintained during a part of December. In

these districts November generally has 40–60 mm., and December 50–70 mm. of moisture through precipitation, but the figures for November 1889 were often under 10 mm. at most of the easterly weather stations of Germany; those of Austria and Russia were under 30 mm. In December, especially in the East, the figures are frequently under 20 mm. Dr. Assmann further quotes the following statistics: At Moscow, during November and December, in twenty-nine days there was no measurable precipitation of moisture; at St. Petersburg, in thirty-five days, there were the same conditions, it being perfectly dry from December 1 to December 16. At Munich there were thirty-five days of dryness; Lemberg had 39, Brussels 43, Paris 44, Stockholm 46, Prague 51, Vienna 36. Everywhere, therefore, there seems to have been these dry periods during the afore-mentioned months.

But, in Dr. Assmann's opinion, more important still than the absence of precipitation in the form of rain is the fact that no lasting snow fell in Europe and Russia during the investigated period, and he thinks that even if there had been less rain than the scanty allowance there was during those months, a thin covering of snow would have prevented the pollution of air by the dust. During the larger portion of November and December 1889 there was either a cloudy sky or fog over most parts of Europe, which conditions prevents a climination of dust in the lower air strata. These fogs were caused by a too high pressure of air, and consequently insufficient ventilation. In November and December 1889, for weeks together, there were districts where the barometer indicated more than 780 mm. Sometimes the figures were as high as 788 mm.

The effect of fog in propagating the disease was made evident by the sudden outburst of the disease in London that was coincident with the dense fogs that prevailed in the metropolis during the close of 1889. A fact which is not mentioned by Dr. Assmann.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Wanderings in Western China.—Mr. Hosie has now collected and published in an interesting volume* the results of journeys in Western China, undertaken on behalf of the British Government, in order to explore and report upon its commercial resources. The opening of Chungking, its principal emporium, to European trade has been the object of British enterprise ever since a clause in the Chefoo Convention rendered its being raised to a treaty port condi-

* "Three Years in Western China." By Alexander Hosie. London: George Philip. 1890.

tional on the successful navigation by steamer of the Yangtse to that point. Although the attempt to fulfil this condition was abandoned by Mr. Archibald Little after a two years' struggle with the evasions of the Chinese Government, the latter has at last consented to waive the condition, and Chungking has been opened as a treaty port by an agreement signed at Pekin in March 1890. The effect of this arrangement is that it stands on the same footing as Shanghai as regards payment of dues, all those on merchandise in transit thither being abolished, and only the single import and export duty of 5 per cent. being chargeable. The cost of transport, however, remains a serious obstacle to traffic, as steam navigation ceases at Ichang, 1000 miles from the sea, and the remaining 500 are traversed in native junks. The cost of freight by water for the 1500 miles from Shanghai to Chungking is consequently £10 per ton, as against an average of £2 per ton for the 12,000 miles from Liverpool to Shanghai, while land carriage from Chungking to more distant centres of consumption costs a shilling per ton per mile. As Western China is mountain-locked from the landward side, it is only by the rivers, the Yangtse and West, or Canton, river, from the east, and the Red River of Tonquin, from the south, that it is practically accessible at all. The provinces thus reached are three—Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechuen. The first, although rich in natural products, is poor in population, which, decimated by civil war, now amounts to but five or six millions, principally engaged in agricultural pursuits. Kweichow, so mountainous as to be called "the Chinese Switzerland," is also backward in development, as it is only within twenty years that the Chinese drove the aboriginal race from the northern half of the province, which still lies devastated by the struggle. There remains Szechuen, with the area and population of France, rich in agricultural and mineral wealth, and already doing a large export trade in such valuable products as opium, silk, salt, sugar, medicines, tobacco, and musk. As it grows no cotton, it has to import it from other provinces, in order to re-export it manufactured. Foreign cotton and woollen manufactured goods are also imported, and this trade might, with increased facilities, be largely developed.

The White Wax Insect.—Mr. Hosie was especially commissioned to report on the production of insect white wax, and to forward to Kew Gardens specimens of the wax in all stages of its deposit. Although the existence of this substance has been known in Europe since the seventeenth century, its real nature and origin have been only investigated within recent years. The Chien-Chang valley, in the province of Szechuen, is the principal breeding-place of the insects, which first appear in March in great numbers, of almost microscopic size, enclosed in pea-shaped excrescences called "scales," on the branches of a large-leaved *ligustrum*, or privet. What the further history of these creatures would be if left to themselves we have no means of knowing, but for commercial production they are transported, towards the end of April, before leaving the nursery scale, to

strict of Chiating, 200 miles from their native valley, and ed from it by a series of mountain ranges. The scales, p in paper packets weighing about a pound, sixty of which go load, are carried thither by porters, to the number sometimes 00, travelling principally by night, lest the higher day tem- e should accelerate the development and escape of the insects. ter, when arrived at their destination, are suspended to the of pollards, probably a species of ash, the *Fraxinus Chinensis*, the leaves of which they remain for a period of thirteen days. hen descend to the branches, on which the females develop n which to deposit their eggs, while the males secrete the ith which they gradually cover the whole branch, to a thick- the end of three months, of about a quarter of an inch. The es are occasionally shaken and beaten with a stick, to detach ry beetles, who injure or devour the wax insect, the latter g so closely to the bough as to remain inseparably affixed to the end of one hundred days the branches are lopped off, much of the wax as can be removed by hand is thrown into water, from the surface of which it is skimmed off, to be run mould, forming the finest quality of the white wax of com- An inferior kind is produced by boiling the branches, to what still adheres to them, while the insects, which have sunk bottom of the pot, are finally squeezed in a bag to extract rop of the secretion, after which they are given as food to the The amount of production varies greatly, for while in favour- ars a pound of scales will produce four to five pounds of wax, years this yield is reduced to a little over one pound. The y imported into Shanghai in 1884 was 454 tons, worth 0. Its value is due to its high melting point, 160° F., as d to 95° F. for tallow ; candles of the latter are consequently with it to prevent them from guttering. It is also used as a glaze silk, cotton, and paper. The introduction of kerosene much diminished its sale and production.

rland Trade between Russia and China.—An important from the British Embassy at St. Petersburg deals with the d trade between Russia and China, the decline of which has to excite the uneasiness of the Russian authorities. The e first became apparent in 1869, after the opening of the anal, and seems to be continuous, having been very marked 9. The value of Russian goods exported in that year to a, the Chinese frontier market, was only 1,085,140 roubles, rtieth of their value in 1869. The total value of all goods, d by this route in 1889 was 3,000,000 roubles, exclusive of s metals to the amount of 1,000,000 roubles. The Russian s are classified as food products, furs, manufactures, and raw lf manufactured articles, and in all four categories, except t, there has been a serious decrease since 1885, and since 1887 last as well. The principal articles comprised in this heading elope and roebuck *horns, and the* musk of deer. Manufactured

goods, amounting in 1889, to but a third of those exported the previous year, consist principally of velveteen, broadcloth, Russia leather, goat-leather, tinsel, brass pans, and tea-urns. The fur-trade, which also shows an alarming decrease, consists mainly of the lynx, Arctic fox and fox (these three amounting in value to two-thirds of the whole), squirrel, cat, ermine, beaver, otter, and musk-rat. The imports from Kiakhta into Russia have also declined from 25,000,000 roubles in 1887, to 19,000,000 in 1888, and 14,000,000 in 1889. They are divided into Chinese and Mongolian goods, in the proportion of nearly 12,000,000 roubles of the former, and less than two of the latter, the Chinese articles being principally food-stuffs, about nine-tenths of which are tea, and the Mongolian raw and half-manufactured products, the principal items being horned cattle, sheep, butter, and hides. A small quantity of silk also comes from China, and furs and squirrels' tails from Tibet. The overland tea trade of China with Russia was, in 1889, only half that of 1887, chiefly owing to the shipping of tea from China to Odessa by the Suez Canal. The shortening of the sea route has also led to the substitution of Western manufactures, such as cloths, velvets, and cotton goods, for those of Russia in the Chinese markets. Her merchants, however, still enjoy a monopoly of the trade in furs, which the Chinese, like the Siberians, cannot dress themselves. The Chinese exports to Russia exceed the imports tenfold, and in the last four years the balance of trade against the latter has amounted to no less than 70,000,000 roubles, the figures being respectively, 7,367,390, and 77,399,067. While Russia has no sea-borne export trade to China, she receives by sea much of the produce of the latter, notably tea. Woollen cloths, formerly the largest article of export, have been replaced by cheaper cotton tissues, but even these have declined from a value of 822,200 roubles in 1888 to 217,940 in 1889. The *Moscow Gazette* attributes this falling off to the high rate of exchange, and the customs duties on raw cotton, but regards the future Siberian railway as likely to restore the activity of commercial intercourse between the two countries. It also calls on Russian capitalists to combine in order to revive the trade of Kiakhta, and put an end to the English monopoly of the Chinese markets so damaging to Russian interests. (*Times* Oct. 7, 1890.)

Antarctic Expedition.—The handsome offer of Barons Nordenskjöld and Dickson, to fit out, organise, and equip an expedition to the South Pole, provided the Australasian colonies contribute £5000 towards the expenses, has been already taken up in Melbourne, and was the subject of discussion at a meeting held there, on August 25, 1890. Mr. Griffiths, F.R.G.S., delivered an interesting lecture, summarising the scientific objects of the proposed expedition, of which the principal is to ascertain, by examination of local currents, &c., whether the land at the South Pole exists in the shape of a continent, or an archipelago, a question which has puzzled all previous explorers, including Ross, Wilks, Nares, and d'Urville. Pendulum observations are also to be taken, and the vibra-

tions compared with those in the equatorial regions, in order to ascertain if the flattening of the earth's shape be as great there as at the North Pole. The number of active volcanoes studding the Antarctic shores gives a peculiar character to their geology, and interesting questions arise as to the nature of the rocks on which the lava beds rest. The flora and fauna of New Zealand, of South America, and of South Africa, are believed to be common to the Antarctic regions, the exploration of which may thus throw light on some of the problems connected with the distribution of life on the earth's surface. Among practical points to be decided by the expedition are the existence of available harbours and water-courses in the South Polar regions, and the possibility of establishing a permanent whaling depôt there. The diminution of the supply of whales in the Northern Polar Seas gives added importance to any extension of the fishing grounds in the opposite hemisphere. Baron Nordenskjöld's expedition, with all these problems to inquire into, will be absent for several years, and ballooning and sledging are expected to play an important part in it. It is now fifty years since the eye of man has looked on the towering peaks of Mounts Erebus and Terror, the one an active, the other a dormant volcano, and no one knows whether they may not have exchanged characters in the interim.

The Trans-Sahara Railway.—The course of this line has been decided on after long discussion, and the first section, according to the present plan, will run from Biskra, the actual terminus of the East Algerian Railway, to Tuggurt, and thence to Ouargla, the further continuation to Timbuktu being left for future discussion. Leaving Biskra, the chief town of the Ziban, already known as a winter station, with a large garrison and about 7000 inhabitants, the road runs through the Oued Rirh, a valley consisting of an unbroken chain of oases, extending for one hundred miles to Tuggurt, the capital of the district, and Temacen, its religious centre. The "Compagnie de l'Oued Rirh" has planted factories and date palm plantations along this part of the line, from the construction of which its operations will receive large development. Tuggurt, the next important station, is a fortified town of some 5000 inhabitants, with a large barrack, mosques, and Bureau Arabe, standing among palm groves on a slight eminence, and forming the centre whence the caravan routes radiate east, west, and south, to the towns in the Souf, the M'zab, and to Ouargla. To the latter town, a very important station, strongly fortified, and the most southern of Algerian garrisons, the line will probably run past the oases of El Hadjireh and Negoussa. This place, in addition to its strategic value, is the great centre for the produce and fabrics of the Chaamba nomads. It is calculated that the construction of this portion of the line, assuming it to be constructed on the Russian system, will require only two years, but the really difficult portion is that which lies beyond French territory, among the wild and unreclaimed tribes of the further Sahara.

British East Africa.—Mr. Mackenzie, in an address to the

members of the Royal Colonial Institute on November 11, dwelt on the work and prospects of the East African Company. As regards slavery, he claims that the latter has secured the freedom of 4000 runaway slaves with the consent of their masters, while those released by the naval cruisers average but 120 per annum. He advocates the gradual extinction of domestic slavery by a system of registration, by which existing slaves would be empowered to work out their own redemption, while no new ones should be allowed to be entered on the lists. The Arabs, he believes, could be easily induced to become consenting parties to this arrangement, to work out which a slave bureau at Zanzibar, with a slave commissioner and staff under him, would have to be created. His experience proves to him that there is no difficulty in dealing with emancipated slaves as labourers, since they worked willingly for daily wages at Mombasa. For the repression of the slave trade in the interior, the opening of communications will, he thinks, be found the most effectual means, and a Government guarantee for a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria would be more advantageous from this point of view than the large sums spent on the blockade of the coast. The Company has ordered a steamer to be placed immediately on the lake, and has already one of light draught at Mombasa to navigate the river Tana. It has cut a road of 300 miles into the interior, and defended it with stockaded stations, while it has surveyed and provided plant and material for a pioneer line of railway to the confines of the highland district of Taveta. It has sent out various successful exploring expeditions, and has established a military police force of 400 Soudanese and British Indians, with 800 native auxiliaries.

Progress of Kashmir.—The assumption two years ago of the practical control of the affairs of Kashmir by the British authorities has been followed by a great improvement in the condition of the country. The financial disorders that threatened imminent bankruptcy have been remedied by the introduction of a budget system, and by the retrenchment of the civil and military establishments, in which arrears of pay to the amount of several lakhs of rupees have been nearly cleared off. Steps are being taken to develop the silk, vine, and hop industries, all under Government control. The former, which had been almost annihilated by the silkworm disease, has been revived by the importation of fresh seed from Europe. The hops recently purchased in Kashmir by the Murree Brewery Company are declared equal to the best grown in Kent. The red and white wines are compared to Burgundy and Chablis, and for these, as well as for its brandy, India would offer a ready market were it not for the high import duties levied by its Government.

New Routes to the Valley of Kashmir.—The completion of the Jhelum Valley road brings the Valley of Kashmir, hitherto accessible only by a bridle road over the Himalayan passes, within three days' journey of Rawul Pindi. Starting from Rohala, on the Punjab frontier, 77 miles from that great cantonment, it traverses a mountainous country for 100 miles farther, before meeting, at

Baramula, the Jhelum River, navigable thence by boats for 30 miles to Srinagar, and to Islamabad for 40 miles further. The construction of a railway, 250 miles in length, from Rawul Pindi to Srinagar, and thence to the head of the fertile valley, has also been decided on, the cost to be shared between the Indian Government and the Kashmir Durbar. It is believed that the preliminary survey will be completed in April, the question of gauge being one of the points still undecided. Another great public work, the road connecting Baramula and Srinagar with Gilgit, intimately connected with the scheme of frontier defence, is also making rapid progress. It starts from Bundipura, and will have a total length of 215 miles, in the course of which it will cross mountain passes varying from 5000 to 10,000 feet in height. The Indus too will have to be spanned at Bunji by a suspension bridge over a gorge 250 feet across, which will be the third permanent bridge over that stream, the others being at Attock and Sukhur. It had been hitherto crossed at this point by a ferry, at such risk to life that it is said 100 people have been drowned there within ten years. In a recent fatal accident, caused by the upsetting of the crowded boat in mid-stream, owing to the rearing of a baggage pony, 17 men lost their lives. Thousands of Pathan workmen have been engaged for the construction of the new road, of which the first section of 40 miles was expected to be completed by the end of last year. As a commercial and strategical route it will be of great importance, bringing the British agency at Gilgit within easier reach of India, and outflanking the turbulent tribes of the Black Mountain. Its further extension to the Chitral country, now under British control, will eventually render it the highway to Turkestan and the Pamir; and its possession will confer a military advantage, by outflanking an enemy advancing through Afghanistan.

Water Supply of the Cities of Kashmir.—The improvement of the supply of drinking water to Jummoo and Srinagar has also been taken in hand by the Government. The former city, the Maharajah's capital, had hitherto been dependent on water drawn from the river Tawi, 400 feet below its own level, the price of which in hot weather was almost prohibitive. The river water, purified, and raised by steam power, is now distributed by pipes to the inhabitants. Srinagar, the commercial capital, a city of 150,000 inhabitants, compared in situation to Venice, drew its supply from the river, which was also the recipient of its drainage, hence it was frequently a prey to cholera epidemics. Measures have now been taken to remedy this inconvenience, and provide it with pure water. (*Times*, November 22, 1890.)

Indian Ghost Dances.—The mysterious dances which have caused such an outbreak of fanatical excitement among the Indians on the American border, are described by a correspondent in the *Times* of December 9. The dance, lasting for three successive nights, during which strict abstinence from all food is observed, is participated in by the whole party present, squaws as well as braves. Its object is to bring on a cataleptic swoon, in which they

imagine they see the new "Messiah," and so great is the strain that one or more usually die under it. As a preparation they usually cut down a tall tree and plant it in a level place for the "medicine men" to group themselves around. The others then make a circle and move about it in one direction until almost too dizzy to stand, when they reverse the movement and keep it up until they fall from exhaustion. Some of them seem to lose their senses, imagining they are animals, and going on all fours like buffaloes, or beating their heads together, knocking them against the ground, and otherwise wounding themselves to hasten the desired result. On recovering from their swoon they recount their experiences to the medicine man, and the dance ends with the slaughter of cattle and a gorge on raw meat.

The Sioux Dance.—At Wounded Knee Creek [the correspondent continues], on the Pine Ridge reservation, in South Dakota, the Sioux have been for some time conducting the "ghost dance," as many as four or five hundred sometimes participating. Early one morning last week a scouting party from the agency went out to see the dance, reaching the place just as the sun was rising. The Indians had camp fires burning, and had been conducting the dance all night. There were 182 bucks and squaws in the moving circle formed by the Indians when seen, the big tree standing in the middle, while outside the circle some 400 more Indians were squatted on the ground and mournfully chanting with the dancers. Most of the savages were in war paint, some being naked to the hips, and having across their huge muscular breasts rude streaks of red and yellow paint. Eagle feathers hung down from their glossy black heads, and beads tinkled from their legs, fringed with porcupine quills. Some dancers were robed in white cotton cloth, pinned at the breast and drawn over the head for a hood, these making the "ghosts." There were five medicine men seated on the ground, old men with drawn and wrinkled faces, who waved their medicine sticks as the chant rose and fell. These sticks were green painted, with handles fashioned like snakes. Holding each other's hands, the dancers slowly moved around the tree, shuffling their ragged mocassins along the ground, and wearily bending their knees as they moved along, this being the only indication of dancing. Round and round they slowly went, their eyes tightly closed, and their heads bent towards the ground. The chant was incessant and monotonous, the Sioux language used in mournful cadence being simply the changes—"I see my father, I see my mother, I see my brother, I see my sister." The spectacle was ghostly; the white-robed figures bobbing up and down betwen the painted and naked warriors, and the squaws shrilly chanting as they tottered alongside the bucks. They all seemed almost tired out, for the dance had thus been going on all night.

Prophecies of the Dancers.—Some lay on the ground in a state of trance, with closed eyes and upturned faces, the dancers moving round and paying no heed to them. The recumbent figures as they started up gave various versions of the visions vouchsafed to them. "I have seen the Great Father!" exclaimed one, "but He will not talk to me because I have no ponies." Then a woman, with a streak of red ochre on her forehead, called out in a shrill voice, "I have seen the Great Father; he sent an eagle which picked me up and carried me to a far-away mountain. The Great Father told me that the white men would be driven from the

country, that the Indians would rule the land, and that the buffalo and deer would return." The dance, after this announcement, was prosecuted with greater vigour, and lasted for two hours after sunrise, until all had fallen from exhaustion, some with ghastly wounds and distorted features.

The dances were carried on in hundreds of places, and were transported by the Sioux over the northern border into Canada. At one dance it was announced that a warrior was to go into a trance for four days and then return to life as a buffalo. The tribe was then to kill and eat the buffalo, as every man who did not devour a piece would turn into a dog. The brave destined to undergo this transformation was said to have offered himself a willing sacrifice. Nearly all the revelations turn on the expulsion of the white man and the restoration of Indian rule, this consummation being brought about by mountains arising to belch forth mud or some such miraculous agency. One of the chiefs declined to enter into an agreement with the military authorities for stopping the dances, and said, "We do not want to fight, but this is our church, and is just the same as the white man's church, save that we do not pass around the hat."

The First British Warship in the Zambesi.—The *Times* of December 17 prints a narrative from a correspondent on the spot, of the first appearance of a British naval force in the waters of the Zambesi, which is now shown to be navigable by ships of 800 tons displacement, carrying heavy armament. The English Government having decided, in consequence of recent troubles with Portugal, to place on the Zambesi two stern-wheel steamers drawing less than 18 inches of water, officered and manned from the Royal Navy, two vessels of that class, the "Mosquito" and "Herald," were sent out in sections to be put together on the spot, a permissive treaty having been signed with Portugal to that effect. Two screw gunboats, the "Redbreast" and "Pigeon," of six guns, 700 to 800 tons, and 1200 horse power, were accordingly sent as an escort for the "Buccaneer" and "Humber," the former vessel carrying the stern-wheelers in sections, and the latter men and stores for them. Crossing the bar at the Chinde mouth of the Zambesi, over which there are, at neap tide, but seven feet of water, with vessels drawing 13 and over, was an anxious business, but it was successfully achieved, although the preliminary survey by the "Redbreast" had been cut short by the Portuguese authorities. The latter also made an attempt to block the passage of the Expedition by anchoring a gunboat in midstream, but had to give way eventually, being overmatched by the British force. A very difficult piece of navigation still remained to be accomplished by the flotilla, as the river was three feet lower than had been anticipated, and an inner bar had to be crossed, over which the "Redbreast" was only able to scrape by the exertion of great skill and seamanship on the part of her commander. The main stream, with a depth of 24 feet, lay inside, and the object of the Expedition being thus accomplished, the warships returned to Zanzibar.

Notes on Novels.

Sidney. By MARGARET DELAND. London: Longmans. 1890.

THE author of "John Ward, Preacher" writes with an earnestness of purpose and power of realising exceptional motives and situations that place her in a higher category than that of ordinary novelists. We are confronted in the opening of her present story with an abnormal household, the head of which, Major Lee, an infidel embittered by the early loss of his wife, has brought up his daughter Sidney to abjure love rather than endure the pain of the inevitable loss of its object. As might be expected by any one but a philosopher, the advent of the first likely young man blows aside all brain-spun cobwebs of theoretical indifference, and Sidney has to confess to her father that his teaching has been in vain. The sincerity of her feeling is tested by the death of her lover; but even in bereavement she declares herself, unlike her father, the happier for having loved him. The reality of death forces on her mind, too, the conviction of the falsehood of the negative creed in which she has been brought up, although she remains to the end with a somewhat shadowy belief. Her simple and amiable aunt, Miss Sally, whose mind has none of these complications, is the victim, too, of a marriage disappointment, being proposed for in a phase of morbid sentiment by a partially cured opium-eater, who mistakes gratitude for love, but discovers and corrects his blunder before marriage. The character of this maudlin wretch may be judged from the fact that he deliberately leaves a female suicide to drown because he considers it wrong to thwart a moral resolution. The most life-like character in the volume is a hardened old worldling and cynic, Mrs. Paul, whose vitriolic sayings and domineering temper make her a scourge to her neighbours, while the one unsuspected touch of feeling beneath this steely exterior—her unrequited attachment to Major Lee—is hinted with consummate skill.

Mademoiselle. By FRANCES MARY PEARD. London: Walter Smith. 1890.

THE author of "The Rose Garden" gives in this volume an interesting picture of the siege of Paris and insurrection of the Commune, in the form of the autobiographical memoir of a simple country-girl imprisoned in the city while on a visit to her married sister. Not she, however, but a young lady of noble family to whose fortunes *she is devoted*, is the *Mademoiselle* of the title-page and the true

heroine of the tale. Its culminating episode is the refusal of the latter to give up to the victorious Versailles troops a wretched Communard who has betrayed her father, but whom she shelters in the last emergency at the risk of her own life. She does, indeed, fall wounded, by a shot from the avenging soldiery, but happily recovers, to enjoy the subsequent restoration of peace and tranquillity.

Miss Blake of Monkshalton. By Isabella O. Ford. London: Murray. 1890.

We cannot say that any of the characters in this somewhat dreary study of life are calculated to interest the reader, although there is a certain force in their conception and delineation. The elder Miss Blake is a terrible picture of obstinate self-will, and the younger, if pitiable in her misery, is too abject in her submission to command respect. The rebellion of the young niece, whom, no doubt, we must call the heroine, against the despotic rule of the former, though perhaps natural, is too violent to inspire sympathy. The dismal tale ends dismally, with the death of both aunts and the remorse of the niece, a glimpse of future happiness for whom tempers, however, the gloom of the close.

A Cigarette Maker's Romance. By F. Marion Crawford. London: Macmillan. 1890.

Mr. Crawford has given a somewhat unattractive title to a pathetic and beautiful tale, of which the action, compressed within the space of thirty-six hours, takes place in Munich. Only the magic of genius could have evolved the materials of a romance out of such homely details as the commonplace interior of a humble tobacco manufactory, and the group of persons, all Russians or Poles, engaged in the monotonous routine of cigarette-rolling and smoking. The central figure is the disinherited nobleman, Count Ivatine, still a most high-minded and courtly gentleman, though worn from years of uncongenial toil, and with a mind slightly clouded by his misfortunes. Sane on all other points, he is liable to a periodical hallucination, recurring each week, that he is about to be summoned to take his old place in society, having received letters announcing the coming change in his fortunes. But between him and one of his fellow-workers, Vjera, a Polish girl, extremely remarkable only for her thick braid of red-brown hair, there springs up a deep attachment, based on her side on the tenderest pity for his fallen fortunes, combined with an agonising clearness of insight into his state of mind. How his troubles culminate in a debt unwittingly contracted in full belief in his restoration to fortune, and how poor Vjera saves his tottering reason by raising the required

sum, sacrificing her beautiful hair to procure it, is told by the author with a pathos to which a brief summary can do no justice. The Count's delusion is cured by its actual realisation on the simultaneous deaths of his father and elder brother, and Vjera's devotion and fidelity have their reward. The minor characters, the employer Fischelovitz, and his termagant wife Akulina, the Russian peasant Dumnitz, and the good natured Cossack, Schmidt, are all powerful sketches.

An Australian Girl. London: Bentley. 1890.

IT is only within the last few years that English literature has begun to take a new development in the southern hemisphere, and the anonymous author of the present tale is likely to take a leading place among those who are contributing to this result. The story of Stella Courtland, with her highly dowered but undisciplined nature, is told with power and pathos, though the ordinary novel reader will perhaps be tempted to skip some of the pages containing the records of her impressions of things in general. Her happiness is wrecked by the Machiavellian intrigue of an unprincipled woman of the world, who, from interested motives, desires that she should marry her brother, Edward Ritchie, instead of the lover in whom she has found the ideal companionship of a kindred soul. By skilful manipulation of a letter, she is made to believe that he has gone to England to seek a possible reconciliation with a living wife rather than to obtain legal evidence of the demise of a dead one, and in the agony of grief and humiliation resulting from this discovery commits moral suicide in a loveless marriage, rewarding at last the constancy of an oft-rejected suitor. Of course, the *éclairissement* comes when it is too late, and being at this time in a phase of religious disbelief, she contemplates cutting the Gordian knot of the complication by leaving her adoring and unsuspecting husband. From this step she is saved by the influence of Cardinal Newman, accidentally seen for a moment, and with the revival of faith comes a revulsion of feeling, enabling her to persevere in the hard but obvious path of duty. The religious tendencies of her highly emotional nature have always been towards Catholicism, yet she is represented as remaining in the end outside the Church whose teaching has nevertheless had power to save her from herself.

My Shipmate Louise. By W. Clark Russell. London: Chatto & Windus. 1890.

EACH new novel of Mr. Clark Russell's excites us to fresh admiration at the ingenuity which can indefinitely vary an apparently monotonous theme. The present work, although entitled "The Romance of a Wreck," is not the story of a shipwreck *in the ordinary* sense, but of a derelict vessel, which is made t

means of transporting the hero and heroine from one series of adventures to another. Their original association consists in their being fellow-passengers on board an East Indiaman in the good old days when the passage was made in sailing vessels round the Cape of Good Hope. The motley party on board is graphically described, but the voyage is comparatively uneventful until the occurrence of the strange series of incidents which render the spoiled and insolent beauty, Louise Temple, dependent for companionship and protection on the man she has persistently ignored and slighted. The manner in which he, although secretly loving her, contrives to subjugate her haughty temper by his stronger will, adds a second and perhaps higher interest to the narration of their romantic adventures, and the gradual softening of the girl's character under pressure of misery and desolation makes her an engaging figure in the end. The troubles that thicken about them in the vessel which rescues them from the wreck, the demeanour of the half-insane captain, his tragical end, and the subsequent behaviour of the mutinous crew, are vividly portrayed, and the interest heightens with the course of the story, until its culmination in the final crisis. The author gives us less bad weather than we are generally accustomed to from his pen, and the action depends throughout rather on human conduct and motives than on the intervention of the elements.

A Bride from the Bush. By Ernest G. Hornung. London: Smith Elder. 1890.

THE originality of this tale consists in the character of the heroine, and its total incongruity with the new surroundings amid which her marriage places her. Reared without a mother's care in the solitude of a remote Australian station, her beauty and fine disposition win the affection of a young Englishman of good family and position. The story opens with her introduction to his home at Twickenham, surrounded with an atmosphere of refinement and decorum suitable to his father's position as an English judge. On this home-circle, ruled by gentle good-breeding, the unconventionalities of the new-comer burst with the startling effect of a series of hand-grenades, and all the efforts of her relatives to condone them are frustrated by their perpetual recurrence. Even the reader, naturally predisposed in favour of the heroine, is driven in the end to confess her a most embarrassing inmate, especially as many of her solecisms are due not so much to absence of external polish, as to a total want of innate delicacy of feeling. Her crowning misdeed, the utterance of a loud *Coo-ee*, the characteristic call of the Australian savage, while driving in Hyde Park in the midst of the fashionable throng, brings home to her such a sense of unfitness for her position, that she takes refuge in flight, and makes her way back alone to the Antipodes. Tracked and followed thither by her heart-

broken husband, who discovers her in the guise of a shepherd, the best solution of the problem of their joint lives is arrived at, in their determination to return no more to England, but settle in a country where the bride's eccentricities will at least be accepted as a product of the soil.

The Dead Man's Gift. By HERBERT COMPTON. London: Allen. 1890.

THE author, who calls his tale by the secondary title of "A Tea-planter's Romance," has described it by its most characteristic feature. In choosing as its theatre the tea gardens among the spurs of the Himalayas, he has broken new ground in fiction, and given to his hero's adventures a novel setting, evidently described from intimate personal knowledge. The various phases of life and character among the planters are realistically portrayed in the members of the little group among whom Denis Durand is thrown, on his arrival in the district of Dalgoorie, and we are shown the temptations to which listlessness and *ennui* expose those condemned to the routine of a remote and isolated community. The fragrant herb, with the various vicissitudes of its production, plays a large part in the plot, which turns mainly on the machinations of a swindler, clever enough not only to palm off worthless securities on the hero as the price of his property, but also to fabricate evidence against him apparently implicating him in his guilty schemes. A kindly and straightforward young Englishman, he at first falls an unresisting victim, but eventually succeeds in tracking out his calumniator and obtaining proof of his own innocence. His loss of fortune is amply compensated for by the "Dead Man's Gift," a small plantation on the brow of a mountain spur, left him by a retired veteran in gratitude for the kindness he has shown him. Here, he is all but killed by a terrific landslip, but the accident which nearly costs him his life renders him a millionaire through the discovery of a deposit of priceless sapphires laid bare by the fall of the cliff. Thus poetic justice is fully satisfied, and the good are left flourishing as they deserve.

A Waif of the Plains. By BRET HARTE. London: Chatto & Windus. 1890.

NOWHERE has the author given us a more vivid picture of life on the borderland of civilisation in the West, than in his opening presentment of the emigrant waggon's slow march across the wilderness of the Great Plains. In this waste, the small hero and heroine of the tale, Clarence Brant, aged thirteen, and Susy Silsby, of seven, contrive to lose themselves without being missed by their companions, and thus escape the terrible fate overhanging the *latter*. The whole incident, the boy's glimpse of a solitary Indian

scout, and the subsequent ghastly discovery of the victims of the massacre, is told with that vivid dramatic power, producing its effect with admirable economy of means, which is the attribute of the true artist. The children are rescued by another party, the heroism of the boy in risking his chance of safety in preference to abandoning his weaker companion being forcibly contrasted with the baby selfishness of the latter.

Clarence, in the course of his further adventures, finds himself thrown on his own resources in San Francisco, and ultimately makes his way to a mining camp, where he comes upon his unknown father, outlaw and desperado, yet capable of sacrificing the pleasure of claiming the boy to the fear of compromising his future by his own evil reputation. In nothing is the author more happy than in the delineation of the touches of tenderness that redeem these lawless natures, and his story of the brief intercourse between Colonel Brant, under the *alias* of Flynn, the miner, and his wandering son is as happy as anything of this kind in his writings.

A Daughter of King Solomon. By סגל. London: Griffith & Farran. 1889.

THE traditional glory of the reign of Solomon over Israel gives interest to a tale of which his splendid Court is made the scenic background. History is ingeniously blended with fiction in the construction of the plot, which turns on the love of Barzillai, a young Gileadite chieftain brought up at the Court, for the Princess Zibya, the daughter of Solomon's Egyptian queen, Valpres. The story opens with the dedication of the Temple, a gorgeous pageant, the details of which are described with minute knowledge of Jewish archæology. The hero's fate, after he has been raised to the pinnacle of royal favour by shielding the king from an assassin's blow, turns on an intrigue against him by a rival chief, Shimei the Benjamite, in league with a discontented faction of that tribe, who were secretly working for the restoration of the House of Saul. Their opportunity comes when Barzillai is sent on a mission to Egypt, as by their machinations he is made to appear guilty of a breach of trust, whilst he is in reality kidnapped by their orders, and imprisoned in a fortress on the borders of the desert. To this region the scene is transferred by the despatch of an expedition from Jerusalem to subdue some of the turbulent Arabs, who, joined by roving bands of semi-outlawed Benjamites, were causing distubances on the frontier. In one of the lonely strongholds of these borderers the imprisoned prince is found, just in time to rescue him from imminent death by fever and hardship, while his character is cleared at the same time by the dying confession of one of his foes. There is then no further obstacle to the ratification of his betrothal to the princess, the description of which ceremonial brings the tale to a brilliant and satisfactory conclusion.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon Bellesheim, of Aachen

1. *Katholik.*

In the October number Professor Schneid, of Eichstätt, continues his suggestive paper on the liberty of the human will, cleverly meeting the objections brought against it by modern philosophers, and then maintaining the teaching of St. Thomas. Canon Röhm, of Passau, treats on the Protestant doctrine of Antichrist with a due appreciation of English literature. In the November number of the *Katholik* we have the first of a series of learned papers contributed by F. Swithbert Baeumer, a Benedictine, of Maredsous. The paper is a weighty contribution to the history of the Breviary, based on wide historical inquiries, and executed with critical power. The author traces the reformation of this liturgical book by St. Gregory VII. The character of the reform appears to have been really an abbreviation of the former offices, and the author finds the explanation of it in the ever increasing occupations of the clergy, and other external circumstances of the Church. He next reviews critically the "Fontes," and shows the various points to which the reform was extended.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

In September two brilliant articles of Professor Koppler, of Tübingen, treat on the special features of the school of painting in the Benedictine monastery of Beuron. The chief productions of these monastic artists are to be seen in Beuron, Prague, and Monte Cassino. A series of excellent articles dwells on the gradual decline of the Catholic Church in Denmark, and the establishment of the Reformation. The same causes appear to have operated in Denmark as elsewhere in Europe. The large estates of the Church and the monastic establishments fell a prey to the avarice of kings and nobility, whilst the influence exercised by the Crown in appointing clerics to bishoprics became fatal. Public disputations on topics of religion proved as useless as in Germany and England, and one of *the most* effective measures for weakening the old Church and *promoting* Protestantism was the destruction of the monasteries.

Another article discusses the autobiography of Cardinal Bellarmine animadverted on by Dr. Döllinger and Professor Reusch. A diligent perusal of the book leaves no doubt that the great Cardinal's autobiography is worthy of him, and that it includes not a word which could damage either the Cardinal himself or the reputation of the Society of Jesus. Döllinger's glory will die out ere long, but the Cardinal's memory will ever be held in the highest esteem. Still other articles treat of Luis Mendez de Quizada, the majordomo and intimate friend of the Emperor Charles V.; and I may mention another series of papers illustrating the actual condition of the Protestant Church in Prussia, especially the exertions made to procure for the Church a larger amount of liberty from the fetters in which it is held by the State.

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3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

In the October number Father Arndt treats of the relations of the "False Demetrius" to the Holy See; Father Haan contributes a chapter on Hypnotism; Father H. Pesch comments on the social question from an historical point of view; whilst Father Pfülf writes on the "British Colonial Empire, and its Importance for the Present Age." He sketches the constitutions of various English colonies, and their bearing on the question of religion. In the November number, we have to mention the suggestive articles: "All Saints, and Veneration of Saints," by Father Racke; the contribution by Father Beissel on the "Beginnings of the Art of Printing;" and last, but not least, the admirable article by Father Scheid on "The Philosophy and Theology of Boethius, and his work 'Consolatio Philosophiæ.'" After a general survey of the literature treating of this great man, he shows the Christian character of Boethius, and by the use of unpublished Roman documents he happily vindicates the decree by which the Holy See, in December 15, 1883, approved of the ancient veneration of Boethius in the diocese of Pavia. In the December issue Father von Hammerstein tests by Canon Law the Bills of a new Civil Law for Germany, as far as they relate to matrimony; Father Zimmermann describes Cardinal Newman as a Catholic author; and Father Beissel gives an account of a Munich exhibition of objects of art.

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4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (*Innsbruck*).

Father Frins continues his articles on the nature of Sin. Father Scheid establishes the papal infallibility as exhibited in the canonisation of saints. A posthumous article of the late Father Wieser lays down some characteristics of Luther, which seem useful for illustrating Luther's moral system.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 4 *Octobre*, 1890.

The Thirst of Blood.—During the last quarter several articles, well worthy of notice, have appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica* bearing on the subject of the tyranny under which Italy is groaning from the Masonic sect. We may instance "Liberty of Conscience" (October 18); "The Words of the Pope to the Italians" (November 1), which is an admirable commentary on the "Encyclical Letter" of the Holy Father which heads the number; "The Masonic Influence in Italy" (November 15), being the second article on this subject; and, in addition, two articles on the "Jewish Question in Europe" (October 4 and November 15), which must be regarded as closely connected therewith, owing to the intimate alliance subsisting between the Jews and the Freemasons, notably in Italy. But it would be impossible to do justice to these several articles by any analysis of which our limited space could admit. We must content ourselves, therefore, with directing attention to them, and quoting a few well-authenticated facts with reference to the initiatory rites of the sect, contained in an article, entitled "Thirst of Blood," which appeared on October 4, these facts being taken from the work of the well-known Leo Taxil.

Blood, blood, and always blood, is, as the reviewer observes, the infamous badge of our boasted civilisation, and the horrible spectacle which *regenerated* Italy has for a long time been offering to the world. A thirst for blood is the characteristic of the brutalised, or rather, satanised, man, since hatred to man, the image and creature of God, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and destined to occupy in heaven the thrones left vacant by the rebellious angels, is connatural to the infernal spirit. We all know what were the cruelties and abominations of the ancient Pagan world, over which Satan ruled unopposed. The coming of the Redeemer introduced a new era—the Christian era of peace and love—in which the dignity of man was raised from the degradation into which it had fallen, his rights reasserted, slavery gradually extinguished, bloody sacrificial rites and the hideous spectacles of carnage offered as a pastime to assembled multitudes abolished, laws and penalties softened, and the horrors of war itself mitigated. But where Satan continues to reign supreme, as in parts of Asia and Africa, we still behold similar revolting barbarities. And because the nations which Christianity had civilised are becoming re-paganised, we see Satan again assuming his empire over them and renewing the sanguinary practices of past ages. Take, for example, the contempt for life and that savage thirst for blood which is gradually permeating society through the operation of the Masonic sect, now domineering over a large part of Europe, which sect may be said to be a sort of incarnation of that Spirit of Darkness who is the implacable enemy of God and man.

Wherever this infernal hydra has gained the mastery in a Christian State, it has prepared its way to triumph by a hecatomb of human victims, and the destruction of all that stood in its way, or refused to co-operate with it. This is no mere accident; for it is now well known that Masonry, in its higher grades, has erected murder into a system, to which its adepts must blindly conform under pain of death. From the ninth grade, which is that of the Elected Master, and the last of the Blue Freemasonry, begins the school of assassination. The postulant swears to immolate to Hiram those false brethren who should divulge the Masonic secrets, calling down on himself, in case of breaking his oath, the implacable vengeance of the Order. Then, armed with a dagger, he is taken into a sort of cavern, where he is made to strike the figure of a man, on this occasion a mere effigy, but which hereafter may be of real flesh and blood. The Masonic ritual, in explanation of this "philanthropic" ceremony, warns the candidate that he is to obey without regard of persons or scruple of conscience, as his sole judge is the Architect of the Universe, who, their doctors teach, is the Sun. Admonitions follow as to the secrecy and cunning with which the deed is to be perpetrated. At an order from their heads, whom they do not so much as know, these deluded men now find themselves pledged, at what hour they cannot tell, to accept the horrible alternative of assassinating or being assassinated. The "Carboneria," the child of Freemasonry, professed the same principles, as may be seen in the statutes of the Alta Vendita of Young Italy, founded by Mazzini. A secret tribunal is to pronounce sentence, and delegate two of the affiliated to execute it. Refusal would be followed by instant death. Moreover, these secret tribunals (Art. 34), are declared competent, not only to judge guilty adepts, but to cause any person whatsoever to be put to death who has fallen under its ban. Under such a sanguinary code, what honest citizen could be secure of his life? He need only to be objectionable to this Satanic tribunal, to find the cold steel at his throat any day. Is it conceivable, not merely that such a banded crew of murderers should exist in any civilised country, but that a Government should be found to countenance it, and even go so far as to glorify its author?

But to return to the grades in the school of assassination of the Masonic Order. If the Elected Master in the Ninth Grade enters on his novitiate of murder, in the tenth he has to become a proficient in the exercise, being made to pierce with a dagger the severed head of some perjured brother, and in the grade of "Sublime Knight Elect" (*Sublime Cavalier eletto*) he receives his consecration in presence of three similarly severed heads. Thus, step by step, he arrives at the grade of Knight of the Red Cross (*Cavalier Rosa Croce*), which is the eighteenth and highest degree of the Red Masonry. The candidate swears on a sword that he will use his arm in defence of his Masonic brethren. He is made to contemplate in a transparency the glorification of Hell, of Satan, and of Cain, the precursor of all murderers, and adores Lucifer under the figure of the Sun and

the form of fire. His initiation concludes with a sacrilegious parody of the Last Supper, which blasphemous impiety is annually repeated on the Thursday in Holy Week, at which all the Red Cross Knights of the locality are bound to assist. In this banquet, a roasted lamb is served up, upon a table of a crucial shape, its head surrounded with a crown of thorns, and each of its feet transfixed with a nail. The lamb is placed in the centre of the cross; the president then cuts off the head and the feet, and casts them into a lighted furnace in sacrifice to Lucifer, adored by the Rosa Croce under the form of fire.

A more advanced grade of the "sect" is styled the Black Masonry, and well it deserves its title. The initiated here rises step by step to the grade of the Kadosch Knights (*Cavalieri Kadosch*), whom Leo Taxil, who had experimental acquaintance with all these horrors, calls the "patented assassins" of Masonry. All the former oaths are then renewed, and a more direct adoration is offered to Satan under the figure of a serpent. The new Cavalier Kadosch invokes him according to the Ritual of the Alta Magia, drawn up by an apostate priest, named Constant, and adores him under an infamous symbol. He then strikes with a dagger a head surmounted with a Papal tiara, and another having a regal crown, by which second act he consecrates regicide. After this, he brandishes his dagger against heaven, crying, "Nekam, Adonaï"! "Vengence against thee, Lord;" and recites a prayer to Lucifer, which commences, "Come, O Lucifer, come O poor one, calumniated by priests and kings! Come, and let me embrace thee, and press thee to my heart;" and more in the same strain. Whoever desires to see more of this abominable blasphemy may consult Leo Taxil's work.

How can such hatred of God as the higher grades of Masonry reveal be compatible with any love of man? But, indeed, we have a direct answer to this question in the initiatory rite of the Kadosch Cavalier. Not only, as we see, is he required to strike the effigies of Popes and Kings, as the highest representatives of God's dignity and power on earth, but he must seal his initiation by actual murder, if possible, and thus make his first essay as a good butcher of man. If they have not secured a condemned person, a sheep is substituted, but in such wise that the initiated, who is blindfolded, does not perceive the deception. The wool of the sheep has been closely shaved over the heart by the Grand Master, and the hand of the new Cavalier is laid upon it, that he may "feel the beatings of a traitor's heart." Meanwhile, an assistant, close by, groans, and pleads for mercy. "Strike," says the Grand Master, and the knight strikes, persuaded that he is immolating a human victim, and by this inauguration of his career, binding himself to the fulfilment of all future similar commands of his superiors. Neither is he undeceived when, in another apartment, the veil is removed from his eyes. And whence, it may be asked, do these commands issue to the "patented assassins," these knights of the dagger? They issue from the *White Masonry*, the supreme council of the Order, divided into

three grades, whose programme is comprised in this general formula: "Masonry is the revolution in act, or the permanent conspiracy against political and religious despotism." Now, we well know that by "despotism" the Masonic sect means civil and religious authority, in whatever form it may present itself, and in whatever person it may be invested. Its manifest intention is to cast down both the throne and the altar, and for this object it reckons all means lawful—the dagger, poison, dynamite, and every other engine of destruction.

We have seen the "revolution in act" for the last hundred years; and no proof is now needed as to the means employed by the Masonic sect to fasten its iron yoke on the neck of the nations. The Freemasons themselves, both in their books and at their congresses, make their boast of having prepared all the great revolutions which for this century past have thrown Europe into disorder and deluged it with blood. If Satan had appeared in person in France, he could not have made greater havoc of Christians than was made by his execrable satellites, designated Masonically as the 33°, during the closing years of the last century. Like vultures, they next pounced on the east of Europe, and, under the shadow of Napoleon's victorious arms, imposed their tyranny on the vanquished people, opening numerous lodges amongst them, which became so many focuses of rebellion against God and the Church. Since the fatal date of the great French Revolution countless are the murders of which Masonry and its affiliated secret sects have made themselves guilty. Leo Taxil gives a long catalogue, confining himself, however, to persons of note whom he irrefragably proves to have been the victims of Masonic vengeance. Amongst these are numbered many of the brethren themselves, but this was because, at the sight of so many excesses, they had recoiled or retired from the sect.

But we can give only a rapid glance at this second portion of the article, and still more cursory must be our allusion to the three other causes stated by the reviewer as favouring crime in the Italy of to-day: these are the absence of religious principles, the unbridled license of the passions, and the insufficiency of the penal laws; but all these causes, in fact, must be primarily referred to Masonic influence, which has invaded and corrupted teaching, legislation, government, science, art, and public morals. Italy, in short, the ancient mother of Christian civilisation, and mistress of the fine arts and refined manners, has now the unhappy primacy of brutal crime and blood-shedding. Suffice it to say that, according to the judicial statistics lately published, homicides and grave injuries inflicted, which were followed by death, amounted, in the two years 1887–1888, to the portentous number of 5566. Now what can be the cause of this increase of ferocity but the unloosing of the passions? the miserable and necessary consequence of modern atheism and materialism, in which Masonry, by means of their schools, of the press, of evil laws, and a bad, incompetent Government, has been for a considerable time past training the youth of Italy and its people.

The malefactor, unrestrained by a single sentiment of compassion or justice, and undeterred by the fear of God, in whom he no longer believes, has nothing to hold him back but the dread of punishment. The penalty of death being now abolished in Italy, he has little to apprehend from the hand of the law, particularly if he belongs to the sect, as then the police would not venture to arrest him, and if they did, neither jury nor judge would dare to convict and condemn him; indeed, all criminals, owing to the vicious administration of justice, introduced by the Freemasons for their own ends, stand the best chance of being acquitted, on one plea or another, however black their offences; or, if they should be sentenced to a temporary imprisonment, they are pretty sure to emerge mad with vindictive rage, which, not unfrequently, they will proceed on the very day of their release to discharge on some peaceful and inoffensive citizen.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Paris: Juillet. Octobre 1890.

Did the French Clergy pay Taxes before the Revolution?—Nothing has done so much to excite ill-feeling against the French clergy as the oft-repeated assertion that, with all their wealth, they paid no taxes before the Revolution. M. Taine has directed the keenest shafts of his ridicule against the various devices adopted by the priests to evade taxation. He even goes so far as to say that, instead of paying, they actually contrived to help themselves out of the public funds. The magnificent volume, "L'An, 1789," by M. Hippolyte Gautier, is full of contemporary caricatures, representing the clergy, under various guises, as the devourers of the substance of the poor. And it is accepted as a commonplace among English writers that the clergy paid no direct taxes whatever. The Abbé Bourgain, who writes on the subject in the July number of the *Revue*, might be thought to have undertaken a task which had better have been left alone; but it must be acknowledged that he has demolished for ever the calumny heaped upon his brethren. He has been at the pains to rake up countless old documents, and to go through complicated calculations, to show that the clergy contributed, and contributed largely, to the burdens of the State. He does not deny—no one does—that the clergy did not come under the ordinary laws of taxation. What he proves convincingly is, that by their own laws, passed in their own assemblies, they voted enormous sums under various titles. English readers will not need to be reminded that until 1664 the clergy of England were exempt from the ordinary taxes, and retained the right of taxing themselves. It requires little knowledge of history to know that under such a system *the* wealth of the Church was the most fruitful source of revenue to *powerful* monarchs. To accuse the priests of paying nothing is like

saying that a man who pays out of his right-hand pocket is a defaulter, while one who pays out of his left-hand pocket is a contributor. M. Bourgain takes four typical periods: 1, the reign of Philip le Bel; 2, Francis I. and Henry II.; 3, Louis XV. and Louis XVI.; and 4, the Constituent Assembly. The first two periods are examined with much erudition, but as they are mainly of antiquarian interest, they need not detain us here. The following list, however, will give some idea of the extent of the contributions made by the clergy during the second period:—1542, four-tenths; 1543, four-tenths; 1544, one-tenth; 1545, four-tenths; 1546, four-tenths; 1547, four-tenths; 1548, four-tenths; 1549, four-tenths; 1550, two-tenths; 1554, four-tenths, &c. &c. In 1557 the contribution actually amounted to nine-tenths!

It would take too much of our space to describe at any length the system of clerical taxation under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. The clergy were divided into the "clergy of France" and the "foreign clergy"—the latter belonging to Artois, Franche Comté, Alsace and other recently acquired provinces. Each body was under different regulations. The clergy of France had two assemblies: the ordinary assembly, which met every ten years to renew the contract for the rents of the Hotel de Ville; and the little assembly, which met five years after the other to hear the accounts of the Receiver-General, and, above all, to vote subsidies. Advanced politicians will, perhaps, be surprised to find that, nearly two hundred years ago, the French clergy had adopted an admirable system of progressive taxation. The poorer benefices paid one twenty-fourth and sometimes less; while the richest benefices were taxed to one-fourth of their value, and even higher. From the year 1715 to the year 1789, the clergy contributed 950,000,000 francs (present value), that is to say, on an average, about 13,000,000 francs a year. This does not, however, include the enormous sums raised on loans for the benefit of the State, the interest on which, in the year 1784, amounted to nearly 12,000,000 francs. Thus, before the summoning of the States-General, the clergy were paying on an average 25,000,000 francs a year.

The generosity—ought we to say folly?—of the clergy under the Constitutent Assembly is well known. They offered to lend the State 400,000,000 francs—an immense sum in those days—the interest and sinking fund to be raised by themselves. But it was no good. Robbers are not to be put off with half the plunder; so the revolutionists took all.

M. Bourgain's article would have gained in value by being condensed, and by the omission of remarks on men and events, interesting indeed in themselves, but out of place in a paper on taxation.

The Election of Urban VI.—M. Noel Valois contributes to the October number a learned article on the origin of the Great Schism. He is of opinion that the last word has by no means been said on the question. There still exists a mass of unpublished documents

bearing on the subject, and even the published evidence has not been handled in such a way as to leave nothing more to be done. M. Valois' paper claims only to add some matter hitherto unnoticed, and to attempt to sift and value the evidence already known concerning one branch, but that a most important one. After a long and patient investigation he leans to the conclusion that the election of Urban VI. was valid. There is no doubt that the cardinals were acting under the influence of fear; but it is not certain that had they been free from all compulsion they would not have voted for Prignano. They had courage enough to brave the threats of the mob by not yielding to the clamour "Romano lo volemo." They afterwards—at least the majority—accepted Urban as pope. M. Valois is careful to say that there is only a presumption in favour of the validity of the election. For my part, I must acknowledge that the evidence produced by him seemed to me to point to the opposite conclusion. But every one who has examined the subject will agree with him in condemning the subsequent conduct and language of the cardinals.

The Third Order of St. Francis and Feudalism.—The Holy Father, Leo XIII., has over and over again insisted on the spread of the Third Order of St. Francis, as one of the most powerful remedies for the social evils of the day. The saint's latest, and it would seem best, biographer, the Abbé le Monnier, points out that the Third Order gave the deathblow to feudalism in the thirteenth century. Tertiaries often wonder at the rules forbidding to carry offensive weapons and to take solemn oaths, except under certain conditions. In the Middle Ages these regulations had far-reaching consequences. The very basis of feudalism was the solemn engagement which bound the vassal to his lord, and entailed the duty of rendering him military service. It is no wonder that the nobles at first opposed the Third Order, and appealed to the popes to suppress it, or at least to alter its rules. But Honorius III. sided with the sons of St. Francis, while Gregory IX., his successor, is said to have suggested these very rules to the holy founder some years before.

Other articles of interest in these numbers are "L'Hospice National du Tribunal Révolutionnaire," "Berangère, Reine d'Angleterre, Dame du Mans," "La Suppression des Templiers," "L'Université de Paris, au XIIIe Siècle." The English reader will note that the "Courrier Anglais" is from the able pen of "M. le Chanoine J. Moyes."

T. B. S.

Notices of Books.

Memoir of Sir James Marshall, C.M.G., Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. Taken chiefly from his own letters. By W. R. Brownlow, Canon of Plymouth. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

CANON BROWNLOW'S Memoir of Sir James Marshall forms a biography of especial interest. It is that of a Catholic public man in the world, whose life, made up of actions in themselves good and noble, was based upon high Christian principles, which permeated it throughout its course. Such a record has for many greater charms of attraction, and a far more touching influence for good, than the example of one who should professionally, so to say, have engaged himself to a saintly life. Singleness of purpose, strong sense of duty, lofty aims, joined to an ardent and energetic character, are especially prominent in this interesting Memoir, and lend a significant unity to the several phases of Sir James's diversified career. Whilst, at the same time, the overruling action of that Divine wisdom which "reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly," is discernible, from first to last.

His life appears, indeed, as a series of successive steps whereby a gracious Providence is leading him on, with at times seemingly rude shocks, to his appointed end. The change of conviction on the subject of episcopacy, which caused his father to sacrifice, for conscience sake, his position in Edinburgh enter the Anglican ministry, and reside in England, prepared the way. The accident by which James, whilst still at school, lost his right arm, effectually closed to him the field of military glory in India, to which his ardent and adventurous spirit had so early aspired. Thus, through a combination of providential circumstances, he was led to Oxford, and to adopt as his profession in life the Anglican ministry.

Though the position of a clergyman was not that of his natural preference or of his own seeking, yet when once engaged in it, he not only embraced it, but threw himself into what he conceived to be its spirit and duties with the greatest ardour, directing all his thoughts and energy to acquit himself worthily, according to his light and knowledge, as a faithful minister of God, by living an exemplary and self-sacrificing life, and devoting himself entirely to labour for the good of those entrusted to his care. Whilst thus spending his zeal on others, he was himself being led on—in wondrously strange ways—as though through force of outward circumstances beyond his control, by the secret workings of grace, to a fuller knowledge of doctrinal truth, and a deeper spiritual *experience*, which brought him eventually to

the revelation of the Catholic Church and the certitude of Divine faith.

The process of conversion from Anglicanism to Catholicism is in many cases, and, perhaps, as the more general rule, a protracted course of gradual conviction, and, at least in its later stages, one of much inward distress and spiritual trial. The first glimmerings of true light that break in upon the soul are but very feeble, ineffectual to dispel the darkness, but serving rather to make visible to the soul the shadows and mists amidst which it dwells, and which it takes still for realities. This feeble light gives but a very indistinct vision of the as yet unknown and still far off City of Peace; and only obscurely indicates, or but dimly illumines, the path that leads thereto. It is indeed, in the words of St. Peter, "as a light shining in a dark place;" which shows itself faintly and fitfully, and unless well attended to, may easily be lost to sight. Together with this light, and in the measure of its shining and of the attention given to it, there grows up in the soul a painful distrust of that religious system with which alone it has been familiar, whence alone it has derived whatever spiritual helps and consolations it has ever enjoyed, and wherein it had found so many grounds for thankfulness on account of mercies vouchsafed and benefits received.

Such a change of feeling towards a religious system that a man has become attached to, confided in, and learnt to love, and which, as regards his own past spiritual experience has come to be, so to say, part of his very self, is distressingly painful, causing ground for much heart-searching and anxiety, as well as suspicion of his own fickleness or ingratitude, just as when we begin to lose confidence in the trustworthiness of some old friend whom we have long been used to think of as well tried, and to be depended on. Anxious questionings present themselves, moreover, as to the meditated exchange; for what spiritual goods the Anglican has where he is, however imperfect and unsatisfactory he may feel them to be, are, nevertheless, possessed, known, and realised as matters of his personal experience, whilst those to which he aspires elsewhere are necessarily yet indefinite, because outside his knowledge.

This difficulty is greatly increased by the misconception there is outside the Church as to the nature of divine faith; for the teaching is current amongst Anglicans that, so far from a state of incertitude being incompatible with true faith, it is, on the contrary, its ordinary concomitant, and, in a sense, of its very nature; that, consequently, since doubt is the normal condition and trial of faith, an Anglican, in seeking for certitude is acting the coward's part, and casting aside his appointed cross.

Catholics often fail to understand this anxiety and distress through which many an Anglican has to pass before finding his way to the Catholic Church. They seem to think that the greatest sacrifice which a convert has had to make is that of family ties, worldly position or temporal emolument. Sacrifices such as these may be great indeed, and, no doubt, deter some from embracing the truth; but for others *they are not* at all those that cost them the most.

going remarks have been here made because they bear directly
ject of Canon Brownlow's Memoir. The writer of this no-
had known James Marshall well from early boyhood, at
at Oxford, and had shared in his intimate thoughts during
n ministry—had himself been received into the Catholic
ne nine months before his friend, and during that interval
quent correspondence with him. He knew well Mr.
difficulties, and how he was following the guidance of
as was being vouchsafed to him in his darkness, "until
wned and the morning star arose in his heart." Where-
as not incredulous to the heavenly vision: but straight-
counting the cost, he reckoned all the loss as so much
the sacrifice of everything that was most dear to him in
re that pearl of great price, the gift of Divine faith in the
hurch.

ers received after his conversion abounded in expressions of
nkfulness, joy, and peace, breathing at the same time senti-
rdent devotion and most tender piety; and this, though he
nly that his career in life was broken up, his occupation
hat he was without prospects for the future. This devo-
was not evanescent, as it is with some converts when their
r is past, but waxed more solid and practical. He lost not his
in God amidst trials: and Divine providence opened to him
st into the community of St. Charles, where, with holy
ok the name of Brother Bernard, and then amongst the
ff of the school at the Edgbaston Oratory. Though neither
sitions was such as he would have chosen for himself, nor
ited to his natural character and aspirations, he bore him-
n with the greatest cheerfulness, and, by making light of
and overcoming repugnances, found happiness and content-
lfilling their duties, and at the same time won the esteem
on of all those who were associated with him.

ter knew and corresponded with Mr. Marshall during those
was more often brought personally in contact with him
residence at Manchester after his call to the bar. This
ny accounts perhaps the most trying period of his life. In
ractice he had to labour under great disadvantages. He
d upon his profession comparatively late in life; and he
olic. It was not easy to get briefs, whilst the work that
as, for the most part, of a sort distasteful to him. He felt
ment at not being engaged in any of the suits that had
at time, to which Catholics were a party; and saw that he
count on any support in his profession from those of his
n. He knew, indeed, that this could hardly be otherwise,
e where Catholic interests were at stake would be all the
le to prejudice and failure, should it be defended by a
dvocate. His life at this time was a lonely one, with but
enial society; and, whilst his actual surroundings tended to
n, there seemed to be no prospect of improvement in the

future. Still he bore up bravely, and took an active part in works of zeal and charity, as opportunity offered; but much disappointment attended these efforts.

A series of letters written at this time in a less cheery tone than was his wont, was at length closed by one that was like a sudden outburst of bright sunshine from a clouded sky, announcing the result to himself of a charitable bazaar, in which he had been taking great active interest, viz., his engagement to be married. His sanguine, buoyant temperament at once re-asserted itself. Full of hopeful energy, he soon set himself to provide a home for his expected bride. Leaving his solitary apartments, he took a house, which he furnished, in a suburb of Manchester: succeeded in getting several pupils, and everything was in train for the realisation of his happy prospects. A heavy blow indeed it was when, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war his pupils had to go back to France and Germany, and his home was broken up. Then for a time all these happy hopes were crushed; but not so his energy and courage. He now made up his mind to take whatever post might present itself in any part of the world; and when a judgeship on the Gold Coast was offered him he at once accepted it. Some of his friends and relations thought it a rash enterprise thus to sever himself from the advantages of England, and to go out to a strange, far off, uncivilised country, about which the most then generally known was that its climate was eminently unhealthy, and very often fatal to Europeans. It seemed a sorry field, indeed, for beginning life over again. But "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will;" and that gracious Providence was over Mr. Marshall directing his steps.

Arrived at his destination, he at once devoted himself with all his characteristic energy to his new official duties; and it was not long before he succeeded in completely winning for himself the respectful esteem, confidence, and affection of the Chiefs to whom he was Judicial Assessor, and of the whole native population. With the Ashanti war, which broke out soon after, the ill-starred Gold Coast became alive with interest, and the obscure town of Cape Coast rose into considerable prominence, as the headquarters of the English expedition. What great service Judge Marshall rendered to the army in the conduct of the war, through his personal influence over the natives, will be learnt from Canon Brownlow's memoir. All the surrounding circumstances of place and time combined to bring Judge Marshall into notice, led to his promotion, and thus gave him a position in which his beneficial influence over the native population had a wider scope, and he was enabled to do so much for the cause of Catholic Missions in West Africa.

Now that all is over, it may well be thought that his sphere of work, which at first sight looked so unpromising, was precisely the one best suited for developing and bringing into exercise those personal talents and gifts in which he particularly excelled. Amongst these—beside *what* might be characterised as his strong, ardent, and buoyant energy, *which led* him to success in spite of difficulties—his chief *forte* was

:able power of influence over others, whereby without effort he d them to himself, and won their confidence and love. This oticeable in him from early years. He was always a general ite at school and college. Quick and sensitive from his ardent ament, he was ever generous and noble. None who knew him rget the charm of his frank and genial manner, his cheery welcome, his warm grasp of the hand, his pleasant tones, his joyous laughter. Whilst he was a favourite with persons of rank and station, he showed his sympathies especially for those ubler position, and most of all for the suffering and oppressed. arvel not then at the great popularity, which the *Memoir* tells won in West Africa, where he was looked up to, beloved, and in, by the chiefs and people, the struggling Catholic mis- es, and the poor slaves, as their principal patron and protector. readers of Sir James Marshall's life will be consoled to find s Christian heroism and virtues obtained at length their merited . His fondest hopes of that domestic happiness, which had to be destroyed, were completely realised; whilst his public s both to his country, and to the Catholic Church, met with cognition, and were recompensed with honour, first by his ign, and later on by the Vicar of Christ. All this is told in Brownlow's admirable biography, which is all the more valu- ecause it is so full of Sir James Marshall's own letters, which to us his beautiful character as nothing else could.

life where all is replete with interest, it is difficult to single out lar incidents; but amongst passages which may be thought the ouching, is that which tells us with what spirit of faith he took l on, and conscientiously weighed before God, the *pros* and s to his last return to Africa; the record of his audience with ly Father, Leo XIII.; and the closing scene of his blessed death, ch, though it came unexpectedly with but short summons, may e said:

> Nothing in his life,
> Became him like the leaving it; he died
> As one that had been studied in his death.

se and other most interesting incidents are described very cally and with full detail in Canon Brownlow's Memoir, which must read for themselves who would rightly appreciate Sir Marshall's life and character. It is much to be hoped that the ook will gain a very wide circulation both for its own intrinsic , and the edification which it will afford; and also, because y will be furthered the cause of Catholic Missions in West , which Sir James Marshall had so deeply at heart; since what- rofits accrue from the sale of the work will be applied to that .

La Vie de Saint Ignace de Loyola, d'après Pierre Ribadeneira, son premier historien. Par le P. CHARLES CLAIR, S.J. Paris: E. Plon, Nouritt et Cie. 1890.

IN this superb volume both pen and pencil have succeeded in a marked manner in doing honour to the memory of the saintly founder of the Society of Jesus. And first as to the share which Father Clair's pen has in it. He remarks in his preface, truly enough, that Saint Ignatius has not wanted for biographers: Ribadeneira, Gonzales, Orlandini, Maffei, and others too numerous even to name here, have written lives, well known and esteemed. Two, however, are the most usually read in French, those by Bonhours and Bartoli; and, whilst the latter is known to the French reader only in an imperfect translation, and has, besides, faults of its own, the life by Bonhours ("one of the ablest and most judicious of the modern French critics in polite literature," as Alban Butler has it), is generally cold, solemn, and—"peu interessant"—not so interesting as it might be. Father Clair can think of nothing more likely to meet the taste and requirements of the present time than Ribadeneira, the first life of the Saint published; and accordingly in the present volume he gives a translation of Ribadeneira, made from the excellent Barcelona edition of 1885. We are of Father Clair's opinion: Ribadeneira is not only, as he remarks, a well-informed and honest witness—he had known the Saint intimately—but his style has a quaint beauty which does not evaporate in the translation, and that "flavour" of piety, which is a conspicuous charm in all the lives he wrote. Since Ribadeneira's death, however (1611), not a few details of both interest and importance to the subject have become known, and there is this objection to him, that he intermingles with his direct narrative discussions of small interest nowadays. Father Clair has met this double difficulty by incorporating in each chapter with the translation, in one continuous text marked apart, his own supplementary commentary and remarks. The result is what one would not have anticipated—a recital of sustained interest. This afterpart of each chapter is generally full of the most interesting details gathered from every hand. As to the Saint's name—to take an example not of the first importance or interest, but which is interesting, and happens to come before us—Ribadeneira says he was baptised Iñigo, but, he adds, we will in our work use Ignatius, by which he was better known. Alban Butler, too, says Iñigo or Ignatius. Iñigo, however, we learn from Father Clair, is the name of a Spanish saint, who was second abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Oña, in the province of Burgos; and he notes, in passing (as we may after him), that the monks of this famous abbey, in the middle ages, taught deaf mutes that system of lip *speaking* which is now so much lauded as a new method of modern invention. The Saint appears to have chosen the name Ignatius, later, partly as being (whilst something like Iñigo in sound) a known name in Italy and France *and partly* from his devotion to the great martyr of Antioch.

Any detailed criticism of this large volume would be impossibl

even if needed, in a brief notice. We have read a greater portion of it with uniform feelings of pleasure. The volume can be cordially recommended to the Catholic public. The artistic portion of the work is up to the best tradition of the publishers—the Messrs. Plon. Ffteen etchings and heliogravures, full page size, are the more ambitious, but not the only illustrations—nearly every other page is lit up with some engraving, facsimile of a medal, or an antique engraving, portraits of the Saint, scenes in his life, and views of the churches of his Order, or delightful bits of Spanish scenery, the places hallowed by his residence, or the earlier scenes of his life of grace. The whole work is a monument, worthy of its grand subject.

Holy Wisdom; or, Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, &c. By the Ven. Father Augustine Baker, O.S.B. Edited by the Right Rev. Abbot Sweeney, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates.

It is pleasing to be able to welcome a fresh issue of a book so solid and so undying as *Sancta Sophia*, or "Holy Wisdom," as the publishers have now preferred to call it. All the original prefatory matter is retained, as also is Abbot Sweeney's useful preface with the notes added by him. Indeed, this reprint is word for word the same as the edition of 1876. There was room for a new Preface, based upon a fresh examination of Father Baker's MSS. Our own opinion is that Father Serenus Cressy put far more original work into what he calls his "digest" than is generally supposed. Cressy was an enthusiast, a first class writer, and one of the ablest men of his age. If we are not mistaken it will be found that, in taking Father Baker's treatise and working them into this collection, he has put new life and spirit into them, giving them a strength and felicity of expression, and a literary form which were in great measure wanting in the originals. Father Sweeney's preface, it will be remembered, goes into some detail on the subject of Affective Prayer; and, here as well in the notes at p. 490 *seq.*, he defends Father Baker from the charge of "Quietism." Those who have read "John Inglesant," will recall the figure of Hugh (Serenus) Cressy, and how the writer makes him out to be at one with Molinos, who, in his turn, is described as a confessor, persecuted by the Jesuits, in the cause of spiritual prayer. Mr. Shorthouse's ideas of prayer were as hazy as his notions of the Church, and a man who could be contented with a Church of England that has only been realised by about two dozen people might well entertain a corresponding chimera on the subject of contemplation. If any one, having read "John Inglesant," wishes to see what Cressy's views on "Quietism" really were, he will find them in this book. But the passages most strongly objected to in *Sancta Sophia* have been those in which the author explains his theory of inward spiritual direction. This was particularly suspected at the time the book appeared, on account of its resemblance to the Calvinistic tenet of the "private spirit." Cressy entirely disposes of the objection in

his admirable Preface. For the rest, the book is, as we have said, solid; a soul aspiring to perfection, and to interior prayer will find in it, not words, but real experience and working advice; whilst the literary form is worthy of the age which produced such English books as the translation of the "Spiritual Conflict," and "St. Peter's Complaint."

"Old English Ascetic Books." Vol. II.—*The Great Sacrifice of the New Law*, Expounded by the Figures of the old. 8th Edition. London: Printed for Matthew Turner, at the Lamb, in High Holborn. Permissu Superiorum. 1687. By JAMES DYMOCK, a Clergyman.—Edited by ORBY SHIPLEY. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

"THE present is in no sense to be considered," writes the editor, "as an exact reproduction nor as a crititical edition of Fr. Dymock's work. . . . . Great liberties, from a literary point of view have been taken with the text, in order to make the book of use to readers in the present age, and the thoughts and ideas of the author have been reproduced in language not always literally as it was at first written, but, whilst keeping some of his own quaint and forcible expressions, as it is believed the author would have written had he lived in the nineteenth century." Writing, as the editor does, for a devotional purpose, he has taken undoubtedly the right course, and we cannot better introduce the work to our readers than by summarising his interesting historical preface. James Dymock was in all probability of the family of the Dymokes, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, one of whom, Robert Dymoke, Hereditary Champion of England, died in gaol for the Catholic faith in 1580. James was educated and ordained abroad, and came to the English mission from Paris. In 1671 he appears to have been chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; and in 1676, probably to the Portuguese Ambassador. Through the Rev. John Gother, the secular clergy were enabled, in 1686, to convert into a chapel Fishmonger's Hall, in Lime Street, London, during the brief sunshine of the reign of James II. The Rev. Andrew Giffard was placed in charge, and Fr. Dymock was his assistant. The chapel being made over within six months to the Jesuits, Fr. Dymock removed elsewhere, and at the Revolution returned to the Continent. He resided at St. Arnoul-des-Bois, near Chartres, and was still living in 1718. He wrote several works, of which the subject of our notice was the most popular—in ten years from its first appearance it went through eight editions.

The work is divided into three parts, whereof the first is mainly doctrinal, on Sacrifices in general; the second explains from beginning to end the several parts of the Mass, and the third gives practical directions for hearing Mass, interspersed with devout prayers. The spirit of Fr. Dymock's devotional treatise is strongly marked by the characteristics that distinguished the piety of our Catholic forefathers during the ages of persecution; a subdued, penitential tone,

great unction, and a strictly theological phraseology, characteristics noticeable in such compositions as the "Jesus Psalter," and other prayers preserved to us from that age, by Bishop Challoner in "The Garden of the Soul."

A deep interest attaches to works like this from the part they had in forming that spiritual character of our fathers of which Archbishop Ullathorne wrote: "If we compare the whole spirit of our lives with theirs, they often had a stability of soul, a moral strength, and an individual force of character, together with power of self-abnegation, to build up the Christian man such as we rarely find in this age. Their religion was all in all to them. They knew the Cross of Christ, and felt the Cross, and were comforted by the Cross." With one short, quaint sample of Fr. Dymock's teaching, we take leave of the book. Explaining the *Communio* of the Mass of the Most Holy Trinity, he writes:

> The cheerful tune for this Antiphon is prefigured to us in the Second Book of Kings, where it is said of David that when he brought the Ark of the Covenant into his city he danced before it with all his might. This mysterious dance, says a great Doctor of the Church, is an admirable picture of a Christian life. For, as in dancing all the steps are ordered according to the tune and cadence of the music, so, in a Christian life, all the steps should be ordered according to the sound and harmony of the Word of God, as being the rule of our lives.

PRIESTS' BOOKS.

1. *Compendium Juris Canonici.* Auctore S. B. Smith, S.T.D. Neo Eboraci, &c.: Benziger FF. 1890.
2. *Vade Mecum Confessariorum.* Auctore P. Salvatore de Philippis. Parisiis: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux.
3. *Jus Canonicum Generale.* Auctore A. Pillett. Parisiis: Sumptibus Lethielleux.
4. *Praxis Synodalis.* Editio emendata. Neo Eboraci: Benziger FF. 1888.
5. *Impedimentorum Matrimonii Synopsis.* Auctore G. Allegre. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet. 1889.
6. *Thesaurus Sacerdotum.* A Patre Sebastiano, C.P. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.
7. *Vitæ D. N. Jesu Christi Monotesseron Evangelicum*, quod ex quatuor Evangelistarum verbis contraxit P. Georgius Heser, S.J. Novam editionem curavit Jacobus Brucker, S.J. Tornaci: Desclée, Lefebvre. 1889.
8. *Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos.* Tornaci: Typis Soc. S. Joannis Evang. (Desclée, Lefebvre). 1890.

THE well-known author of the "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law" here furnishes, for the use of the clergy and seminaries of the United States, a Latin text-book of Canon Law. Bearing the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York, it undertakes to go

through the ordinary headings which are found in text-books of this kind. It will be found useful in England as well as in America. The law of the Church in this country is, in many respects, similar to that in force among the English-speaking populations of North America. Most of what relates to Ordination, for example, to Missions, and to Pains and Penalties, will be found practically identical. Dr. Smith, whose learning and carefulness are universally acknowledged here as among his own people, has adopted the plan of inserting in his Latin text numerous English translations of phrases and sentences. The advantage of this is that the student learns to understand Latin terms in their equivalent English. The work is a compendium, and in almost every page there are references to the author's larger work and to standard publications on Canon Law. But it is sufficiently full for a seminary course, and not too brief to give the ordinary missionary a working acquaintance with the principles and methods of a science which it is a mistake to think is obsolete. The writer's chapters on Matrimony and on Censures, for example, will perhaps furnish some of us with new ideas. We have noticed few omissions, but, perhaps, under the head of Regulars some notice should have been given of the obligation of the bishop to examine, before professing a nun, "an sit coacta vel seducta, an sciat quod agat." And in speaking, however briefly, of the "offerings" of the flock, there should be laid down very explicitly the luminous principle that a donation must be applied according to the intention of the giver.

2. The object of this little *brochure* is to furnish priests with an easy manual of theology for the purpose of hearing confessions. It may be useful as a book to refer to, and to refresh the memory. But it is not the kind of work which should be recommended to beginners, or to those who have not made good studies. Compendiums which lay down no principles and give no reasons are very unfitted to furnish the mind with anything worthy the name of science; and without an acquaintance with scientific method, a confessor might learn by heart any number of decisions without being a safe minister of the Sacrament of Penance. We do not like some of the writer's dicta. For example, he says that Suspension can be inflicted without any previous admonition, verbally, and even for a trivial fault; which is misleading to say the least. Then in treating of Matrimony, he omits to say that the bishop is the proper judge in all "causes" which affect the *forum externum*. It is but fair to say, however, that the first page states that the work is approved by the Archbishop of Salzburg and two other bishops, and that this is the fourth edition.

3. This seems, as far as we have examined it, a wonderfully clear full, and methodical manual of Canon Law, by a Professor of the Catholic faculty of Lille. It is brief, and beautifully printed. The latest decisions are everywhere incorporated.

4. The handbook of a Diocesan Synod (including what relates to a *Provincial* Synod as well), published by the authority of the Archbishop of New York, will be found portable, well-printed, and

correct. We may observe that the musical notation of the various pieces is given in the text.

5. This is the fourth edition of Canon Allegre's excellent exposition of the impediments to marriage.

6. This is a well-intentioned little book, compiled by Father Sebastian Keens, Passionist, and issued with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin and of the Provincial of the Passionists. It contains a number of Latin prayers, preparation for Mass, Litanies, meditations, &c. There is also a large amount of useful controversial matter, in the shape of citations from the Fathers (in English) on the Mass and other subjects. Finally, there is an ample selection of formulas and absolutions for all sorts of occasions. It is a pity there are so many misprints in the Latin. The prayer, "Ego volo celebrare Missam," has some half-dozen words in it beyond what are found in the Raccolta. And the author does not seem to be correct in stating that one who uses the indulgenced crucifix in order to practise the devotion of the "Via crucis," must move about; it is sufficient if he sits still or kneels in one place.

7. Father George Heser was an Austrian Jesuit, and the author of two commentaries on the Psalms. His monotesseron is designed primarily for the clergy. The Gospel text is presented, not for study but for meditation, and divided into 365 chapters, each providing enough matter for the day. It is mainly scriptural, but Patristic texts afford needed explanations, and rules for meditation are added in an appendix. Heser's work has stood the test of time; it needs no further commendation.

8. This is a new edition of the "Catechismus ad Parochos," by the Fathers of Maredsous, printed according to the original of Paul Manutius, A.D. 1567, and the Propaganda edition of 1871. By way of preface the editors print the Brief of Clement XIII., recommending the catechism to the clergy. The catechism was not originally divided into chapers (which, with the questions, were added by Andrew Fabritius, a Canon of Liège), and the present editors omit them. Marginal summaries and an index analyticus serve the students' purpose better. The edition is accurately and well printed.

Occasional Papers. By His Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, N.S.W. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1890.

THE home of the Faith, the land of his birth, the country of his adoption—Rome, Ireland, Australia—are the three dominant subjects in these eloquent and learned essays of Cardinal Moran. We may say without exaggeration, that we have read few essays anywhere that surpass in attractiveness of style some of the discourses in this volume, while, for wide and varied historical lore, Cardinal Moran's name is in itself a guarantee. As an example of both qualities in a very *high* degree, we recommend to our readers

the brilliant and learned discourse on the massacre of St. Bartholomew —to our mind the finest in the series.

"The civilisation of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion" is a subject on which no man living has a better right to speak than Cardinal Moran. The swarms of students that gathered round the great monasteries; the overflow of learned and holy Irish monks who founded monasteries and schools all over France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; the wisdom of the Brehon code, with its minute and cultivated jurisprudence dating ages further back than Justinian; the chivalrous spirit of which King Brian Boru is the type; the exquisite beauty of Irish illuminated MSS. like the "Book of Kells"; the ancient fame of the nation for music and poetry; the unapproachable skill and beauty of the fairy-like workmanship in gold and silver still to be seen in the few fragments, like the Tara brooch and the Cross of Cong, that have survived of what must have been a wealth of art beyond compare; these and a thousand other evidences point to a lost age of high refinement, learning, and piety. But the history of that epoch of Irish history is still unwritten. There must have been dark shadows on the island, too. St. Bernard extols the fervour and piety of Irish monks, of which he had heard so much from St. Malachy of Armagh, during his stay at Clairvaux, where he died. But it is from St. Bernard himself that we learn things that would need clearing up in this obscure period. Perhaps we ought to set something down to the Saint's rhetoric and to national prejudice. But when he tells that up to the time of Archbishop Celsus, whom St. Malachy succeeded, the See of Armagh had for several generations been a hereditary possession, we begin to fear he is not altogether wrong, and that there must have been many abuses in the Irish Church. "Not for a brief time," writes the Saint, "but for fifteen generations had this detestable law of succession continued. . . . . Even if there were no clerics in the family, bishops never failed. Eight had been before Celsus, *married men and without orders* (viri uxorati et absque ordinibus) yet lettered men. Hence had come about, all over Ireland, a dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline, a weakening of correction, a decay of religion; everywhere a savage barbarism in place of Christian mildness, or rather a paganism under the name of Christianity." Plainly, St. Bernard looks back to a brighter epoch that had passed away some generations before his time, and of which Cardinal Moran finds such copious evidence; but the history of this domestic decay and its causes thoroughly and well traced out, will alone clear up the conflicting and dubious records of Irish history from St. Patrick's death to the Norman invasion.

Nothing could well exceed the enthusiastic hopefulness of the Australian Cardinal for the future of his adopted land:

> I am happy to bear witness that the Australian colonies are rapidly developing in fairest proportions, and I have no doubt that, at no very distant day, they shall become a great nation, and a centre of civilisation for the various *races of the* Eastern World. The loyalty of our colonists to the throne *proverbial.* Indeed, none but a fool would be disloyal among us.

imperial flag is the symbol of our strength and unity—of justice, prosperity, and peace. It guards our commerce, protects our industry, and is the ægis of our liberties. . . . . It has been well said that the acorn has found a genial soil under the Australian sky, and has in a few years expanded into a vigorous tree, spreading far and wide a pleasant and protecting shade. I do not know that on the face of the globe to-day you will find a fairer or richer land than Australia. Within fifty years our commerce has so developed that, at the present day, it is equal to the commerce of Great Britain when her present gracious Majesty ascended the throne. In this period our gold-mines have given more than £270,000,000 sterling to the currency of Europe. The mines of copper, iron, and tin have been extensively worked. Our silver-mines are practically inexhaustible. In one of these the ore has been valued at £7,000,000 sterling. Pearl fisheries abound on our coasts. Wherever you may travel you shall find abundant proof of the same industry and energy which characterise the home countries. You will see cities which yield in nothing to those of the Old World; farms and vineyards, and crops of wild luxuriance which rival and surpass those of the best cultivated lands at home; flocks and herds, cottages and comfortable houses enclosed in gardens with overflowing abundance of fruit and flowers. If you ask me what is the secret of the loyalty of which our colonists have given abundant proof; of the vigour which they everywhere display; and of the industry, prosperity, and harmony which prevail, I must reply that we are indebted for it, under heaven, to the fact that we shape our own destinies, and make our own laws.

In the admirable essay on Joan of Arc, there is a passage that leads us to think it has not been revised since the labours of M. Leo Taxil have scattered the last mists that obscured the history of the heroic maid. His Eminence states that her judges where bought with English gold, and speaks of her trial being the work of English agents, and throughout his essay follows what hitherto has been the usual belief, casting all the blame of her judicial murder on the English. M. Leo Taxil writes in the light of his own newest and most accurate researches:

> By a Frenchman, William of Pavy, Joan of Arc was betrayed. By a Frenchman, the Comte de Ligny, she was sold. By Frenchmen, Martin Billon and Pierre Cauchan, the infamous bargain was conducted. *By French gold, raised by a special tax, levied and voted by the French Deputies of the States of Normandy, was the price of her blood paid.* She was tried by Frenchmen; among upwards of sixty judges only one Englishman was found.

Though not the most important, the most captivating of the series is perhaps the tenth and last discourse on "The Fruits of Self-Culture."

De Philosophiâ Moralî Prælectiones. Habuit P. Nicolaus Russo, S.J. Neo-Eboraci: Benziger FF. 1890.

THE Prosessor of Ethics in the Jesuit University of Georgetown, U.S., has thought it advisable to print and publish his lectures; and they form a useful manual of moral philosophy adapted for students. There are some points to which exception might be taken; for example, the crucial question of morality—"Why must I do good and avoid evil?"—is not answered as clearly as we think it might be.

The writer thinks that moral obligation is derived conjointly from the objective order of things and the will of God. Fundamentally, it flows from things; formally, from God's will. This is as much as to say that no moral obligation can be conceived without an explicit acknowledgment of a supreme God. But, in the first place, the question would recur, "Why *must* I obey God?" And, secondly, there might be some minds who, without believing in God at all, would yet understand moral obligation; for they would say, "My reason points out what my main and principal end is, and I am bound to act so as to attain it; to do otherwise would be against natural light, and therefore wrong." We are aware that some writers maintain that "wrong" in this sense stops short of "sin," unless there is also the idea of God's will. "Sin," no doubt, involves an idea of a personal God; but "wrong" in the sense explained would bring remorse, entail the sense of "guilt," and deserve punishment; and, when we have these, we have the obligation of morality existing. The author, we think, goes rather too minutely into questions connected with Probabilism (p. 78). When we remember how immature and callow are the youths who usually comprise a "philosophy" class, it would seem better to leave to the theological schools matters so difficult to be adequately stated. The subject of property is very fully treated, and Mr. Henry George comes in for a good deal of refutation; but we miss any admission, such as modern Catholic writers always make, that property in land differs in many ways from other kinds of property. The "wages" question is attacked "non sine quâdam animi trepidatione" (p. 178); but it is clearly and moderately discussed, and the principles laid down, though it was not to be expected that a book of this kind could go into details, are such as will do no harm to our young men to learn and lay to heart. The volume is beautifully printed and solidly bound, and there is an index of words, besides an analysis of each chapter.

Seven Essays on Christian Greece. By Demetrios Bikelas. Translated by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1890.

NO account of the author is prefixed to this interesting volume, and it is to be feared that a large number of readers have never heard of Demetrios Bikelas. The seven papers here translated by Lord Bute are articles or lectures on the Byzantine Empire and on modern Greece, written by a cultivated and ardent Greek. The three first are on that "Lower Empire" which has always had such a bad repute in history. The writer succeeds in showing that the Christian Eastern Empire has not had justice done to it. For a thousand years it withstood the shocks of Turk and barbarian; its material achievements were considerable, its law and literature not to be despised, and its morals not worse than those of its neighbours. The writer thinks *that the mission* of the Byzantine Empire was "to preserve civili-

sation during the period of barbarism which we call the Middle Ages." The idea is ingenious, but the Greek Empire "preserved civilisation" only in the sense that a dead rat in a water-pipe keeps off a flood. The "barbarism" of the Middle Ages was always preferable to the malodorous civilisation of the Michaels and the Leos who succeeded one another on the banks of the Bosphorus. Over and over again the efforts of the Roman Pontiffs would have created young and strong kingdoms between the Adriatic and Asia, had it not been for the inert mass of corruption and heresy which blighted all the land. And if the Moslem had come to close quarters with Catholic Europe before 1453, it would only have been to find a Sobieski or a Pius V., as they found in later times. The writer has, no doubt, presented the Greek Empire in a light which will be new to many, and it is only bare justice to say that there is no trace in his pages of any direct attack on Catholicism or the Holy See. But we cannot see that he has succeeded in reversing the verdict of Christian history. The four essays on Modern Greek describe the formation of the Modern Greek kingdom and its aspirations. The author thinks, with Mr. Freeman, that the modern Greeks are substantially descended from the ancient inhabitants of the country. He is afraid of the Slav propaganda promoted by Russia. He says that the Greeks do not aspire to re-establish a Greek empire at Constantinople, but only hope "to have a northern frontier starting eastwards from the Adriatic at some point north of Corfu, and reaching the Ægean at some point east of the Chalcidic Peninsula, including such part of Macedonia as is Greek" (p. 288). He thinks that Turkey is not going to be deleted just yet, and on the whole he is not sorry. The translation is so admirably done that it reads like original English. We note one or two strange words, such as "ultimated" and "fosterage"; perhaps Lord Bute has intended to exercise the royal prerogative of coining. There is a good index.

Die Christliche Eschatologie. Von Leonhard Ausberger. Freiberg im Breisgau: Herder. 1890.

THERE is no aspect of the Bible which is more important or more interesting than that of its teaching on the future life. This is especially true of the Old Testament. Dr. Ausberger, in this learned and clearly written book, traces the development of what, for convenience sake, we may call "eschatology," from the first chapter of Genesis to the end of the Apocalypse. Every scholar knows how difficult the subject is. Rationalistic criticism is loud in its denial that the Hebrews believed in a future life at all, at least before the Exile. To show that they are mistaken is the object of these pages. The writer's grand principle is this: the development of eschatology marches step by step with the revelation of the Messias. In the Pentateuch we have, probably, no text which directly mentions a future life. But we have man made to God's image; the separation of soul and body as a punishment of sin; the continuance of that separation as a state of punishment; and a marked difference in the language

which describes the death of the just and the death of the sinner. The author admits that the idea of a future existence, as it was known in the times of the patriarchs and of the exodus, was extremely vague, but that it existed he clearly shows. We have an interesting disquisition on the word "scheol." He shows, we think beyond dispute, that it must mean more than "the grave"; in fact, it means a "place where the dead are gathered," as we may infer from Gen. xxxvii. 35, and other texts. In the historical books there is nothing formally laid down beyond what we find in the Pentateuch; but the revelation of the Messias becomes clearer; God will somehow "save" His people; and, with this, the fear of a bad death becomes more and more fully insisted upon. The celebrated passage of Job (xix. 25–7) is fairly and carefully commented on. In the Psalms we have, it is true, much stress laid on temporal rewards and punishments. Dr. Ausberger's view is that the Jews did expect virtue to be rewarded and vice punished in the present life; but that this was accompanied by a more or less blind and vague look-out towards immortality. That such a hope for the future existed is absolutely certain from certain passages of the Psalms. In the prophetical books the Messianic expectation was far more fully developed. His kingdom was to be everlasting; there was a day of reckoning coming for all the wicked; the holy city and the people of God were to be restored, and the lot of the good and of the wicked was sharply contrasted. "Hell" becomes a most definite place, and is vividly described. The resurrection is typified by the theocratic restoration of the nation; for that restoration was essentially unrestricted as to duration, and the expectation of it was therefore equivalent to the expectation of life everlasting. In the deutero-canonical books we find in express terms the dogma of the future existence, future retribution, future difference of lot between good and bad, the judgment to come, the resurrection of the flesh, and the relation of the living to the dead. What the prophetical books imply, the later writings explicitly mention. The author's researches into the eschatology of the New Testament occupy more space, but the matter is less obscure. Various interesting points occur, such as the nature and eternity of hell-fire, purgatory, and the date of the last judgment. He discusses the question whether St. Paul really expected the coming of Christ in his own times, and decides that although the Apostle seems to have thought it possible, there is no evidence that he proclaimed it as a certain fact. From this brief notice it will be seen that the treatise before us is well worthy the study of biblical scholars and of theologians.

Vie de Saint Hugues, Chartreux, Evêque de Lincoln. Par un Religieux de la Grande Chartreuse. Montreuil: Typographie Notre-Dame des Près. 1890.

THE anonymous Carthusian who has produced this beautiful volume deserves the thanks of English and French Catholics. St. Hugh *of Lincoln* is one of the glories of the twelfth century, and if he was *not an Englishman* by birth, he made himself an Englishman by a-

voting his life for the English Church and people. Fortunately, we have a very full history of him in that "Life" of the English Benedictine who was his faithful chaplain. The "Magna Vita," as this is called, is not indeed the only contemporary source which has come down to us, but it is the best and the most ample. Our author has made it his principal authority, using Mr. Dimock's edition of 1864, with its learned introduction. But he has illustrated his narrative with information of every sort, so that the work becomes a very complete picture of the last half of the twelfth century—the century of St. Bernard, of St. Thomas à Becket, and of Innocent III.

Born, as seems probable, in 1140, Hugh of Avalon went in early youth into the Great Chartreuse, and was afterwards Prior of the Charterhouse of Witham, a few remains of which may still be seen not far from Frome in Somersetshire. It was the first Carthusian foundation in England. St. Hugh was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in Westminster Abbey in the year 1185.

We follow in the minute details of his life the history of a great Bishop in a country which, in spite of disorder and crime, was devoted to the Catholic faith and produced many of the fruits of holiness. Richard Cœur de Leon and King John came upon the scene; the authority of the Holy See is illustrated; glimpses are given of the organisation of the vast diocese of Lincoln, extending from the Humber far to the south, and containing the counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. All that is called the "new work" in the Cathedral of Lincoln is the work of St. Hugh, who also built the Chapter House. But it is the personal story and character of the Saint that naturally interests the reader most. His austerity, his unbending character, his constant work, and his never-failing saintly joyousness are admirably brought out in the devout and easy narrative. There are innumerable points of interest. St. Hugh was undoubtedly one of the saints who prepared the way for the great outburst of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, which culminated in the labours of St. Thomas of Aquin and the feast of Corpus Christi, sixty or seventy years after his death. The reader will find in these pages the story of those Eucharistic apparitions which are commemorated by the Chalice which appears in his pictures. The history of St. Hugh's swan is certainly authentic. Other Saints have had a marvellous dominion over birds and beasts; witness what Ven. Bede says of St. Cuthbert, the ravens of St. Benedict and St. Antony, the swallows of St. Guthlac, the cormorants of St. Martin, and the creatures who followed and obeyed St. Francis of Assisi. St. Hugh, in his purity of heart, had a similar power. At the Grande Chartreuse the birds and squirrels were quite tame to him. At Witham a wild goose, a "barnacle" goose, as it is called, attached itself to him, and would not be kept out of his cell. But his swan was a much more remarkable conquest. It seems to have been a wild bird of immense size—it happens to be no less an authority than Giraldus Cambrensis who describes it from personal inspection—and made its appearance among the pools and woods of Stow, the

day after the Bishop was enthroned. It began by attacking and killing off every other swan about the place. It allowed itself, however, to be taken to the Bishop, and became from that moment as fond of him and as faithful as a dog. No one else dared to touch it; but it would nestle by the side of the Saint, and plunge its long neck up his wide sleeves, and show its joy at the sound of his voice. When he was away, it would announce his return some time before he appeared, rush to meet him, and accompany him upstairs; and when it was watching beside his bed, woe to the unlucky wight who happened to come near!

The work is enriched with many cuts and views, including two magnificent double-page engravings of the exterior of Lincoln Minster and of the Choir respectively. The writer says very little about the tomb of St. Hugh. But there is a drawing of it in Stukely's *Itinerarium Curiosum*. We are told by Wilkins that it was not destroyed at the Reformation, but at the Revolution; and that, later on, an Anglican Bishop set over his grave a plain altar tomb, and enclosed it with iron rails, with some elegiacs on a marble tablet.

Life of Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.SS.R. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

THIS new edition of Father Bridgett's most interesting "Life of Blessed John Fisher" is enriched by a very full bibliographical notice on Dr. Hall's "Life." The author omits five or six pages of his original preface, and gives us instead some fifty pages of appendix, in which he first discusses the copies and editions of that Life, and gives it as his opinion that a MS. which he has now for the first time had the opportunity of thoroughly examining (*British Museum*, Arundel 152) is either the author's autograph, or represents his first completed version. Among other documents found in the same collection is a long extract from a writer who declares himself to have been *an eye-witness of the martyrdom*. Fr. Bridgett gives several new incidents from this source. Dr. Hale has almost transcribed it in his own account, but he has omitted one or two details. One is, that the holy Bishop on the scaffold said the "Te Deum" right through to the end. Hall had left it uncertain whether or not there was another Psalm. Moreover, the block on which he was beheaded was not such an one as is seen in the Tower at this day, and is represented in the cover of Father Bridgett's book, but a mere low piece of wood, for "he laid down on his belly, flat on the floor of the scaffold." Father Bridgett considers that the writer of this valuable fragment must be the same Rastall, nephew of Blessed Thomas More, who is known to have written a life of More. We have also a description of three Latin "Lives," examined by our author since he published his work. One of them certainly points to the curious fact that its writer and Dr Hall must have used to a great extent the same materials. They could *hardly* have copied one another, for certainly Hall would not have

omitted that most strange and remarkable incident of Fisher's quoting four or five lines of Horace (from Ep. xvi., Bk. 1.) when being carried to the scaffold. Father Bridgett alludes to his controversy with Mr. Gladstone about Sanders, but does not enter into it. The story of the outrage by Anne Boleyn on the Martyr's head seems not to be in the oldest and probably original MS. of Hall (p. 398, and p. 499). As to the disposal of the sacred body after death, Father Bridgett, in the light of some new evidence, thinks it certain that Fisher was first buried in the churchyard of All Hallows (close to the Tower); and that he was afterwards removed to St. Peter ad Vincula, in the Tower, and there reposes to this day, with Blessed Thomas More.

The Life of Blessed Margaret Mary. By the Rev. GEORGE TICKELL, S.J. Third edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

THE issue of a third edition of Father George Tickell's "Life of Blessed Margaret Mary" proves that there is a large number of readers who appreciate its careful historical exposition and its simple style. It requires no fresh commendation. We do not see that anything new has been added to the book, although it is put forth as a fresh "edition." The Rescript of June 18, 1889, is not noticed in any way; nor is the Act of Consecration promoted by Pius IX. in 1875 alluded to. There has been a great deal written on the subject of the Sacred Heart and of the holy daughter of the Visitation since Father Tickell's labours first saw the light, and, for purposes of comparison, he might at least have added an index.

Jésus-Christ. Par le R. PÈRE DIDON (des Frères Prêcheurs). Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. Two vols.

FEW literary undertakings are more difficult of accomplishment than a successful life of Christ. It is hard to draw a picture of Jesus which will come up to the ideal of the devout Christian who has meditated much and lovingly on the Mystery of the Incarnation. The difficulty of the task is not diminished by the fact that the writer has to be on his guard lest, in aiming at being devotional, he may only be exposing his work to the scoffs of the incredulous; and his work is only too liable to be a compromise between his desire to satisfy the exacting judgment of the critic on the one hand, and the devout aspirations of the pious Christian on the other. But he labours under a further disadvantage. That life of Christ has been written before; it has been written by Christ's own disciples; it has been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The four Gospels have provoked the deepest admiration of sceptics such as Strauss and Renan; for 1800 years they have held the foremost place amongst those works that have guided the destinies of mankind; their words have branded themselves into the hearts and consciences of men. Père Didon has,

therefore, undertaken no slight task. He has, however, devoted his talents and labour to a most necessary work. The circumstances of the times called loudly for such a book. Rationalistic criticism, beginning in Germany with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, has spread thence over the whole world, and has already made daring attempts upon the authenticity and integrity of the inspired writings of the Christian dispensation. In France, Renan, in words of glowing and seductive eloquence, has been popularising the most extreme views of the critical school. It is true, he says, in the preface to his "Vie de Jesus" (p. 21), "On the whole, I admit as authentic the four canonical Gospels," but then, he entirely denies the Divinity of Jesus Christ; and he writes in a strain of dreamy and poetic eloquence only too likely to insinuate itself into the minds of his readers, and to destroy their belief in the very groundwork of Christianity.

Père Didon does not call his work a Life of Christ. It bears upon the title-page, merely the words—"Jesus Christ;" and, indeed, this title best describes the character of the book. It is more than a mere Life. It is a defence of the Christian position in regard to the Gospels and the Gospel history; it is an apology for the miraculous in the New Testament; it is an eloquent attempt to concentrate the attention of men upon the life and teaching of our Saviour, as the one great fact in the history of the world; it is, in fine, a theology of the Incarnation, interwoven with the life of Christ.

Few will be disposed to deny, certainly no Catholic will call in question the success of the work. Indeed, if success is to be measured by popularity, Père Didon has every reason to congratulate himself; for the sale of his book, now only a few months before the public, has been immense. But, in reality, his book contains within itself the elements of success. Père Didon is well known as a preacher of distinguished eloquence; and this gift has not forsaken him in writing his life of Christ. A copious vocabulary, a graceful flow of language, a facile and easy style are evidenced throughout. Perhaps a severe critic might be disposed to say that the writer's command of language has at times run away with him, and that he becomes wordy and diffuse. If this be the case, it is but seldom; indeed, we cannot recall a passage which we should prefer to see omitted. The writer's familiarity with the Holy Land lends an additional charm to the book. Those glowing descriptions of mountain and valley, of peaceful evening scenes under a lovely sky, or by the blue waters of the lake, which the reader cannot help admiring in the pages of Renan, occur over and over again in Père Didon's volumes, serving as a background to the picture, and helping us to realise better the life of our blessed Lord, with its days of solitude and nights of prayer in the lonely mountains. It is perhaps unnecessary to allude to the learning evinced by the writer; it is evident in every page. Not that it is obtruded on the reader; discussions that might tend to break the continuity of the narrative; such questions as the chronology of Our Saviour's life, and the harmonising of the two genealogies are treated *in appendices*. But there pervades the whole work a scholarly tone

which clearly shows that the author has prepared himself for his labours by study and reading, both deep and wide.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Père Didon's work is the Introduction of eighty-eight pages. It is devoted to preparing the ground for the work to follow. The question of the sources from which a life of Christ ought to be drawn is entered into at considerable length, and the authenticity of the four Gospels is defended; finally, the prophecies that ushered in the Incarnation are discussed and set forth. We cannot say that the introduction contains much that is new to the student; moreover, considerations of space made it impossible for the writer to enter fully into a critical study of the question of the authenticity of the canonical Gospels; but, undoubtedly, this part of the work is full of suggestive thoughts and ideas—old things are said in a new way; and thus it cannot but be of assistance to the New Testament student, whilst to that "public" whom the learned Dominican seeks to attract, it will be of real value.*

The body of the work is in six books, which, speaking generally, treat of the birth and early life of Jesus Christ, St. John the Baptist, the Galilean Ministry, the contests at Jerusalem, and finally, the passion and death of Our Saviour. The subject is treated throughout in great detail. Père Didon's accurate knowledge of Palestine, of the history and antiquities of the Jews, and of the world at the time of our Lord is continually brought in to explain and illustrate the Gospel narrative. The miracles of Our Saviour are defended against the attacks of the mythical and legendary schools; His teaching is set out and explained, and the accomplishment of the prophecies is noted. Père Didon, in regard to the Sermon on the Mount, does not reject the view that it is an artificial composition, collected by St. Matthew from the scattered teachings of Our Lord (vol. i. p. 319).

It would be impossible in the present brief notice to enter upon a detailed criticism of Père Didon's work. But in general terms, this much may confidently be said: its appearance has supplied a want in the Church. May it be read generally, both in France and elsewhere! May it prove an antidote to Renan's "Vie de Jesus!" May it promote the honour and worship of Jesus Christ!

Le Nouveau Testament et les Découvertes Archéologiques modernes. Par F. Vigouroux. Prêtre de Saint-Sulpice. Paris: Breche et Tralin. 1890.

IN this volume the learned Sulpician does for the New Testament what he has already done for the Old in his well-known "La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes." The esteem in which the latter is held may be gathered from the fact that its four volumes have already gone to their fifth edition. The kind of "discoveries" which

* The Editors of the *Revue des deux Mondes* showed their marked appreciation of this introduction by giving it a place, unabridged, as an article in their number for Oct. *1st last.*

the Abbé Vigouroux used in those volumes, and again uses in this on the New Testament, are what go by the general name of archæological. He is not concerned, that is, with MSS. discoveries. There is nothing in his pages, *e.g.*, on the discoveries regarding Tatian's Diatesseron, and the testimony thence accruing to the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. But he gathers up the incidental proofs afforded to the veracity and authenticity of the New Testament narratives by modern discoveries of "remains," inscriptions, coins, buildings, and the like. The value of the volume, therefore, is great. The student of the New Testament may find gathered within its pages, and arranged by the hand of a brilliant Biblical scholar, those illustrative and confirmatory evidences which he would otherwise have to pick up in fragments from a vast variety of sources, many of them not easy of access, and at a vast expenditure of time. The volume, too, with its plentiful references, will serve as a good guide to the inquirer who would pursue the subject, or a branch of it, further than is here done for him. When we mention that the volume is sufficiently illustrated, we have said all we need by way of recommendation of it, except, perhaps, to give a more specific idea of the character of its contents. This we must do briefly, from considerations of space. The work is divided into four sections, with headings respectively of 1, The Language of the New Testament as a proof of authenticity; 2, The Gospels; 3, The Acts of the Apostles; and 4, The New Testament in the Catacombs. Under the first heading we have a chapter treating the question of what language was spoken by Our Lord and His Apostles. Here will be found the history of the question, with bibliographical references valuable to the student, and an interesting study of some words and phrases in the Gospel texts which bear on the conclusion that they spoke Aramaic as their own language. Other chapters in this division treat of the internal evidence to the authenticity of the Testament from the language of its various writers. Under the heading of "The Gospels," we have first a full treatment of the supposed inaccuracy of St. Luke (at which Strauss had his sneer), in speaking of the enrolment under Cyrinus or Cyrenius (Luke ii., 2). The author maintains that it is now clear from remains that Cyrinus (Quirinius) was *twice* governor of Syria. Another chapter defends the same Evangelist's statement (iii., 1) that at the commencement of the public life of Our Lord, Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilina; *à propos* of which statement again Strauss had his laugh at the "little error of sixty years;" as it was certain, he said, that Lysanias was killed thirty years before Christ's birth. A chapter on the synagogues and their services is given to show the popular familiarity among the Jews of Our Lord's day with the Scripture and the Messianic prophecies—to which he himself and St. Matthew especially so frequently appeal. Another chapter on the Passion of Christ "au point de vue archéologique" deals with the sites and relics. The division on the Acts uses modern discoveries at Cyprus, Ephesus, &c., as illustrative and confirmatory *of the sacred* text. Of the most interesting final portion of this book, *that on the* New Testament in the Catacombs, it would be impossible to

give here an adequate idea. We will only refer the student to the learned author's valuable chapter on the choice and character of the Scripture representations in the catacombs, and the still more interesting chapter on the use of that "allegorical" interpretation so much abused by some modern non-Catholic writers.

Origine du Monde d'après la Tradition. Ouvrage posthume du Chanoine A. MOTAIS, de l'Oratoire de Rennes. Avec Introduction sur la Cosmogonie Biblique par CHARLES ROBERT, prêtre de l'Oratoire de Rennes. Paris: Breche et Tralin.

THE present work of the late lamented Canon Motais, best known here perhaps for his advocacy of the non-universality of the deluge, is concerned with the much vexed question of the scientific orthodoxy (*i.e.*, the "doxy" of modern science) of the first chapters of Genesis, or rather of the traditional interpretation of them by the Fathers and writers of the Christian Church. The wealth of patristic illustration is so great that no idea of it could be conveyed in a notice—an appendix of a hundred pages is filled with the text of over two hundred and fifty extracts that are used in proof in the body of the work. We will therefore place here the theses which the author undertook to prove—they will sufficiently indicate the character of his book.

I.

La tradition n'a point ignoré la doctrine de l'antiquité du monde et ne l'a point repoussée.

II.

La tradition a unanimement professé la doctrine de la création de la matière à l'état élémentaire (nous dirions aujourd'hui à l'état de nébuleuse); et, de plus, comme Laplace, sa création à l'état de masse unique.

III.

L'école d'Alexandrie n'enseigne en réalité qu'une chose: l'impuissance des jours de 24 heures pour expliquer Moïse; et l'école littérale, partie de la théorie des jours ordinaires, aboutit, dès le iv^e^ siècle, à leur négation et à la création par développement naturel, progressif, exactement à la façon de l'école moderne.

IV.

Saint Augustin commence par repousser le système des jours ordinaires—cherche ensuite, mais en vain, à se refugier dans la simultanéité alexandrine—et ne trouve, en dernière analyse, le moyen de faire concorder l'exégèse avec le texte, qu'en admettant des formations successives, produites sans arbitraire, sans miracle, en vertu des lois constantes de la nature, par intervalles autre que des jours de 24 heures, plus longs, et donnant place au développement régulier des êtres tel qu'on l'entend aujourd'hui.

V.

La tradition et l'école maintiennent perpetuellement, sur tout leur parcours, jusqu'à l'arrivée de l'école moderne, les principes générateurs de l'exégèse actuelle, en soupçonnent, en dénoncent la nécessité et y conduisent directement, forcément, sans contradiction et sans soubresaut (p. 15).

The author at his death had not quite completed his treatment of the fourth and had not begun that of the fifth of the above propositions, but few readers who respect close reasoning, and admire its use in the hands of a brilliant scholar, even when they may dissent from here and there a statement or view, will consider the publication of the work other than a boon. Its editor has prefixed a valuable introduction, in which, after translating the first chapters of Genesis from the Hebrew, he proceeds to show the wonderful accord in which the statements stand with the accepted conclusions of modern science. He then vindicates the harmony between the two accounts of man's creation, and suggests an ingenious refutation of the supposed discrepancy between the Jehovistic and Elhoistic accounts. The work is a valuable help to the biblical student, and will help to beget a better appreciation of the Fathers and early Christian writers, whom intellectual eminence and sublime conceptions are too much neglected, if not actually despised by many modern writers.

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1. *The Catholic Directory* Ecclesiastical Register and Almanac for 1891. (54th Annual Publication.) London: Burns & Oates.
2. *The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual* for 1891. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.; London: Burns & Oates.
3. *Catholic Home Almanac*, 1891. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THE Catholic Directory grows slowly but surely every year; statistics swell, and announcements multiply, yet it is kept wonderfully compact, and the large portion of it devoted to ecclesiastical and educational information of every kind is very full, and edited with admirable care. The advertisements—more numerous and varied than ever—are this year indexed, and thus rendered easy of reference.

The two American Annuals are of equal interest on this side the Atlantic for their literary columns—the far larger portion of each—and for their engravings. The Family Annual perhaps excels (though comparison is scarcely fair, both are so good) in the matter of portraits and sketches of living or recently dead Catholic celebrities, including some worthy and devoted ones known, as yet, not even by name to the English public. The Almanac has not a little of this element too, together with poetry and prose stories, well-chosen, and a profusion of excellent pictures. The frontispiece is a full-page chromo-lithrograph of the Sacred Heart, after the original by Battoni in the Church of the Gesù at Rome.

Breviarium Romanum. (12mo Edition in Four Volumes). Editio quarta post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci, &c.: F. Pustet. 1891. (London: Burns & Oates.)

MESSRS. BURNS & OATES have sent us an advance copy of a new edition of the Pustet Breviary which is about to appear. It *reaches us*, however, only at the moment of going to press, and we are *able only—all*, however, that is needed—to make it known as the most

ent of the well-known "Typica" issues, with everything up to te. Such Offices, *e.g.*, as the newly extended ones of St. John Damas- e, St. John Capistrano, and St. Sylvester are incorporated into the dy of the work. We recommend it, also, as having about the largest d clearest type that a breviary of its size could have. The slightly ed paper, firm printing, and delightful engravings make it a most nsant book to use.

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las Geographique de la Bible, d'après les documents anciens et les meilleurs sources Française, Anglais et Allemandes contemporaines. Par L. Cl. FILLION, Prêtre de St. Sulpice, et H. NICOLE, Prêtre du diocese de Reims. Lyons & Paris; Delhomme & Briguet. 1890.

ONE may study the Sacred Scriptures, remarks M. Vigouroux in his "Manual Biblique," without knowing the ancient languages; but e can scarcely do so without a knowledge of the geography of the ible. At any rate every one will readily admit how much of vivid- ss and life the use of a good atlas adds to the mere letter of the cred narrative; and students who owe so much already to M. illion, the accomplished professor of Scripture at Lyons, for his ommentaries on the Gospels in the great French commentary, "La ainte Bible" (Lethielleux, Paris), will gladly recognise the additional ratitude due to him for this beautiful atlas of Biblical geography. The author's familiarity with German and English literature has nabled him to produce maps and a detailed index, which are quite up o date, and embody the results of the Palestine Exploration and of e chief individual explorers. The maps, as to their mechanical exe- tion, are engraved in the best style, whilst their size (the volume is arge quarto and some of the maps are double) admits of a very clear tering. The construction of the maps has been done chiefly by the t author, M. Nicole, formerly a pupil of the Abbé Fillion, and ady well known in France by his plans of Jerusalem and Rome. Index, or "Lexique des Noms," is of very great value. The names y the spelling of the Vulgate, but the Hebrew pronunciation has added in parenthesis wherever it offered any notable feature, a Scripture reference indicates where the name is met with e first time. Besides this, a few lines of description give a nt notice of the place and embody in a condensed but clear form sults of modern research. The modern names of towns and s are generally added; and each entry ends with a reference to p or maps in the atlas where the place, mountain, or river, &c. esented, and as the authors have adopted the plan used in Bible atlases, of marking each division of longitude and latitude tter of the alphabet, reference from description to map is of st facility. The publishers are to be congratulated on the excellence of the atlas—paper and type throughout, as also anical execution of the map plates are all excellent; and the price (twenty francs) at which they issue it is a thing to be commendation.

Conferences of Agostino da Montefeltro. Delivered in Rome during Lent, 1889. First Series, Second Edition, translated by CHARLES AUBREY ANSELL. Second Series, translated by H. DALBY GALLI. With Prefatory Letter by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Thomas Baker. 1890.

WE gladly welcome this translation of Padre Agostino's Conferences. A Protestant edition appeared some time ago, and has had a large sale, but it contained only a *selection* of the sermons, and even of those selected the lady translator avows that she left out "those passages which are not adapted for an *English* congregation"—meaning *Protestant*. Which means in the result that Padre Agostino, an Italian Roman Catholic friar before all things, shows up as a nice doctrinally colourless *preacher* that Miss Phillimore can smile approval on. Poor Padre Agostino! But English readers may now make his acquaintance honestly. He is full of zeal, and preaches for the rich and poor, though he openly professes, in his first Conference on "Truth," that his heart is with the poor. And in many beautiful passages he pours out his sympathy for the toiling and suffering members of the Christian flock. His Conferences have not the formality, nor the elaborateness, nor the stateliness of the sermons of the great Italian orators; but they are, on that account, more attractive to the multitude. Padre Agostino preaches the Word of God without fear, reproving in burning words of power the vices and oppressions of the rich, and depicting in vivid language the evils of society and the ruin to which it is hastening. He is a vehement lover of his country, and often laments, with touching eloquence, the indifferentism and loss of religion which he sees around him. He is, moreover, well read in philosophy and the science of the day, and he combats, oftentimes with ingenuity and power, the prevalent errors of our times. We gather from reading these Conferences something of the secret of this Father's wonderful popularity, though the magnetic influence of his presence and delivery have to be imagined. We thank the publisher for giving us these fine discourses in English, and we congratulate the translators on having done a difficult task well.

Commentarius in St. Pauli priorem Epistolam ad Corinthios auctore R. CORNELY, S.J. Parisiis: Lethielleux. 1890. (London: Burns & Oates.)

THIS is the first volume of the Commentary on the New Testament in the "Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ," now in course of publication by the Jesuits in Rome. It would be impertinent to criticise, and almost so to praise, the work of so eminent a Biblical scholar as Father Cornely; but the attention of English readers may fitly be drawn to it as a sample of what is to follow in the series.

It follows the Vulgate, side by side with which is given the Greek *mainly* from the Vatican Codex B. Much attention is given to text

criticism, Tischendorf's and Westcott and Hort's editions being freely used, and the evidence of versions and quotations by the Fathers also supplied. More weight is given to the intrinsic probability of disputed readings than has been customary in recent critical editions; and, so far as we have noticed, no textual difficulty has been passed over, the author appealing expressly to St. Augustine's dictum ("De Doct. Christ," ii. 14): "Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare sollertia eorum, qui Scripturas nosse desiderant." In a few instances the Vatican Greek text is preferred to the Vulgate (*ex. gr.*, ix. 22; x. 13); in others (as xiii. 3) the latter is followed. All the Catholic commentators of any note have been laid under contribution; as also have been the chief non-Catholic German writers. It is a little disappointing to find that no Anglican works on this Epistle are noticed, Archbishop McEvilly's being the only English one that is mentioned. It is to be hoped that none were thought of sufficient importance, and that we may look for a consideration of Lightfoot and Westcott when Father Cornely comes to the Epistles with which they have dealt. There are many points in an Epistle of such varied interest as the First to the Corinthians where the student will desire help; and he will find everywhere he is assisted by a writer of great learning and sobriety of judgment. We would call particular attention to the sections which deal with the public worship, and the charismata in the early Church, as giving, for the first time in a Catholic commentary, the important bearing of the Didache, which Father Cornely considers a contemporary document. The passages particularly employed in controversy, such as iii. 13–15, xi. 23–30, vii. 1–40, are handled with great caution and ability.

Monasticon Belge. Par le R. P. Dom Ursmer Berlière, Bénédictin de l'Abbaye de Maredsous. Tome I. Première livraison: Province de Namur. Bruges: Desclée. 1890.

We gladly call attention to this first instalment of a great historical work. Father Berlière has happily thought of undertaking the history of the numerous monastic establishments of Belgium. Although he intends to trace the development of only such monasteries as are comprised within the actual boundaries of the realm, we hope his learned labour will meet with general acceptance from historical scholars. His book certainly merits their attention; it is critical, and is scientific in the best modern sense. Father Berlière, in fact, corrects and supplements the renowned "Gallia Christiana." His method in this work is to first give the critically correct names of each foundation, next to treat of the historical sources, manuscripts and printed, and to give accurate information as to the actual places where the MSS. are preserved, then comes a succinct history of the foundation of each monastery: and this is followed by a list of its superiors. This last seems to be an important feature of the work, and deserving of high praise. Irish and English ecclesiastical history

will be benefited by Father Berlière's labours; we can mention here only the description of the Irish Abbeys of Waulsort (Walciodorus), Hastières, and Fosser. We recommend this work: and wish the author success in completing it. BELLESHEIM.

A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D., M.A., Professor of Theology at the University of Giesen. First Division: Political History of Palestine, from B.C. 175 to A.D. 135. Translated by the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Two vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

SCRIPTURE students will be glad to hear that Dr. Schürer's work is finished, and only needs a good index, now in preparation, to make it a most valuable work of reference. The learned author is not content to give us his own weighty judgment upon every part of his subject, formed after exhaustive reading; but he gives, what to many will be even more valuable, a complete list of the literature, and a careful estimate of the sources of historical knowledge. Seeing that Josephus is one of the chief authorities for Jewish history at the time of Christ, we naturally wish to learn what Dr. Schürer thinks of his credibility. He tells us that "the truth lies halfway between two extremes"—the depreciation of modern opinion and the lofty esteem of earlier times. Certainly the statue which Eusebius says was erected in Rome to the "Greek Livy," as St. Jerome calls him, has been sadly knocked about by our critical iconoclasts. Dr. Schürer discusses at some length the so-called testimony of Josephus to Christ. The theory that the passage has been interpolated by some early Christian writer he considers untenable, and prefers to reject the whole passage as spurious. Like many German professors of theology or Scripture, Dr. Schürer is careful not to let his position prejudice his judgment in favour of the Christian side on disputed questions—even when the veracity of evangelists is at stake. More than once he is at some pains to prove St. Luke wrong. His discussion on the enrolling by Quirinus (Luke ii. 2) is an illustration of this. The fragmentary inscription found in the Tiber in 1764 proving that Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, which satisfied many critics, has no weight with Dr. Schürer. Again, in the account of Herod Agrippa's death, he prefers Josephus's owl to St. Luke's angel. Apart from this blemish, we are happy in being able to join what we are sure will be the general verdict of scholars in praising this great work, and thanking Messrs. Clark for giving it to us in an English form.

L'Archeologie Musicale et le Vrai Plain Chant Grégorien. Ouvrage Posthume de THEODORE NISARD, publié par les soins de M. ALOYS KUNE. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

THIS is a learned, interesting, but rather disappointing book. The great controversy which for some years has been raging in France and Belgium on the true nature of St. Gregory's Chant, has provoked much learned criticism and research; but we doubt

any work on the question displays such patient toil, historical criticism, and original observations as the work under notice. The style, however, is thoroughly French, and the eyes of the reader are perpetually assailed with italics and capitals, small and great. The author's aim is to restore Plain Chant to the form and style in which it was handed down by St. Gregory. The Antiphonary of St. Gall, which is one of the oldest liturgical books extant, and dates from the tenth century, and the Antiphonary of Montpellier of the thirteenth century, are submitted to a very careful study. All the mediæval authors who have treated of music are passed in review, and special attention is devoted to Guy of Arezzo's *Micrologium*.

It is, however, in his attacks upon modern restorers of Plain Chant that M. Nisard is most lively. Dom Pothier, the editor of the Solesmes chant, receives the hardest treatment. The peculiar system advocated by the learned Benedictine is supposed to be based upon the precepts of the most ancient masters. These pretensions are examined most minutely by the author and proved to be of no historical value; and as to the generni effect of the style of singing, he passes the following judgment: "*Allegro* continuel dans un *mezza voce* à peine emaillé de rares notes qui voudraient bien avoir l'air d'être accentués, avec des repos qui n'en sont pas."

Before the invention of Guy of Arezzo, the Plain Chant Melodies were represented in the Ancient Antiphonaries by hieroglyphic signs of a great variety of form, which were termed *neumes*. No one yet has been able to offer the public a satisfactory key to decipher these mysterious figures. No two masters of liturgical chant have been able to agree upon any interpretation, and in consequence we hear in our churches every variety of the Plain Song. As an instance, M. Nisard prints in full five settings of the Gradual for Epiphany, "Omnes de Saba" by the greatest modern authorities in the art and their disagreement is sufficiently striking.

For one of the author's discoveries we wish to declare ourselves properly grateful. He has established beyond doubt from a letter of Ekkehard (996), that the Gregorian Chant as sung at Rome under the teaching of St. Gregory, was rendered with all the variety of expression common to modern music. In chapter viii. the author gives a whole alphabet of letters, which were written over the *neumes*, to express the *forte*, *piano*, *accellerando*, *ritardando*, and all the graces of vocal music; hardly a phrase was left unadorned with that which must in all time constitute one of the chief charms of music—expression. We commend this point to the notice of Plain Chant and Cecilian Societies.

Our disappointment with the work arises from this, that M. Nisard claims to have discovered the key to the reading of the *neumes*, but locks the secret up in his own breast. On his theory the *neumes* are a musical shorthand, written and constructed on a definite system. The musical public, however, have shown themselves so ungrateful for the author's previous services to the art, that he is now taking his revenge by mortifying their curiosity. He takes farewell of the reader

in these singular words, printed in the largest type that the c
at its command—"Ami lecteur: Devine si tu peu, et dis l
l'oses."

"The Story of the Nations."—1. *Switzerland.* By Mrs. Lin
and Richard Stead. 1890.—2. *Mexico.* By Susan Hal
don: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Putnams Sons. 1

1. THIS is a new volume of this excellent and popular serie
sources which have been employed and the reasons
give special interest to the history of Switzerland are bri
sufficiently indicated in the preface. The basis of the
the political history of the country, taking the words i
widest sense. An account of the primitive lake-dwellers,
Helvetii, of the Roman and Carlovingian occupations, of t
hundred years of division under innumerable petty jurisd
brings us to the end of the thirteenth century, when we see
hitherto incoherent elements, the nucleus of the Swiss state or
in the league of the forest cantons, Uri, Schwytz, and Unter
We follow the process by which three swell into eight in th
century, to thirteen in the sixteenth century, and at last to twe
at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Conquest, purchase, c
tyranny, are often the immediate instrument of these accretio
the assimilation of Ultramontane Ticino by peaceful market-
tercourse with Uri over the St. Gothard points to better infl
and underneath all superficial causes which induced neighb
provinces to seek incorporation with the little State was the
of its power, manifested in heroic sacrifices and illustrious vi
The history of the union of the cantons is given from its begi
to the Federal Constitution of 1848, while the individual life o
canton and important town is still more fully dwelt upon. Switz
in war and in peace, its social life, its commerce, the hist
its art and science and literature, not without some descript
its natural beauties, all is found in these animated pages; a
anything were lacking in the text, it would be well supplied
thirty-two full-page illustrations and maps. This mass of ma
is treated in fairly methodical form, and in a large and symp
spirit. The religious question, which chiefly concerns us, and
forms so essential a part of Switzerland's history, may be tak
an example. Once or twice the force of old prejudice and
of thought breaks out in such phrases as "image worshi
"mediæval superstition," but on the whole the book is free
such blots. Catholic saints, as St. Maurice, St. Bernard, a
particular the Blessed Nicholas von der Flue, Catholic
tutions like the monasteries of St. Gall and Zurich, are
appreciated, and while the characters of Zwingle and some
innovators are placed in much too favourable a light, the ink
theories of Calvin and his tyranny with Farel over the unfor

eneva are duly reprobated. The religious history of Geneva must e rewritten after the researches of the two Galiffes, in their Notices genéalogiques," their "D'un siècle à l'autre," and other works, which, Protestants as they are, they courageously drag into light he deeds of darkness of those awful days. Their characterisation f Bonnivard's "Chronique de Genève," which has hitherto been he storehouse of information on this subject, and which has just eappeared at Geveva in a sumptuous edition, is worth recording here: "Bonnivard composed a species of *romance*, filled with lies and fabrications (*impostures*), which has led into error all who supposed they were working in the history of Geneva down to our day. Stupidity and fanaticism have given the thing its basis." ("Not. gen.," iii. 68.) Returning to our immediate subject, we would only add that the style is somewhat disfigured by the frequent use of a foreign word where an English one would give the sense equally well. "Alfred the Great of Wessex" is amusing to English ears, and to say that the *Dies Iræ* is well known through Mozart's Requiem Mass, is a mere vulgarism. We note these defects without dwelling on them amid so much that deserves praise, and in concluding we hesitate not to say that the authors have given us a clear, correct, readable, and, considering the bulk of the volume, a singularly comprehensive account of all that is included under their magic title.

2. This is an attractive book. There is a fascination about Mexico which is all but irresistible, and our authoress has not falied to appreciate its romantic side. Perhaps, because the resources of Mexico have never been fully developed, there is even to-day a freshness of anticipation about the subject, which increases rather than diminishes by contrast with the dim twilight of earlier and almost forgotten ages. Beginning with the "Shadowy Tribes," the first twelve chapters treat of "Toltecs," "Chichimecs," "Mayas," "Aztecs," and "Mexicans," and close with that most pathetic episode, the fall of the last of the Montezumas.

The conquest achieved by the intrepidity of Cortés is next dealt with in minute and interesting detail; and we have a chapter devoted to "Malintzi," the beautiful Aztec maiden, whose devotion to Cortés contributed so largely to the successful results of his splendid enterprise. Next come the administration of the sixty-four viceroys who succeeded Cortés; beginning with Don Antonio de Mendoza (1535), and ending with Juan de Donojú in 1822. The well-built cities, the magnificent cathedrals, and public works of all kinds which yet remain monuments of Spanish rule; the strong faith which no amount of Yankee missionary effort can efface from the hearts of the Mexicans, each attest in their way the deep impress made on Mexico by Spain when at her zenith of power. Yet it was inevitable that the decadence of Spanish influence in Europe should be felt also in its colonies; hence we see raised the standard of Mexican independence; and Miguel Hidalgo, José M. Morelos, both priests, here figure largely, earning the gratitude of posterity, and proving in their struggle for independence that "the blood of the native Mexican was capable of

great deeds; that the descendants of the Aztecs were something better than *peones*, slaves, without the name." These are closely followed by Yturbide, under whom Mexican empire was established. For the sixty or seventy years last past Mexican history is full of kaleidoscopic changes, but being of such recent memory, we need only say that its chief events—the loss of Texas, war with the United States, the disastrous French intervention, and tragic fate of Maximilian—down to the presidency of General Porfiori Diaz, re-elected in 1888, are brightly told. One instance of the extreme unpopularity of the French intervention was witnessed by the writer of this notice at Acapulco, three or four years after the French evacuation. The natives swim around the ships coming into harbour, and dive for small coins thrown them by travellers into the water, which they readily bring up between their teeth. "Throw in some French coins," said some one on deck. Some small silver coins were thrown in, and were instantly dived for, and in a few seconds brought to the surface; but the moment the natives saw they were French, they contemptuously threw them back into the water.

The authoress writes with considerable descriptive power, and all through the stirring narrative never permits us to lose sight of natural surroundings. We have, thus, much that is of interest concerning the physical aspect of Mexico, its wide range of climate, its vegetation, and vast mineral wealth. The volume is plentifully and appropriately illustrated, and there is a map and a good index. Of the future of Mexico we may quote from our authoress:—

> "The darkest days of the Mexican Republic are over. Its members have learned sharp lessons from adversity. . . . . Out of all these troubles they have bravely emerged, and now take their stand, heavily weighted still, indeed, with the burdens of past mistakes, among them the lingering distrust of other nations, but young, full of promise, with all the elements surrounding them of a possible great future."

Through Magic Glasses, and other Lectures. A Sequel to the *Fairy-land of Science.* By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY (Mrs. Fisher). With numerous Illustrations. London: Edward Stanford. 1890.

THE infinitely great and the infinitely little are jointly the subject of this dainty volume. It embraces a series of detached studies adapted to juvenile comprehension, and describing, with Mrs. Fisher's well-known freshness and charm, many of the newest revelations by the telescope, spectroscope, and microscope. Through the medium of the first two of these "magic glasses," the sun, moon, and stars tell the marvellous story of their nature and revolutions; while the third admits Mrs. Fisher's numerous audience to the worlds close at hand yet no less mysterious in the consummate wisdom of their organization, constituted by the lowly tribes of mosses and lichens, fungi *infusoria*. The microscopic examination of lavas affords the opportunity besides for an excellent chapter on volcanoes. Needless

that the treatment of each of these separately inexhaustible subjects to be regarded as simply an invitation to a fuller inquiry, and that, i the words of the authoress, "The little information given in each lectur is only enough to make the reader long for more." This effect may, from foretastes of such enticing quality, be very surely counted upon. The illustrations of the little volume leave no room for criticism, and offer a wide field for admiration. They are carefully chosen, skilfully designed, and serve well their double purpose of elucidating and enlivening the text. The binding too completes, by its tasteful richness, the decorative aspect of a book which ought to be a prime favourite for gifts and prizes. Above all, the reverent and genial spirit in which it is written, tending to foster in young minds directly the love of nature, and indirectly the love of nature's God, renders it eminently suitable for perusal in Catholic homes and schools.

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1. *L'Algérie de* 1830 *à* 1840. Par CAMILLE ROUSSET, de l'Académie Française. Two vols. Paris: Librairie Plon.
2. *La Conquête de l'Algérie*, 1841–1857. Two vols. (Le même Auteur.) Paris: Librairie Plon.

"SHOULD any one," writes M. Rousset, "attempt to follow, day by day, the history of the conquest of Algiers, he will find therein materials for a noble history, with its battles, its heroes, and its wonderful episodes." Such a history M. Rousset has himself written, in the two works before us, works that show us modern France at its best, though the brilliancy of conquest is at times chequered by dark shadows. The first of these works sketches the ten years, 1830–1840, that served to acquaint the French generals with the nature of the task before them, the country they had undertaken to subdue, and the peculiar tactics needed for its subjugation. Seventeen years more were required to complete the work of conquest, and of these seventeen years the story is told in "La Conquête de l'Algérie."

Difficult as M. Rousset's task has been, he must be congratulated on the result. There is no monotony in these pages, in which the account of storming of towns, of battles and capitulations, is enlivened and brightened by deeds of heroism, and chivalrous figures, such as those of La Moricière and Abd-el-Kader, that pass across the stage. The work has a special military value from the author's clear and accurate topographical sketches, and in this he has aided his readers by two well-executed atlases. The religious history of the colony is not omitted, though it might have been given more at length; but probably this was outside the author's design. His criticism of the action of the French Government during the period, and his sketches character of French military, are alike just and pleasing. Still, it at this point that we have ourselves a criticism to make. Many of brave men whose acts are described are still living, and possibly some instances greater reserve would have been advisable; at least, Frenchmen will say so. We may add that the tone of the work

is unexceptionable, and that it can safely be put into the hands of the young. It is well indexed, and the detailed headings of chapters are of much assistance to the reader.

M. Rousset closes his work with this query: "Après la conquête du sol, c'etait la conquête morale qui commençait. Depuis trente ans, la France, la France Algérienne surtout, a-t-elle fait tout ce qui était de son devoir absolu pour l'étendre?" He leaves the question unanswered: "Are the French in Algeria in the position simply of a foreign garrison, or are they on the road to the true work of colonising the province their valour has subdued?" The colonising genius has never been a distinctive mark of the French character; but nowhere have they had so good a chance as in Algeria. Still we greatly doubt their success; and the chances against it will be increased tenfold by the irreligious spirit of official France. All the elements of success of the French character are blighted and paralysed wherever the poison of Voltairianism gains the ascendency.

Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel. By S. D. Driver, D.D. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1890.

THE Books of Samuel, though they contain examples of a chaste and beautiful Hebrew style, have suffered not a little from transcriptional corruption. Many attempts at restoring the text to its original purity have already been made, and the work we have before us is an important addition to the literature of the subject. To Otto Threnius (1842) belongs the credit of having first pointed out systematically how frequently the Septuagint is of use in restoring the Massoretic text. Böttcher, following on the same lines, carried forward to some extent the work of his predecessor (1863). A still more important service was rendered to the critical restoration of the text in 1871 by Julius Wellhausen, who, in a monograph on the text of the Books of Samuel, emphasised the *discriminating* use of the Ancient Versions for purposes of textual criticism. "Wellhausen's Scholarship," says Dr. Driver, "is fine; his judgment is rarely at fault; and in the critical treatment of the text I have been strongly sensible of the value of his guidance." In 1887 appeared Klostermann's Commentary on the Books of Samuel and Kings, a work marked by much ability, but perhaps of excessive originality. Klostermann, however, deserves the credit of being the first to perceive distinctly the importance of Lucian's recension of the Septuagint, and to have used it consistently. Dr. Driver, in his work, makes use freely of Wellhausen's monograph, but he uniformly maintains an independent judgment, and has been careful "to adopt nothing of importance without acknowledgment at the time."

The volume before us contains an introduction dealing with the History of the Hebrew alphabet, early Hebrew Orthography, and other important subjects. Dr. Driver's name is a sufficient guarantee that the work is scholarly and learned throughout.

In regard to the word קשת (i. 18) at the beginning of David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, Dr. Driver gives no decided opinion of his own. Renan seems to regard it, as well as the words בני יהודה as variants introduced from the margin. Can it be the name of the following song? Then surely we should expect שירת הקשת, or את־הקשת. Ewald takes קשת to be for קִשְׁטָ (as in Aramaic) —correctly, accurately. Wellhausen regards the word as an interpolation, and offers an ingenious opinion, based on the ground that it is perhaps a correction for פרשים in verse 6. The question is a vexed one. We can recommend Dr. Driver's notes to anyone anxious to enter upon the textual criticism of the Books of Samuel.

Commentarius in Ecclesiasten et Canticum Canticorum. Auctore Gerardo Gietmann, S.J. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux.

THE "Cursus Sacræ Scripturæ" of the German Jesuits requires no words of commendation from us. It is known to and valued by the public. The names of Fathers Cornely, Hummelauer, and Knabenbauer are fully appreciated amongst us. The author of the present volume, however—Father Gietmann—appears now for the first time in the series. We have, therefore, very great pleasure in being able to congratulate him on the success that has attended his first work—so far as we know—in Biblical exegesis. Undoubtedly, he renders great service to the biblical student in this Commentary. It is a valuable work and replete with erudition. The author shows himself to be no less conversant with the works of modern critics than with the writings of the great Fathers of the Church. Such a knowledge seems to us indispensable in the Catholic interpreter. Origen in his day answered the objections of Celsus. Tertullian dealt with Marcion the Gnostic; so, in these times, the apologist must be prepared to meet and refute the arguments of the followers of the "higher criticism," brought by them against the Word of God.

Father Gietmann, following the undivided testimony of tradition, assigns the authorship of the Canticle of Canticles to King Solomon. Tradition, in this matter, is strongly supported by the internal character of the poem. The descriptions of things relating to Solomon and his times are accurate, and such as might be expected to have emanated from that monarch. The love of nature, art, and beauty, manifested throughout the book is in accordance with the character of Solomon, as we know it from the Books of Kings, and from his own writings. The acquaintance with Palestine which the writer shows, points in the same direction. In fine, the beauty of the poem is such that it can be ascribed to none other than the golden age of Hebrew poetry. All these characteristics, taken with the testimony of an unanimous tradition, leave no doubt upon the mind that the poem belongs to the age of Solomon, and is in fact the work of Solomon himself.

But there are objections to this view; and with these Father

Gietmann deals clearly and satisfactorily. Perhaps the most cogent argument against Solomon's authorship is based upon the appearance in the Canticle of certain words apparently Greek. How, it is argued, could such words have found their way into the Hebrew tongue, over 1000 years before the birth of Christ? Such words are פַּרְדֵּס *παράδεισος*; אַפִּרְיוֹן = *φορεῖον*, and others not quite so clear. Such words as these seem to betray the later origin of the poem. We dwell upon this objection, because, though Father Gietmann deals with it, still, apparently since he wrote, much light has been thrown upon the matter from an unexpected quarter.

M. Renan, in his "Historie du Peuple d'Israel," devotes a chapter (ii. c. 3) to the part played by the Philistines in the organisation of Israel. He maintains that the Philistines were of Cretan or Carian origin, closely allied with the Pelasgians; that they spoke a language closely allied to Greek and Latin, and that it was on account of the Philistines that the country of the Jews received from the Greeks the name of Palestine (land of the Philistines), because, whilst the Philistines dwelt next to the Hebrews, they bordered on the sea, and so were in direct communication with the Greeks. Then he shows that there was much intercommunication between the Philistines and the Israelites in the early days of the Jewish Monarchy. They were constantly at war with one another. David dwelt for years in the land of Gath; and—so he says—the Guards of David* (the Cerethi and Pherethi or Kreti-Pleti, *i.e.*, Cretan Philistines) were a body of mercenaries, which he raised among the Philistines. "We are led to believe" concludes M. Renan, p. 33, "that it is to this profound influence of the Philistines upon Israel, about 1000 years before Jesus Christ, that we must refer the introduction into the Hebrew language of these words apparently Latin and Greek, which are to be found in the most ancient texts, and which designate, for the most part, things relating to war, or imported from foreign parts."

There are many other points we should like to have noticed, but space forbids. Of the whole volume we can have nothing but words of praise. Perhaps, in conclusion, we may be permitted to express the hope that this will not be Father Gietmann's last contribution to biblical literature, but that he will continue to give the student of Sacred Scripture the advantage of his learning and critical ability.

Mixed Marriage. Translated from the German of the Rev. A. Stolz. Fourth edition. New York: Fr. Pustet.

A TRACT of thirty-two pages in paper cover, which ought to b disseminated far and wide by the clergy in order to prev Catholics engaging themselves to Protestants. It is clearly forcibly written, without exaggeration; and it goes over all ground.

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* 2 Sam. viii. 18.

Orbis Terrarum Catholicus, sive totius ecclesiæ catholicæ, et occidentis et orientis, conspectus, geographicus, et statisticus, Elucubratus per O. WERNER, S.J., ex Relationibus ad Sacras Congregationes Romanas missis, et aliis notitiis fide dignis. Friburgi: Herder. 1890.

THIS work, of great research, will meet an often felt want. The author is favourably known by two other geographical works, his "Katholischer Missions Atlas," and his "Katholischer Kirchen Atlas." In the present work he gives a statistical and geographical survey of the Catholic Church through the world. His sketch is both wide and reliable, founded on personal examination of Roman, chiefly Propaganda, documents. To statistics he adds most useful and interesting historical introductions, tracing the evolution of dioceses and provinces. Maps and full indices complete the work, and make the consultation of it speedy and confident.

Christian Schools. By the Rev. THOMAS J. JENKINS. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.

Rights of our Little Ones. By the Rev. JAMES CONWAY. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

THE first of these books is a well-written, earnest, and effective exposition of the argument against Godless schools, especially as regards Catholics. In this, which we are told is the first English edition, the writer presents a view of the public school system in the United States, and sums up its spirit; and he then cites the utterances of Catholic authorities from Pius IX. downwards, to show how the Catholic Church regards secular education.

Father Conway's short treatise is an abridgment, in question and answer, of his larger work, entitled "The Respective Rights and Duties of Family, State, and Church in regard to Education." A good sample of the *brochure* will be found in the answer (p. 40) to the question, "Is the so-called Sunday-school not sufficient" for religious education?

Forgotten Heroines; or, History of a Convent in the Days of Luther. By the Author of "Tyborne," &c. &c. London: Burns & Oates.

WE have here an absorbing though brief account of the great sufferings endured by the Dominican Nuns of Strasburg, in the worst days of the Reformation. It is a scathing exposure of the infamous methods used by Martin Butzer to seduce the religious from their faith. Its substance in an abridged form has appeared in the pages of the "Ave Maria"; but the story of the nuns' heroic endurance, poor feeble women holding their own "against a powerful Senate, a furious mob, and a troop of apostate preachers," well deserves this special record.

The Life of Our Lord. By T. MURPHY, Master of the Practising School, St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

A USEFUL little compilation for the use of schools, telling in simple words, chosen chiefly from the Gospels themselves, the principal events of our Lord's Life, His Parables, and Miracles. It is embellished with one or two woodcuts and a small sketch map of Palestine.

Agnostic Fallacies. By the Rev. J. REID HOWATT. London: Nisbet & Co. 1889.

THIS small volume contains five lectures delivered on Sunday evenings. The subject is treated in a simple, popular way. The author is, however, pretty well at home in the questions he discusses, and shows up, with no mean skill, the weaknesses of the Agnostic position in its main features. He has a ready command over simile and illustration, and brings out his points with good effect.

Sanctum Evangelium Secundum Lucam in Carmina Versum. STEPHANUS MAZZOLINI. Augustæ Taurinorum. 1890.

IT is a somewhat novel idea to turn into verse the words of Sacred Scripture. Padre Mazzolini, urged on apparently by the fact that the Acts of the Apostles has already been put in verse, has taken in hand to render a like service to the Gospel of St. Luke. The poem is intended chiefly for priests and students of theology. It is a literal translation, as far as possible, and where the exigencies of metre require it, the sense is paraphrased so as to be as nearly as possible in conformity with the sense of the Evangelist. The lines seem to run smoothly; the metre is hexameter; and where there is likely to be any ambiguity as to the meaning of the text, the words are explained in Latin or Italian footnotes.

The Prophecies of Isaiah. Expounded by Dr. C. VON ORELLI, Basel, Author of "Old Testament Prophecy." Translated by the Rev. J. S. BANKS, Headingly College, Leeds. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

PROFESSOR VON ORELLI'S commentaries at least deserve this praise, that they are readable. The text is well rendered, and divided into sections; then follows a clear and short exposition, with only a *soupçon* of heavy learning. They belong to the Compendious series. Some readers may think the professor a little too brief on certain points. For instance, on looking to ascertain his opinion on *Isaiah* vii. 14, it is disappointing to be simply referred to anothe

work of Von Orelli on Old Testament prophecy. Knowing that the professor belongs to the conservative school of Biblical interpretation, we looked to see what were his views about the authorship of the second part of Isaiah (xl.–xlvi.). Though he might not, like Hengstenburg or Delitzsch, maintain unity of authorship, at least we expected to find him, with Klostermann and Bredenkamp, taking a middle course—that the second part belonged to the time of the Exile, but contained many ancient oracles of Isaiah reproduced and thrown into their present form by some disciple of Isaiah, who saw in the events of his own time the fulfilment of his master's prophecies. This view, at least, has this merit that it explains the difficulty about the anonymity of the author, without wholly contradicting Jewish and Christian tradition about unity of authorship. However, we were disappointed to find that the professor has thrown in his lot with the advanced school, and attributes ch. xl. to lxvi. to some nameless prophet at Babylon in the time of Cyrus, thus making it a *vaticinium post eventum*. We are thankful to find that the fifty-third chapter still retains its Christian interpretation of the suffering Messiah, and is not explained away after the modern fashion, as referring to the persecuted Jeremiah or the woes of the Jewish people.

The Catholic Young Man of the Present Day. By the Right Rev. Bishop Egger. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

A VERY useful manual for young men, exhorting them to stand fast to faith and morality, and giving by the way many useful bits of Catholic information, fitted to help them to take their place in the world.

Thomas Rileton: his Family and Friends. By Mrs. Parsons. London: Burns & Oates.

A SIMPLE, unsensational, and graceful tale, descriptive of conversions from Protestantism to the Faith, not of the class best known to us, namely, among Anglicans, but bringing us face to face with the Methodist and his following among the rural labourers. Mrs. Parsons writes with deep feeling, and does full justice to the sincere and earnest piety that is often found among the most uninstructed of dissenters. While we heartily recommend this pretty story, we take this occasion of expressing a hope that we may have a Catholic literature to assist in the conversion of dissenters, and Wesleyans in particular. Our books and pamphlets so far, like those issued by the Catholic Truth Society, are exclusively meant for Anglicans, while the multitude of Wesleyans, Baptists, &c., are practically a Terra Incognita.

Acta et Decreta sacrorum Conciliorum recentiorum Collectio Lacensis auctoribus Presbyteris Societatis Jesu e domo B.M.V. sine Labe Conceptæ ad Lacum. Tomus VII.: Acta et Decreta sacrosancti œcumenici Concilii Vaticani. Accedunt permulta alia documenta ad Concilium ejusque historiam spectantia. Friburgi: Herder. 1890.

WE are pleased to see the appearance of this seventh volume of the great work of the Jesuits of the German Province on recent Councils. The new volume treats of the Vatican Council. It is a bulky volume; with the excellent indices accompanying it, it extends to 1942 columns of type. The death of Father Gerhard Schneeman, the original editor and chief writer, led to the appointment of Father Theodore Granderath as chief editor. He at once took back to Rome the documents gathered by his predecessor, and through the kindness of Canon Antonio Cani, the keeper of the Vatican Council Archives, he was able to re-compare them with the originals and to make some valuable additions to them. And Canon Cani's subscription, "Concordat cum Originali," lends to this edition of the Acts, as contained in the first part of this volume, a quasi-official authority.

The first of the two parts into which this volume is divided gives the "Acta et Decreta" of the Council, and not a few of the documents have been already long public. The deliberations and discussions, however, in the General Congregations are now published for the first time. The interest of philosophical and theological scholars will centre on the "Relationes," or speeches delivered in those Congregations by the bishops who acted in the name of the Deputatio de Fide; the speeches, for example, of Archbishop Simor of Gran, and Bishops Pie of Poitiers, D'Avanzo of Calvi and Teano, Finelli of Treviso, Martin of Paderborn, and Gasser of Brixen (Tyrol). The latter prelate stands foremost as a philosopher and theologian; specially worthy of attention are his excellent speeches on traditionalism and ontologism (col. 236). Then follow the Acts relating to the definition of Papal infallibility. Father Granderath was allowed to make use of both the deliberations of the Deputatio de Fide and of the "Commentarius diurnus" of an Episcopal member of this deputation, and the result is an accurate account of the election of the Deputatio de Fide and of the different stages of its deliberations. The important speeches of Bishop Gasser are particularly praiseworthy; he dwells on the intimate connection between the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope; the latter is to be tested by the former; hence, too, the object and the theological qualification of the Church's infallibility exactly apply to the infallibility of the Pope.

The second part, or appendix, contains the Documenta synodalia and the Documenta historica, the perusal of which I would like earnestly to recommend to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton. They leave no doubt about it possible: the definition of the Pope's *infallibility* is due neither to Pius IX., nor to the Jesuits, nor to any

other religious Order, but simply to the majority of the bishops who, urged by the incessant attacks of a certain party on the Pope, the Council, and the Pope's infallibility, as hitherto practically assumed in the Church, thought it to be their indispensable duty to bring the Catholic truth into relief. A most important fact we gather from this collection is, that the Cardinal Presidents of the Council were rather inclined to give way to the minority which moved for a postponement of the infallibility definition. It required all the exertions of the greater number of the bishops to avert such a disastrous step. England and Ireland may feel proud of the prominent part which Cardinals Cullen and Manning took in defending Catholic truth and obtaining the famous decree.

Special thanks are due to the editors for giving the important State documents in the various languages. Lastly, there is an index to the present volume, and four indices to the united seven volumes. This seventh volume, in particular—accurate, complete, and documentary—and dealing with the Vatican Council, merits the attention of the historian and the statesman scarcely less than of the theologian.

BELLESHEIM.

The Kingdom of God. By the Rev. CHARLES MCDERMOTT RAE. With a Preface by the Bishop of Salford. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates.

WE are glad to see that Father McDermott Rae's little book is in its second edition. The Bishop of Salford justly praises the author's work in "presenting the most important truths to the mind according to the mental taste and fashion of the day," a taste and fashion which writings such as those of Gother and Challoner can no longer meet. In fifteen chapters it traces the course of the spiritual life from the first Prospect to our entry through the Gate, which is our bodily dissolution, into the final happiness of the Kingdom.

Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism. By MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1890.

THE title of this volume sufficiently indicates its very various contents. Dr. Neubauer contributes a very learned paper on the Titles of the Psalms, based chiefly upon the early Jewish commentaries. His conclusions are negative; for he believes that the meaning of the titles was early lost, and that none of the explanations are satisfactory. Mr. Woods deals with the Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic Gospels in one of those speculative essays which are commoner in Germany than in this country. Starting from the hypothesis that there was an original basis of all the three, he deduces from an examination in detail that St. Matthew and St. Luke

made use of some common definite account—not necessarily a written one—of our Lord's ministry. St. Mark, he thinks, kept nearer to this document than the other two Synoptics, transposing nothing, adding only a few characteristic details, and omitting nothing important, except in the account of St. John the Baptist. Dr. Bigg's examination of the Clementine Homilies leads him to two novel results. One of these—that it is a re-cast of an orthodox work in an unorthodox direction—seems to us very probable. Should it eventually be established, it will make the Homilies a more available witness for Catholic doctrine and practice than they are at present. His other conclusion, that the interpolator wrote after the rise of Arianism, seems more doubtful; the word "Homoöusios" is indeed to be found in one passage, but the general tenor of the work points to an earlier date.

Mr. Bebb's paper on the manner in which the early versions and patristic quotations should be used to determine the text of the New Testament, lays down very ably the rules which should guide their employment. The main point is thus brought out by Dr. Sanday. Quotations and Versions give the time and place where MSS. were written, and so supply materials for the history of the text—the first step towards establishing the text itself.

Mr. White's account of the *Codex Amiatinus* of the Vulgate would be the most interesting paper in the volume to the ordinary reader. It gives an account of De Rossi's conjecture, and Dr. Hort's proof, that this valuable MS. was written at Jarrow or Wearmouth in one of St. Benedict Biscop's monasteries, and presented to the Pope by his successor, Ceolfrid. This is now well known; but it has been shown more recently that there must have been a great writing-school there, where this and other surviving MSS. of great beauty must have been produced.

The Hereafter. By JAMES FYFE. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

THIS work is a defence of the Christian dogma of the eternity of punishment drawn from the consensus of early historic nations and from the Bible. The work is difigured by errors that prevent us from recommending it indiscriminately to Catholics. In the doctrine of Purgatory the author professes his disbelief of, while showing himself absolutely a stranger to Catholic teaching on the subject.

Philosophy and Theology; being the first Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures. By J. H. STIRLING, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

THIS volume contains two courses of ten lectures, each delivered in pursuance of a bequest of the late Lord Gifford, on natural theology. The first course—styled "the Affirmative"—gives the history of the arguments for the existence of God, with the philosophers who have principally put them into shape: Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and St. Anselm. The second—"Negative"—cour

describes the attempts made to weaken or confute these arguments by Hume, Kant, and Darwin. The whole volume is well worth reading by all who are engaged in studying the subject to which it relates; it is learned, acute, and ingenious. The most well-worn topics are often presented in a new light: such as the ontological argument of St. Anselm, the theism of Aristotle, and the attitude of Hume. There is an occasional vein of Carlylean sprightliness which is unpleasing in a philosophical subject, especially in the account of Mr. Darwin's views. The only points to which exception can be taken are a few unguarded theological statements, such as the inexplicable one that, "the Fathers of the Church, followed by the ecclesiastical majority of of the Middle Ages, represented the existent world as the Son."

Principles of Anthropology and Biology. By the Rev. J. Hughes, S.J. Second Edition. New York: Benziger Bros. 1890.

THIS little volume consists of four lectures delivered before a society at Detroit College. It is excellently suited to such an audience and to all who are beginning to study the subjects with which it deals; being clear, elementary, and somewhat dogmatic. The book sustains a high degree of merit throughout; perhaps the most valuable and interesting parts being the account of prehistoric man, and the comparison of the Mosaic record of creation with geology. It is written in excellent English, and at the same time with that sharpness and distinctness which characterise good American scientific work.

Geological Mechanism. An Epitome of the History of the Earth. By J. Spottiswoode Wilson, C.E. Manchester: John Heywood.

THIS is a small volume of 130 pages, of which one-fourth is occupied by an autobiography of the author. "Being of the operative class of the community," as Mr. Wilson describes himself, he offers no apology for the length of personal details which are submitted to the reader. The story told can hardly be described as interesting. It is curious, however, that although Mr. Wilson had not the advantage of a classical education, he still affects a rather pompous style, and shows a preference for Latin words. Some lines of verse are also added, of which little need be said, save that the scientific man, as a rule, proves but an indifferent poet.

With regard to the substance of the essay we can speak much more highly. It is the author's endeavour to disprove the accepted theories of the origin of the primitive rocks. He attacks most vehemently the igneous theory of their origin. On his showing, condensation and precipitation will account for the phenomena in question.

The primary atmosphere contained in gaseous form all the elements of which the crystalline rocks are composed, and on cooling these elements descended from the gaseous to the fluid, and finally to the solid state, as we now find them. The red sandstone formation is pro-

bably derived from an original tail which the moon formerly whisked in space, but which one day came across the earth and was incorporated. The lashing of this lunar appendage probably gave rise to the revolution of the earth on its axis. He advocates the theory of the periodical reversion of the poles of the earth, and finds the magnetic pole the centre of the earth's cold. In 140 years we may expect that the shifting of the magnetic pole will bring the climate of Greenland to Scotland and Norway. Some of these conclusions are rather startling, but Mr. Wilson has a reason for the faith that is in him. He argues well and ably in defence of his theories, and his little work will well repay perusal.

We have noted a few errors. On p. 70 the length of the degree of latitude is given in fathoms instead of feet. The average for Sweden should be 365763 instead of 36575. A telling Latin quotation from Melancthon, on p. 65, is disfigured in the printing almost beyond recognition.

Conciliengeschichte: nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. Von Hefele, Bischof von Rottenburg. Fortzesetzt von Joseph Cardinal Hergenroether. Neunter Band. Der Fortsetzung. Zweiter Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1890.

BEFORE describing this ninth volume of the History of the Councils, we must pay a tribute to the memory of its illustrious editor and continuator. His Eminence Cardinal Hergenroether died on the 3rd of last October at the Cistercian Abbey of Mehrerau, in Austria. Of his conspicuous services to the Church, whether as Professor of Theology at Würzburg, or as Consultor to the Vatican Council, or Archivist of the Holy See, it is superfluous to speak. His learned pen has been ever busy; as witness his works on the "Temporal Power of the Popes," "The History of Photius," on Döllinger's "Janus," on the "Church and Christian State," his text-book of Church History, the "Regesta of Leo X.," which he edited, and now the two volumes of his "Continuation of Hefele's Councils." The volume before us, the second of his Continuation, does not deal directly with the Council of Trent, but with events which preceded and influenced it. The headings of the nine divisions of the volumes will indicate this sufficiently. They are: 1. Martin Luther; 2. The Diet of Worms; 3. Spread of the New Religion in the reign of Hadrian VI; 4. Contests under Clement VII.; 5. Development of Protestantism; 6. The Reformation in Switzerland; 7. The Confession of Augsburg; 8. The Last Years of Clement VII.; 9. First Years of the reign of Paul III. It is a bulky volume of over nine hundred pages, and is full of criticism, and of matter of the highest value. The Cardinal's study of Luther is acute, and, to my mind, superior to anything yet written on this well worn theme. Some brilliant pages are devoted to the Diet of Worms; and these supersede former text-book narratives, for only within the last five years have Mgr. Balan and Professor Brieger of Marburg given to the public Oleander's letters. The Cardinal's

detailed examination of each of Luther's theses in the light of Catholic doctrine is particularly valuable. His defence of Clement VII. is based on that Pope's letters (so far as they have been published by Mgr. Balan), which show the injustice of the severe criticisms of the Pope's accusers. The important chapter on the siege of Rome (1527)—Il sacco di Roma—which is founded on German and Italian sources, needs only to be read to yield assent to Hergenroether's estimate of Clement VII. The account of Henry VIII.'s divorce is also treated by the Cardinal in a masterly way, from the point of view of both historian, theologian, and canonist.

The volumes of the original "History of the Councils," as published by Bishop Hefele are now reappearing in a second edition, revised and enlarged by Professor Knöpfler of the University of Munich. The sixth volume is just out.

BELLESHEIM.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin.* By Archbishop VAUGHAN, O.S.B. Abridged by DOM JEROME VAUGHAN. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.
2. *The Christian Virgin.* London: Burns & Oates. 1890.
3. (Reprints of Cardinal Manning's writings): *The Holy Ghost the Sanctifier; The Love of Jesus for Penitents; Confidence in God; The Divine Interpreter of Scripture; The Holy Gospel according to St. John.* London: Burns & Oates.
4. *Hail, Jesus!* or *Acts on the Life of our Saviour Jesus Christ.* By the Ven. F. AUGUSTIN BAKER. London and New York: Burns & Oates.
5. *The Holy Way of the Cross.* New York: Benziger Brothers. (In cloth and paper.)
6. *Life of St. Justin, Martyr.* By Mrs. CHARLES MARTIN. London: Burns & Oates.
7. *Valentine Riant.* By W. J. AMHERST, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.
8. *The Maxims of St. Thomas Aquinas.* Edited by Father PIUS CAVANAGH, O.P. London: Burns & Oates.
9. *The Crown of Thorns,* or the *Little Breviary of the Holy Face.* By the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
10. *The Secular Office.* By the Rev. E. J. RYAN. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1889.

11. *The Month of Mary according to the Spirit of St. Francis of Sales.* By Don GASPAR GILLI. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
12. *Life of Father Charles Sire, S.J.* By his Brother. Translated from the French. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
13. *Revelations of the Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary.* From the French of Mgr. BOUGAUD. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
14. *The Little Manual of the Third Order of St. Francis.* Third edition. London: Burns & Oates.
15. *The Sacred Heart studied in the Sacred Scriptures.* From the French of Rev. H. SAINTRAIN, C.SS.R. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
16. *One-and-thirty Days with Blessed Margaret and Mary.* From the French. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
17. *Little Gems from Thomas à Kempis; Maxims of St. Philip Neri: Gems for my Crown.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

1. A SECOND edition of Dom Jerome Vaughan's abridgment of the late Archbishop of Sydney's "Life of St. Thomas of Aquin" comes opportunely to inaugurate the Editor's "Benedictine Library." It is beautifully presented, and there is an admirable engraving of the Angelic Doctor, together with a new preface, and dedication to the Bishop of Southwark.

2. Without name, either of author or translator, this is a useful and most pious book, apparently written by a French curé, and excellently put into English. It treats of women who are neither married nor cloistered, but live a single life in the world, and there is a large amount of devotional thought and practical exhortation in its 368 pages. The title-page bears the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Some kind of an index would have been a useful addition.

3. There is nothing to show whether these little books are new editions or mere reprints. Anyhow, they will always be valuable, and in this form are most handy for those who like their books of spiritual reading to be portable.

4. An admirable manual of "Acts" taken from the appendix to *Sancta Sophia*. It will be useful for all who practise affective prayer. The "Acts," however, are probably not by Father Baker, but by Father Serenus Cressy, his editor.

5. A little manual containing St. Alfonso's devotions for the *Via Crucis*, with fourteen (or rather sixteen) beautiful chromos after Paul Deschwanden.

6. With the help of Bishop Freppel, Mrs. Martin has constructed a somewhat declamatory life of St. Justin. We are not aware, however, of any other work in English which is calculated to give so lucid an idea of the "Dialogue with Trypho."

7. Father Amherst reviews, in a small volume of 114 pages, the life of a devout young Frenchwoman who died a member of the Congregation of *Marie Réparatice*.

8. Father Pius Cavanagh has edited a small manual containing a short life of St. Thomas, with a number of his sayings and prayers, intended especially for students. The life seems carefully done, but perhaps we might take exception to the writer's saying that the Roman Catechism was compiled from the *Summa* by three Dominican monks. This is not precisely the account which St. Charles himself gives of its compilation.

9. Many devout persons will be glad to have a manual for the Confraternity of the Holy Face. It is issued with an introduction by the Vicar-General of New York. It would have been as well to add that the arch-confraternity is established at Tours (October 1, 1885). The "Litany of the Holy Face," given at p. 30, is stated (as we read it) to carry 100 days' indulgence; but the concession is not in the Raccolta, and therefore has probably not been deposited with the S. Congregation of Indulgences, and is consequently invalid (See Beringer's "Indulgences," i. pp. 85, 110). The list of Indulgences given (p. 25–26) is by no means complete, since the Brief of August 19, 1889.

10. A short liturgical treatise, giving a pretty full account of the Canonical Hours, apparently intended for seminaries.

11. Nothing is wanting to make this a most acceptable "Month of Mary," except some indication of what are St. Francis's own words, and what are not. It is full, devout, and unexaggerated, and it gives many sayings of Saints and holy examples, outside of the life and works of St. Francis.

12. An edifying narrrtive of the life of a young Jesuit priest, born near Toulouse, who died at sea on his return from the island of Bourbon, on August 4, 1862, at the age of thirty-four. The translation is moderately well done, and the book is approved by Cardinal Gibbons.

13. It would have been clearer to have called this book what it is, viz., The Life of Blessed Margaret Mary, by Mgr. Bougaud. The book is too well known to need any commendation. Its very French style and spirit hinder some readers from liking it; but it is a work of first-class interest. The translation is pretty fair.

14. One of the neatest and handiest of the manuals for the Third Order. Much cannot be said for the poet of the Order, who contributes four hymns, in one of which he calls the Stigmata of St. Francis "stamps of life eternal," and in another addresses St. Elizabeth as "meet lover of Christ crucified."

15. The abundance of Biblical citation which we find in this substantial book of devotion will recommend it to priests, whilst its prayerful spirit makes it a useful manual for all.

16. Though not so interesting as the "Mois du Sacré Cœur," recently translated by Canon Mackey, O.S.B., this is a well-compiled series of devout meditations founded on the memoirs of Blessed Margaret Mary as given by her contemporaries.

17. Little books whose titles sufficiently explain what they are. They bear the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

[THE following are some of the more important books received, reviews of which, to our own regret, have not from various causes reached us in time for publication this quarter.]

"Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood." From St. Gregory the Great to St. Leo III. Being the seventh volume of the Formation of Christendom. By Thomas W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates.

"Modern Criticism Considered in its Relation to the Fourth Gospel." By Henry William Watkins, D.D. [Bampton Lectures for 1890.] London: John Murray.

"John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam." By the Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D. Two vols. New York, &c.: Fr. Pustet & Co.

"Manual of Church History." By the Rev. T. Gilmartin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Vol. I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"History of the Catholic Church of Scotland." By Alphons Bellesheim, D.D. Translated by D. Oswald Hunter Blair, O.S.B. Vol. IV. From the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration of the Scottish Hierarchy, A.D. 1625–1878. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons.

Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers." By William Bright, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"The Vikings in Western Christendom, A.D. 789–888." By C. F. Keary, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

"Black is White, or Continuity Continued." By the author of "The Prigment," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"Origines du Schisme d'Angleterre, Henry VIII. et les Martyres de la Chartreuse de Londres." Par Dom Victor-Marie Doreau. Paris: Retaux-Bray.

"Le Lien Conjugal et le Divorce." Par Jules Cauvière. Paris: Ernest Thorin.

"The Civil Principality of the Vicar of Christ revealed in the Holy Scriptures." An appeal to the clergy and to all friends of the Holy See. By the Rev. C. F. Peter Collingridge. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Science of the Saints in Practice." By John Baptist Pagani. Vol. I. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates.

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THE

DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1891.

Art. I.—HYPNOTISM.

It may appear superfluous to add one more to the numerous articles on hypnotism which have been contributed to the reviews and magazines during the last year or two. Most of these, however, have aimed—not unnaturally—at describing the marvellous phenomena of hypnotism, rather than at examining the results with care, or suggesting any explanation of them. There are great differences of opinion among hypnotists as to nearly all the facts observed, and the inferences to be drawn from them; so that it seems to me that I shall be doing a service if I attempt to compare the various statements made, more carefully than has been done in the popular articles on the subject. Such an examination is a necessary preliminary to considering the moral and social bearings of hypnotism; very grave questions on which I have no intention of intruding, but for which I trust the material I have brought together may be of service. It is needful that I should trace shortly the history of the subject, in order to show the parentage of the two schools, to the one or the other of which hypnotists belong. Hypnotism has had a strange history everywhere, but most of all in this country. Having been long the toy of conjurers and quacks, "animal magnetism"—as it was then called—had the chance of serious study fifty years ago by one of the leading physicians of London. His unavoidable mistakes, and still more his eager credulity, gave a handle to the professional bigotry or jealousy of his critics which they were not slow to seize, and Elliotson was condemned to untimely ruin and oblivion. But the investigation which he began was continued in a more sober spirit by a surgeon of Manchester, Mr. Braid, who confined himself to the study of such phenomena as he could verify by physical observation and experi-

ment, using the term hypnotism to mark the new direction he had given to the subject, and not to prejudge the nature of the agent he was investigating. It has been allowed by all who have followed him that the right method of studying the subject dates from Braid. But, whether from the example of Elliotson's fate, or some other reason, Braid's researches never attracted in this country the interest that might have been expected, and, indeed, remained practically unknown, save for the mention of them by Dr. Carpenter. Hypnotism did not become a recognised branch of scientific study until it was taken up by one of the greatest of living physicians, Professor Charcot, of Paris, in 1878. His confessed eminence, complete knowledge of allied conditions, and marvellous descriptive powers, enabled him to carry the day, but not without a severe struggle; and I have seldom been more interested than when hearing him describe his anxiety, while he still doubted whether hypnotism might not prove fatal even to his professional reputation. The result of his labours has been the establishment of the largest school for the study of hypnotism at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris, and to him we owe the interest which has been awakened in Germany, Italy, and even in England. But he had been preceded in the study of hypnotism in France by a medical man at Nancy, Dr. Liébeault, who as long ago as 1866 published a short work on the subject. His observations, however, remained unnoticed, until eighteen years later they were brought forward by Bernheim, a professor in the same town, since which time his teaching has been well known to the scientific world. Charcot and Liébeault, studying these phenomena independently, have been led to different conclusions, and have thus founded the rival schools of Paris and Nancy, to which it will be so often necessary to refer. In spite of all the ardour and industry which has been displayed, much will be seen to be uncertain, much remains unexplored, and still more is imperfectly understood. But, in what is proved beyond the possibility of doubt, and admitted on all hands as certain, there is so much which has the most important bearing on human responsibility, as to interest, and even alarm, those who seriously consider it. The psychological results of hypnotism, though inferior in practical interest to its moral and social consequences, suggest many problems of importance which open out new fields for study.

It will be seen as I proceed that the difference between the two schools of hypnotisers is, to a great degree, due to an ambiguous use of the word hypnotism. It would, therefore, be most logical to begin with the various definitions of the word; but this we are not in a position to do until some account has been given of the process and the means by which it is carried

out. First, as to the means employed. Charcot's school teaches that the ordinary and most certain way of hypnotising subjects is by using physical agencies of various kinds, but all agreeing in this, that they stimulate monotonously the nervous system. Such are the "magnetic passes" of the old mesmerists, causing the subject to look steadily at some bright object, slight electrical currents, or gentle friction, or the impression may be made on the hearing by means of a monster tuning-fork, a gong, &c. Richet relates the case of a woman who fell into the hypnotic state at each stroke of the kettle-drum at a concert, and apparently many of the instances of catalepsy during a thunderstorm are to be accounted for in the same way. On the other hand, the school of Nancy hold that hypnotism is produced by suggestion, and that these means which I have just enumerated act simply by putting the subject into a condition of expectancy and confident belief. The first part of this statement is undoubtedly true. Long before the recent development of hypnotism, the Abbé Faria was wont in Paris to mesmerise persons by merely placing them in a chair and saying imperiously *Dormez;* and Braid also remarked that mere belief in the power of the operator was enough for the purpose. There is abundant evidence to the same effect since, the most striking instance being that of persons hypnotised at a distance from the operator, and at a moment chosen by him, which has been done not merely to excitable French girls, but to German medical students, and to others whose cases have been recorded in general periodicals. But Dr. Liébeault's followers seem to go too far when they deny that the manœuvres described are not the most certain and dependable means of producing hypnotism. It will be sufficient to appeal to Father Kircher's old experiment, in which a cock is hypnotised by holding his beak against a chalk line, to prove that these means act where there can be no expectancy on the part of the subject. Still less can it be said that "the whole thing is mere fancy," as English so-called common-sense is apt too roughly to assume. The contrary is shown conclusively by experiments, not only on animals, but on persons in sound, natural sleep, whom Berger and Gscheidlen have repeatedly hypnotised, no appeal to the imagination being then possible.

The proportion of persons susceptible of hypnotism is so very differently estimated by various authorities—ranging from 10 to 95 per cent.—that it would evidently be unprofitable to go into the question so stated. It is more important to consider whether the susceptibility can be connected with any known peculiarities of the subjects. It is, in the first place, certain that mere general excitability is not a necessary, or even a favourable, condition. Some of the most remarkable results have been obtained by

Heidenhain and Hensen in phlegmatic German medical student
Nor have we any immunity in this country: the rash and u
justifiable experiments of "electro-biologists" are sufficient
prove this; and some of the most interesting observations on t
results of hypnotism were made by Mr. E. Gurney on a healt
young baker in Brighton. Indeed, paradoxical as it may see
quiet, unemotional people are generally more easily hypnotis
than excitable ones. The chief requisite is the power of fixi
the attention; and for this reason very young children, idio
and most insane persons cannot be influenced. The susceptibili
is greatly increased by practice. Richet, for example, tells us
a girl with whom he entirely failed the first time, the second ti
he hypnotised her in ten minutes, the third time in five; aft
that a look or a word of command acted instantaneously. T
fact is abundantly proved, and of great practical importanc
The Paris school teach that hypnotism can only be successfull
produced in persons of the hysterical temperament; and, indee
they go so far as to say that true hypnotism (*la grande hy*
nose) is merely a manifestation of hysteria. They qualify th
statement, however, by two additions, which it is important
note. The term hysterical temperament is used to denote, n
the condition popularly so called, but certain symptoms reco
nisable only by a physician, and compatible with apparent goo
health. They also admit that incomplete hypnotic states ma
sometimes be produced in non-hysterical subjects. Very differen
is the teaching of the school of Nancy; in their view health
persons are the more readily influenced, and hysteria is rather a
obstacle to hypnotism. This contradiction is connected with a
equally opposed way of looking at the phenomena of hypnotism
Charcot's school consider it to be a diseased condition, closel
allied to hysteria, if not merely one of the manifestations of tha
protean disease, and characterised by three forms or stages, throug
which every complete access, so to speak, must pass. Each of thes
stages presents well-marked bodily symptoms, which have bee
studied with great care, it being thought that in these a securit
had been found against simulation. In the condition they ter
Lethargy, the subject lies as if asleep and apparently unconscious
though he is sometimes able to say afterwards what has been don
to him. Pressure on the nerves and muscles produces contraction
which, from their character and extent, are supposed to be th
surest guarantee against fraud. When the patient is made to pas
into *Catalepsy*, the muscular condition is quite different. He can
be placed in any attitude, and will retain it, no matter how un-
natural or contorted, for a period far beyond what would be pos-
sible to voluntary effort. The mental state is very remarkable.
The subject is incapable of any spontaneous action, and is reduced

to the state of a living marionette or automaton, reacting simply to external impressions. For instance, if the limbs be placed in an attitude corresponding to any state of mind, such as pugilism, veneration, prayer, or the like, the features at once assume the expression appropriate to that state, the most perfect *tableaux vivants*, resembling Michael Angelo's or Da Vinci's drawings, being produced. But the attitudes thus caused gradually fade away, leaving only the impassive mask of catalepsy; and there is no speculation in those features which had just been animated by the perfect semblance of horror, love, anger, or devotion. Or the cataleptic may be made to perform such simple acts as tapping with the foot, twirling the thumbs, &c., and will then continue them for some time with monotonous regularity. There is usually no recollection of what has occurred during catalepsy. In the third stage, *Somnambulism*, the muscles are in a state of increased irritability, which it would seem impossible to simulate. The skin is usually insensible, but the other senses are active, hearing in particular being very acute; and many instances of supposed clairvoyance are evidently due to this acuteness. The state of the mind is even more strange than in catalepsy. As long as the subject is not acted upon from without, the mind appears to be a perfect blank, but he can be readily communicated with, and receives unhesitatingly every suggestion made to him by his hypnotiser, whose puppet he becomes. This is the condition in which he is deceived as to the properties of substances given him to taste or to handle, which are the stock experiments of popular "electro-biologists." Hallucinations of any kind may be suggested, and are perceived with all the senses, or, if it be preferred, with one eye or ear only. Or, some person, object, or part of an object, may be blotted out from the subject's perception, or he may be allowed to see only one object, for instance, one horse only in a crowded street. More strictly mental effects may be suggested. The memory of individual persons or things may be obliterated, or the belief of the subject in his own personality may be changed, and he be made to believe he is a rabbit, an actress, a soldier, &c., acting according to such belief with unquestioning faith. Or the personality remaining, the opinions may be altered, an ardent Bonapartist being converted into a Republican. I will not dwell now on the question, whether there are any limits to this power of suggestion, as I shall have to return to that later.

This is an exceedingly brief account of the phenomena of hypnotism, according to the school founded by Charcot. Nothing could be more definite than the three stages I have described, and no other disease has been studied with more enthusiasm, energy, and attention. After saying so much, it will appear confounding

to add that the account given by the Nancy hypnotisers is e
different. According to M. Liébeault and his follower
hypnotic state is not a diseased condition at all. They
the fundamental condition is one closely akin to ordinary
produced by the suggestion of the operator and the con
of the subject. The chief difference from ordinary sleep i
the subject remains in close relation to the hypnotiser,
his thoughts and acts are controlled by the latter. This
has also arranged the symptoms of hypnotism in several s
but they may all be reduced to three—somnolence, light
and profound sleep, which last corresponds to the Paris son
bulism (Forel). They hold that, as a rule, the last stage
all its consequences, is only reached after repeated trial
"suggestibility" of the subject rapidly increasing with ha

Neither of these parties seems at present disposed to y
the other; but there can be no doubt that the opini
foreigners generally, and lately even of some distingu
Parisian physicians, inclines very decidedly to the Nancy
nation. This has, above all, the great advantage that it ac
for the phenomena observed by its opponents, as well
those collected on its own behalf. It will be remembere
the Salpêtrière school experiments exclusively upon hys
persons, who are alone, it teaches, amenable to the hy
influence. But every physician is only too well aware
marvellous power that hysterical women have to coun
disease, and of the almost incredible skill, patience, and fo
which they will employ to simulate any malady that the
renders them objects of interest and attention. When to
added the force of suggestion inherent in the process of hypn
it does not seem at all unlikely that the Paris operators
selves produce, by unconscious suggestion, the phenomen
study. Probably phenomena corresponding to the three
of Charcot occurred in the first case or two observed b
illustrious physician, and sufficient care was not thereupon
to exclude the possibility of unintentional suggestion, of
the importance was then unknown. The slightest hint of m
or word would be sufficient to let the hysterical subjects
what was expected of them, and repeated experiment
but confirm the result of the earliest observations. Most
tors outside the Salpêtrière school have had the same expe
as one of the latest writers on the subject, the distingu
Parisian, M. Déjerine. He says:

I have never yet been able to observe the Salpêtrière phen
in subjects who had never been previously hypnotised, altho
have sought for them on each occasion with great care, while
ing the possibility of suggestion. . . . . On the other ha

several of these cases I have obtained, by suggestion, all the stages described above, and produced the complete type of "la grande hypnose," sometimes from the beginning, and after a very few trials. . . . . In a word, the subjects reproduced at will, either the type of the school of the Salpêtrière, or the type of the school of Nancy. In other terms, I have never obtained anything which was spontaneous, or personal, so to speak, to the subject under experiment, nothing which in my judgment was not due to suggestion.*

Whichever of these two ways of looking at the facts that hypnotism has revealed be accepted, these clearly call for some explanation which shall connect them with the other phenomena of mental life. There are difficulties in the way of every hypothesis that can be suggested; the one that has received the most general assent is due to Professor Heidenhain. He pointed out that all the physical means employed for hypnotising are slight monotonous stimuli of the sensory nerves, and he supposed —what seems very probable—that the highest nervous centres in the brain are thereby exhausted, and so rendered incapable of their ordinary functions. Now these centres, as I have formerly had occasion to point out in this Review,† are inhibitory or controlling. They limit or check all irregular action of the lower centres, and are thus the necessary condition of the faculty of attention, and thereby of all higher thought. By the temporary disablement of these highest centres the subject, then, would become unable to direct the course of his thoughts, and would unresistingly receive all suggestions that reached him from without. He would lose (as we all do in dreams) that power of comparison with the other data of his mind, which alone enables any of us to judge of the truth or falsity of any statement or perception that may be presented to our consciousness. Hypnotism, on this theory, differs from natural sleep chiefly by the power of suggestion which the operator acquires over his subject; and we are thus landed once more in the view taken by the Nancy school.

I will not here dwell upon the theoretical and purely psychological results of hypnotism. It has been aptly called "a vivisection of the mind," and the industry and skill with which it has been used for the purpose of psychological research have led to some very interesting and unforeseen results. I will only remark on one of them, which indeed includes them all. Hypnotism strongly confirms the view of modern science, that much of our mental life is unconscious and ordinarily unknown to us. Since Descartes' revolt from scholasticism, it has been held by

* *Médecine Moderne*, January 25, 1891.
† "The Physiological Psychology of St. Thomas," April 1882, p. 353.

psychologists that our mental life reached no further than ou consciousness directly showed us; and that the world of though within—as the ancients thought of the world without—wa measured by our unaided faculties. The opposite doctrine i expressed—inappropriately enough—by the phrase "unconsciou cerebration." On this view, the mind of each of us is an un known territory, lying in darkness unexplored, save where ou voluntarily directed consciousness casts a narrow ray of light, o where some more urgent perception or memory rises out of th gloom. Catholic philosophers will welcome the reversal of on of Descartes' errors, against which their predecessors had protest in vain. And the practical bearing of such a conception, if grav and serious, is at least wholesome and bracing. Our sense o responsibility is greatly quickened when we realise that we hav to shape our course in life across a much wider field than we ha previously suspected, and that, without quitting the confines o our own minds, we can range from the highest to the lowes places. The peculiar horror of hypnotism is that we have bee taught that this power of self-direction may abdicate, and tha our organisms—nay, our very minds themselves—may becom nothing but elaborate puppets in a stranger's hands. Mo of us will agree that such a possibility, if it be true, more horrible than any legend of Oriental superstition o mediæval witchcraft; and we shall anxiously inquire ho far our fears are grounded in fact. The answer is not quite re assuring. The power of suggestion does not merely apply t hallucinations, opinions, and beliefs; acts of any kind can be suggested to the subject, and may be performed by him with unresisting obedience. Many of the experiments of this kind that have been tried have been recorded in the articles that have appeared on hypnotism in the periodicals. The reader is therefore probably familiar with instances where subjects have been ordered to shoot or poison their dearest relatives, and have obeyed implicitly as far as lay in their power. The acts suggested are performed with all the accuracy of a machine, and yet often with more skill and fearlessness than the subject normally possesses. For instance, Féré tells us that he has given the order that a certain point on a card should be pierced with a penknife, and the act has been performed with a precision which would only be possible normally after minute measurement. It is impossible to refrain from Féré's reflection that a criminal act would have been executed with the same accuracy. There is no limit to the character of the suggestions which may be acted upon; they may be absurd, immoral, criminal, and dangerous or injurious to the subject himself. They may be remembered after the hypnotic *stage* has ceased; but it only needs the command of the operator

to ensure absolute oblivion, or the belief that the suggestion comes from an innocent person. If this were all it would be serious enough; but what is more marvellous and more terrible remains to be told. Any of these suggestions may be made, which are to take effect after the subject has passed out of the hypnotic sleep, and is apparently in his or her usual condition. Nor is this power limited to the time immediately following hypnotism; the suggestions may be timed to come off and have been performed with unfailing punctuality at a distant period (*suggestions à longue échéance*). There are numerous instances in which the interval between the hypnotism and the fulfilment of the act suggested has been several weeks; in one carefully recorded case an act commanded on August 2 was performed on the following 2nd of October; and in another, equally authentic, an hallucination appeared 172 days after it had been suggested. Or the patient may be commanded to fall into the hypnotic sleep: the cases in which persons have been mesmerised at a distance, or by means of an amulet, come under this category, whereby some of the most wonderful effects of the mesmeric power are explained. The power of influencing the mind after the hypnotic sleep is over has been employed in a more satisfactory manner. Habits of intoxication have been combated by French and Swiss physicians, and, by an English clergyman, by suggesting a dislike of alcohol, with some success, and other habits will occur to the experienced which might be treated in the same manner. Its use has been proposed in education, and one case has been recorded of an idle boy who, being hypnotised and told to work, applied himself to his lessons, and could only escape from the necessity of so doing by refusing to be hypnotised again! For all these commands only operate for a time, and if the hypnotism is not repeated in a week or two the influence of the last *séance* wears out. A more obvious application of hypnotic suggestion is in the treatment of many diseases, which has been carried out on a large scale at Nancy, and with undoubted success in the case of many nervous diseases.

It is exceedingly difficult to offer any satisfactory explanation of post-hypnotic suggestions, especially those *à longue échéance*. I think M. Delbœuf's the only plausible one. He found that, if the subject be roused before such suggested acts or hallucinations are completed, there is a confused remembrance of them, as of a dream; while if they be finished they are not remembered.* This leads him to suppose that the subject is for the

* It is fair to say that Mr. Gurney thought this due to some peculiarity in M. Delbœuf's subjects.

time being thrown into a state of hypnotic trance, during which the suggestion takes effect.

We now come to consider whether there are any limits to a power which seems at first sight boundless, for good or ill as the operator may choose. It is generally admitted that all the more difficult and complicated suggestions, especially post-hypnotic ones *à longue échéance*, are usually not to be obtained from a subject at first, but require practice, and, as it were, gradual training. This is, however, not always the case. M. Déjerine, for instance, in the paper I have already quoted, says that he has observed two young men, who had never been hypnotised, in whom he could produce all the more complicated phenomena by simple suggestion. And there is a well-known case where a vagrant, named Castellan, in 1865, hypnotised a young girl in Provence, and used the influence he thus acquired over her to make her leave at once her father's house and live with him, though she looked on him with fear and loathing.

The mind of the subject introduces still more important limits to the power of the operator. For when I said that the former is an automaton in the hands of the hypnotiser, I must not be taken to mean that his or her faculties are entirely abolished for the time being. We see this in the ingenuity often displayed in selecting means for carrying out some end which has been determined beforehand by the operator. Thus a woman has had recourse to cajolery and ingenious excuses to induce a supposed victim to drink what she thinks to be a poisoned draught. Such subjects carry out the Calvinist view of free-will, believing themselves to be free, whereas they are simply executing the mandates of a will other than their own. The Nancy school believe that this is true of all subjects—that in the end none can escape the influence of suggestion, and that opposition can always be overborne by stronger pressure on the part of the operator, or removed by gradual training and practice. On the contrary, the Salpêtrière school have gradually come to the conclusion that the power of resistance to suggestions, though weakened, is not entirely lost. They appeal to numerous instances in which a subject has refused to perform an act which is opposed to his or her conscience, habits, or even inclinations. It is true that such resistance can often be overcome by persistence on the part of the operator, and his ascendency grows with habit, but a margin of independence remains. Thus a woman, on being told to steal, refuses, either from moral motives or for fear of detection; or another, on being ordered to murder some one, replies, "Why should I? He has done me no harm." In such a case persistence brings on an attack of hysteria, and ends the *séance*. *Indeed*, the Paris school go farther, and say that they believe the

apparently criminal suggestions made only succeed because in their inmost hearts the subjects know that these are never seriously intended to be carried out; that they know the stabbing is only to be done with a paper-knife, the pistol is not loaded with ball, or the supposed arsenic is really sugar. It would require a much more extended and practical knowledge of the facts than I possess to decide between these two statements. But, looking on the question as an outsider, I remark chiefly these two points: On the one hand, many of the independent observers who follow the Nancy school in other respects, consider that in this they exaggerate the power of suggestion. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that all the apparent resistance and final consent to some act which revolts the moral sense or the inclinations is mere acting. Perhaps we shall do best to suspend our judgment, and meanwhile to hold that at any rate only a very small proportion of hypnotised subjects lose all power of resistance. It is unfortunate that there should be this conflict of opinion concerning the most important practical question of all, but the doubt will probably not greatly affect either way a decision as to the lawfulness of hypnotism in any given case.

Even this very slight sketch of hypnotism will be enough to show what a light it throws on some of the most obscure recesses of human life. I will only remark in passing on its analogies to the preternatural phenomena, possession, obsession, and the like; this is not the place, nor am I the person, to dwell on them farther.

The power of hypnotic suggestion shades away into the influence that strong minds have to carry away weaker ones: an influence that has long been recognised, both as regards individuals and masses of men. And, on another side, the fatality with which hallucinations and acts can be suggested to hypnotised subjects, their latency in the mind until aroused, and the oppression which subjects feel until the act is performed, all bear a striking resemblance to the irresistible impulses and fixed ideas which are sometimes met with in persons of otherwise sound mind.

The foregoing is a very brief account of the views at present entertained as to the nature and power of hypnotism. The practical questions raised by the existence of such an influence are, as will be seen on reflection, of the gravest importance. Some of them concern the administration of justice, and these may be studied by all who desire in the exhaustive work of M. Gilles de la Tourette,* which is recognised as the chief autho-

* "L'Hypnotisme et les états analogues au point de vue médico-légal." 2e édition. Paris. 1889.

rity on the subject. It has to be borne in mind that the author belongs to the Paris school, and allowance has to be made for this, but his views as to the nature of hypnotism do not affect the value of the collected instances in which this has in one way or another come before the French tribunals. The point that has been most frequently raised is the obvious one: the possibility of the commission of criminal assaults during the hypnotic stupor, or as the result of suggestion in somnambulism. This is complicated by the difficulty of excluding simulation or false accusations, which are so common in such cases, so that some of of the most intricate problems may be brought in this way before a court of justice. The forensic bearing of post-hypnotic suggestion is, at first sight, more alarming. To take only a few instances: subjects have been made to sign cheques for large amounts, or give receipts for money they have never had, as results of suggestions during somnambulism. Or, again, the subornation of testimony has been suggested experimentally in France with complete success. A theft has been suggested to a woman, and at the same time she has been supplied with a story which would cast the blame on some one else. After committing the theft, she has been brought before a sham "Juge d'Instruction," to whom she has accurately repeated the story prepared for her. The same end might be even more ingeniously attained, if, instead of mere false witness, an hallucination were suggested which should lead the subject to believe that he had seen an innocent person commit, or had himself committed, some crime. Finally, M. Binet has thought it by no means unlikely that criminals may hereafter employ the fearlessness and dexterity of somnambulists by hypnotising one of their number when any difficult feat has to be executed.

It is comforting to find M. de la Tourette considers the risks to society from the criminal applications of hypnotism are much less than we might at first sight expect. As a disciple of M. Charcot, he believes that suggestions can be always rejected by the moral sense or fear of the subject. He also points out that it would be practically impossible for an operator to hypnotise any one repeatedly—as is ordinarily required to gain an influence over the subject—without the knowledge of other persons, who could prove the relation between the two. The subornation of false witness would probably be easily exposed on cross-examination, by showing that the subject could not go beyond the lesson he had been taught by the hypnotiser. Even the greatest danger of all—the commission of criminal assaults during lethargy—is to some extent lessened by the fact that subjects often remember what has passed during that condition, though they may have been powerless, and to all appearance *unconscious*.

The legal responsibility of persons hypnotised has received much attention from French and Italian jurists. Some have thought that they should be treated as wholly or partially irresponsible; but the majority hold that they should fall under the legal provisions made for criminal lunatics. They urge that one who can be readily hypnotised, and accepts suggestions when in that state, is a permanent danger to society, because he can be so easily utilised for criminal purposes; and that the fear of punishment would make him refuse to be operated upon. Further, it seems reasonable that any one who allowed himself to be hypnotised, knowing the probable consequences, should be held responsible before the law, as much as one who commits a crime when intoxicated.

All who have had any experience of hypnotism are agreed in condemning the public exhibitions of electro-biology, mesmerism, animal magnetism, or whatever else they may be called. They are attended with considerable danger to the health and reason of the unfortunate persons experimented on by those who are, for the most part, quite unable to judge of the powerful nature of the agent they are employing, and whose only object is to produce startling and violent results. Even spectators who have only assisted at these brutalising exhibitions have been known to suffer from the impression made upon them; and others have received more permanent injury from the attempts to experiment at home which have been suggested by witnessing the results of a public *séance*. Such exhibitions are already prohibited in Italy, Austria, and, I believe, in Germany and Belgium. Until the same is done here, it seems to me the duty of all to abstain from countenancing by their presence such demoralising performances. It is also, I think, almost unanimously held by experts that hypnotism should not be employed, even by those qualified to use it with as little risk as possible, without some adequate reason, for mere purposes of study or idle curiosity. Beyond this point, the strongest differences of opinion exist. These were brought out very decidedly by the discussion on hypnotism which took place during the meeting of the British Medical Association at Birmingham last summer. Dr. Norman Kerr, who opened the discussion in an impassioned and somewhat rhetorical speech, contended that hypnotism was a morbid condition which should in no circumstances be produced; that its abuse was inseparable from its use, so that the results were always injurious; and that even when it succeeded in checking habits of intoxication, it did so by substituting a "teetotal drunkenness," which was far worse. I do not perceive that any facts were brought forward in support of this unsparing condemnation, which was based on general and abstract grounds. The sense of the meeting was adverse to *Dr. Kerr's contention*, and a committee of investigation

was appointed to study the whole subject. I have no desire t go beyond the scope of my present article, and to do more tha endeavour to supply moralists with materials for coming to conclusion on this subject; but I will add a few practic suggestions which will at any rate minimise the dangers hypnotism, supposing the practice be considered lawful. Th patient should be made to understand fully that it is a natur process, but one of a delicate character, which requires the sam precautions as most other powerful methods of treatment. Th operator should always be a trained hypnotiser, and a third part should always be present. It is important, that before awakenin the subject, he should be told not to allow himself to be hypnotis by any one else, as this suggestion makes it very difficult f any other unauthorised person to hypnotise him, in case th attempt should ever be made. A sufficient interval should b interposed between each *séance* to prevent the formation of habit of seeking to be hypnotised without good reason. Th craving for a repetition of the process; the increased facility wit which a subject can be affected; and a dependence, full of risk, the patient upon the operator, are the principal dangers tha would have to be guarded against. If the practice is eve permitted, most of these points have been very clearly and satis factorily dealt with by the Abbé Trotin, a Professor in the Theolo gical Faculty of Lille, in a pamphlet which was noticed in thi REVIEW when it appeared.* I would refer any reader wh wishes to see the subject treated from a theological standpoint to its pages, and will only here add that the author is decidedly o opinion that hypnotism, under suitable precautions, is lawful.

The above account of hypnotism has been necessarily a very incomplete one. I have brought forward only what seem to me the most important points, and have set aside a large mass of very interesting detail. I trust I have at any rate expressed with sufficient clearness the general impression which a study of the subject has left on my own mind. This is in the main a reassuring one. At first sight the dangers of hypnotism seem so great that the temptation is to exaggerate them; but further consideration reduces them to human proportions, and teaches us they may be controlled. In almost all, if not in all, cases, the free-will of man remains a fortress impregnable to this as to every other external agency, unless the gate be opened by consent to the process, or a feeble resistance be offered by the will to suggestions after an entrance has been effected.

J. R. GASQUET.

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* "Étude Morale sur L'Hypnotisme." Lille, 1888. DUBLIN REVIEW, *July 1888*, p. 222.

Art. II.—THE SCHOLASTIC MOVEMENT AND CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY.*

CATHOLIC philosophy is such a vital matter at the present time that I need make no excuse for offering a few remarks on it to the members of the Academia. And as it is a very large subject, and my time and space are necessarily limited, I need not hesitate in going at once and without preamble to a practical question in its regard, which is probably in the minds of many of us.

It is, I say, a very practical question to all of us who are interested in Catholic education, to adjust the claims of the mediæval scholastic philosophy, of which we have been authoritatively reminded by the present Pope, to the claims of the methods and substance of advancing thought. We cannot be neutral in face of contemporary intellectual movements. We shall not, if we are wise, put aside the thoughts of the great modern thinkers of Germany and of these islands as of no account. Exaggeration has been said to provoke reaction, and undue contempt for these philosophers may well be followed by too great deference to them. Both the thinkers and their thoughts have a claim on our attention. Yet the schoolmen, who wrote in a different stage of the history of philosophy, often deal slightly, or not at all, with subjects which occupy a large space in their writings.

The details of the evolution theory, and its bearing especially on man's moral nature, the external world controversy, as conceived from Descartes onwards, and resting in the first instance on scrutiny by the individual of the limits of his knowing power, the analysis of the sense of moral obligation as a phenomenon —these and similar questions loom large and important in the thought of the present hour, and they are touched slightly, or in some cases not at all, by scholastic writers. How, then, are we to combine the study of the philosophy of St. Thomas with the duty of taking our part in contemporary philosophy; with asserting the power of Catholics to hold their own in current psychology and ethics, as well as in current biology and astronomy; with giving continued evidence that the Church's respect for tradition and authority is in no way contrary to true intellectual liberty, or injurious to intellectual vitality, but serves in the main only to discipline our thought and restrain it from license—to perform the functions of drill-master and not of prison-warder?

* This paper was read before the Academia of the Catholic Religion, at Archbishop's House, Westminster.

Perhaps the lines on which the problem is to be solved will be to some extent suggested by the consideration of certain characteristics of that age of Scholasticism to which we have been directed to turn our eyes. It is a very curious thing that incidentally the injunction to look for our guidance to the scholastic movement in its palmiest days, has, in certain minds, resulted in direct opposition to the first lesson which that movement teaches;—that the conception of breadth, boldness, thoroughness in philosophy (which the age of St. Thomas pre-eminently exhibits) has by some been passed over in favour of the adoption of his phrases and opinions to the exclusion of his method. So far as Catholic thought has ever been comparatively free, unchecked, and uninterfered with by authority, it was at the time when Scholasticism, after considerable opposition on the part of the rulers of the Church, had become dominant. The most marked contrast between the tone of the Fathers and the tone of the schoolmen, is in the predominance among the latter of that dialectic, and the free exercise of that subtle logic, the dangers of which had been so strongly insisted on by the former. Free discussion was the life and soul of the schools—a danger no doubt unless kept in order by the high sanctity and reverence for Christian faith and tradition of its chief exponents, but still advocated and practised, with these safeguards, more unreservedly in the great epoch of full scholastic development, in the time of Alexander of Hales, of St. Thomas, of St. Bonaventure, than at any other.

The first distinctive note, then, of the scholastic period and the scholastic method is liberty—freedom of discussion.

Another note that strikes us—and it also bears on the question I am raising—is the change that came in with scholasticism in the attitude of Catholic thinkers towards the great philosophers who were external to the Catholic body. I am not forgetting the connection between the Neo-Platonic philosophy and Patristic Christianity, nor am I denying that here and there we find other pagan philosophers of antiquity treated with respect by the Christian Fathers, as by Justin Martyr, by Clement of Alexandria, by St. Augustine, by Origen; but I am pointing out, what is acknowledged, that the respect shown to Plato and Aristotle among the scholastic philosophers as a body is of a very different order from the tone of the earlier Church in their regard. In patristic days, suspicion and opposition to them were quite as marked as sympathy with them; whereas it is scarcely too much to say that among the later schoolmen respect and even reverence for them were almost universal. In the case of Aristotle the change is of course the most pronounced. But in that of Plato it is also striking. One of the bitter reproaches which St. Bernard

made against Abelard, a hundred years before scholasticism finally prevailed, was his respect for the philosophers of ancient Greece. "O, second Aristotle," he exclaims in one letter, as the *ne plus ultra* of accusation in the matter of rationalism. And again he writes to Pope Innocent: "While he exhausts his strength to prove Plato a Christian he proves himself a heathen." * "He puts forward philosophers with praise," he says in another letter, "and [by doing] so affronts the teachers of the Church." †

A third point which strikes one in looking at the great transition to Scholasticism in the thirteenth century is connected with that which I have just named. The Scholastics for the first time took up actively and systematically the philosophy of their own day, separated clearly the truths to be proved by reason and by revelation, regarded philosophy as a distinct science to be pursued, as any other science, by the light of reason alone. True, principles and conclusions at variance with faith were condemned; but in dealing with contemporary controversy on Metaphysics or Psychology, the light of reason alone was invoked; opponents were met on their own ground; the shyness which the Church had so long shown of philosophical studies, and of discussion, was put aside in the schools; the philosophical writings current among the non-Christians of that age, of the pantheist Averroes, of the Arabian Avicenna, of the Jew Maimonides, were read, and their theories debated. The complete works of Aristotle were studied, and his phrases and thoughts gradually found their way into the heart of Christian theology itself. The principle advocated by many of the Fathers that philosophy was dangerous to faith, and was to be avoided, was supplanted by an energetic and thorough study of the non-Christian thought of the time; by its refutation where it was opposed to Christianity; but on a far larger scale by the assimilation of the teaching of the autocrat of mediæval philosophy—Aristotle—with Catholic Dogma.‡

Before considering somewhat more in detail these characteristics of the Scholastic movement let us read an eloquent description of the period given by Cardinal Newman in 1854 at Dublin:

> [It] is the very age of universities; it is the classical period of the schoolmen; it is the splendid and palmary instance of the wise policy and large liberality of the Church, as regards philosophical inquiry. If there ever was a time when the intellect went wild and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was

* "Life and Works of St. Bernard." Edited by Dom John Mabillon. Translated by Samuel Eales. London: J. Hodges. Vol. ii. p. 576.

† *Ibid.* p. 545.

‡ This point is brought out in a recently published anonymous pamphlet, edited by the Catholic writer, Dr. Dittrich, of Cologne.

there ever a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle, metaphysical spirit not scrutinise? What premiss was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? What whole was not analysed? What complex idea was not elaborately traced out, and as it were finely painted for the contemplation of the mind, till it was spread out in all its minutest portions as perfectly and delicately as a frog's foot shows under the intense scrutiny of the microscope? . . . . Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No, not though that philosophy was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of inquiry with fire and sword; but she determined to put it down by *argument*; she said: "Two can play at that, and my argument is the better." She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being St. Thomas, who in those mediæval Universities fought the battle of Revelation with the weapons of heathenism. It was no matter whose the weapon was; truth was truth all the world over. With the jawbone of an ass, with the skeleton philosophy of Pagan Greece, did the Samson of the schools put to flight his thousand Philistines.

Here observe the contrast exhibited between the Church herself, who has the gift of wisdom, and even the ablest, or wisest, or holiest of her children . . . . the early Fathers [had] shown an extreme aversion to the great heathen philosopher whom I just now named, Aristotle. I do not know who of them could endure him; and when there arose those in the middle age who would take his part, especially since their intentions were of a suspicious character, a strenuous effort was made to banish him out of Christendom. The Church the while had kept silence; she had as little denounced heathen philosophy in the mass as she had pronounced upon the meaning of certain texts of Scripture of a cosmological character. From Tertullian and Caius to the two Gregories of Cappadocia, from them to Anastasius Sinaita, from him to the school of Paris, Aristotle was a word of offence; at length St. Thomas made him a hewer of wood and drawer of water to the Church. A strong slave he is; and the Church herself has given her sanction to the use in theology of the words and phrases of his philosophy."—*Idea of a University*, p. 470.

Such was the great change which the schoolmen of the age of St. Thomas introduced. On the whole, and in spite of incidental *rapprochements*, Christian thought and philosophy, properly so called, had been before the scholastic period separate streams. The Fathers were shy of dialectics. St. Ambrose's "non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum," expressed a very widespread feeling in the early centuries.

Church authority was afraid of the tendency of pagan philosophy; it recognised plainly that the temper of mind fostered by philosophical study was opposed to the humility of faith. It was obvious that the Gospel which lay hid from the wise and learned and was revealed to little ones, which could only be fully accepted by those who became as little children, was naturally opposed to that study which is generally allowed to be specially connected with intellectual pride. And the opposition to free disputation, the opposition to philosophy, the fear of the great intellects of antiquity which so often appears among the Fathers—as Tertullian, St. Basil, St. Irenæus, St. Bernard—is readily understood in this connection. The typical patristic thinkers took their stand on the doctrine which had been handed down, on authority, on a tradition to be accepted in simplicity and docility: the advocates of the free dialectic advanced the claims of the intellect, pointed out that a wise man should not believe without sufficient reason, that reason is the highest faculty given to man, and that blind obedience may lead us to error as well as to truth. The tendency of the former line was no doubt —if uncorrected—to make men narrow, intellectually passive, timid, and unphilosophical; the tendency of the latter was to pride, shallowness, over-subtlety, neglect of the accumulated experience of the past. History repeats itself, and we see the same tendencies in our day among conservative and liberal thinkers on religion. One great work of the Scholastics seems to have been the attempt to unite and combine what was good in each tendency; to preserve the rights of authority and tradition, and to admit the rights of reason; to define clearly the former, and so to allow the freest scope for the latter outside the limits thus laid down. The claims of authority had *ever* been recognised by Christian doctors, and therefore so far as orthodox Catholic thought was concerned, the scholastic triumph was distinctly, as I said at starting, a step—and a great step—in the direction of intellectual freedom. But that freedom was tempered, as it ever must be in all Catholic thought, by the reverence which its advocates showed for the wisdom of the past, and the sense with which they were penetrated of the truths of revelation.

Perhaps we shall most clearly recall this characteristic of the work of St. Thomas and his immediate predecessors—Albertus and Alexander of Hales—by considering the position of affairs a century before his time. The distinctively intellectual movement had, no doubt, gained a footing before the Thomistic era among orthodox writers, such as Lanfranc and St. Anselm, but its dangers were conspicuously illustrated in the works of Abelard, and the traditional fear of its excesses found expression in the warnings of St. Bernard, and in the attitude of ecclesiastical

authority with regard to the study of Aristotle even as late as the thirteenth century itself. The argumentative treatment of the grounds of religious belief and of the mysteries of Faith which St. Thomas's genius and sanctity established as at once a true and safe way of dealing with them, seemed, as advocated by Abelard, an unmixed danger. In his letters, St. Bernard is never tired of protesting against the whole method. Abelard, no doubt, fell also into positive heresy; but the Saint's protests are by no means confined to his errors of doctrine. They are directed quite as much against his spirit and his method. "The hidden things of God are exposed," he writes to the *Roman Curia*, "questions about the most exalted truths are rashly ventilated, the Fathers are derided because they held that such things are to be tested rather than solved . . . . human reason usurps for itself everything, and leaves nothing to faith. It tries things above it, tests things too strong for it, rushes into Divine things; holy subjects it rather forces open than unlocks, what is closed and sealed it rather plunders than opens, and whatever it finds out of its reach it holds to be of no account and disdains to believe." * And, again, to the Archbishop of Reims he writes: "Peter Abelard is endeavouring to destroy the virtue of Christian Faith; inasmuch as he thinks that he is able to comprehend the whole that God is by the unaided reason, he is ascending to the skies, he is descending to the depths. There is nothing which can escape him either in the heights above or in the depths beneath. He is a great man in his own eyes, a disputer of faith against the faith . . . . a prier into the majesty of God." † And again to Cardinal Guido: "He sees nothing through a glass darkly, but beholds all things face to face, and busies himself in great and wonderful matters above him." ‡ And to Cardinal Haimeric: "He endeavours to scrutinise by the light of his reason alone, the mysteries which are apprehended by the pious mind only by the intuition of faith; the faith of the pious which believes and does not discuss . . . . nor is he willing to believe anything unless he shall first have considered it by reason." §

The same fear of dialectic and philosophising, in connection with religious truth, is evident in such writers as Hildebert of Lavardin, Bishop of Tours, St. Bernard's contemporary. Dialectics, he said, were dangerous and vain, and opposed to the spirit of faith. Faith he defined as "that voluntary certitude of absent truths, which is to be placed above opinion, but below scientific knowledge." Coupled with the distrust and denunciation of disputation, we find constantly the accusation that the traditional doctrine

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* *Loc. cit.* p. 542.
† *Loc. cit.* p. 592.
‡ *Loc. cit.* p. 594.
§ *Loc. cit.* p. 871.

and the teaching of the Fathers is held to be of no account, and here we have undoubtedly the true *gravamen*. The opposition to current philosophical studies reached, perhaps, its highest point when Innocent III., through his Legate, forbade the French people in 1215 to read the works of Aristotle at all.

No doubt it was recognised even at this time that in such prohibitions more was concerned than the intrinsic truth and falsehood of the doctrines propounded. St. Bernard often speaks of the unsettling effect of such a way of treating these questions on the faith of the young, and of the dangers arising from novelty of phrase; and when Aristotle was forbidden, the prohibition was in part provoked by the unregulated discussion among untrained minds of Pantheistic interpretations of his teaching. But still the contrast I am speaking of remains—that up to the time of the victory of Scholasticism, dialectic and free disputation both in philosophy and in theology, both as to the intellectual basis of belief and its superstructure, were opposed in great measure by Saints and Church authorities, and that St. Thomas changed this policy and used them;—not, indeed, without opposition in his own time, but ultimately obtaining the very highest ecclesiastical sanction. St. Bernard opposed the full discussion of theological mystery; St. Thomas showed that it could be done safely and reverently with certain safeguards. St. Bernard spoke of respect for Aristotle and Plato as an insult to Christian faith; St. Thomas showed that a vast amount from the teaching of both could be assimilated with that faith, and could even assist in its exposition. Pope Innocent opposed the Pantheistic interpretations of Aristotle by forbidding the questions at issue to be pursued; St. Thomas opposed them by the very fullest discussion and refutation. St. Bernard saw in Abelard a natural opposition between the free exercise of the reason and the humility of faith; St. Thomas showed that faith need not fear reason, and that the freest reasoning, if combined with the spirit of faith, was admissible, and would help the cause of religious truth instead of injuring it.

The difference between the two spirits appears in the very outset of St. Thomas's *Summa*.* Argumentation on theological mystery which was so distasteful to St. Bernard, is explicitly defended in the first Quæstio. St. Thomas asks how theology can be an argumentative science when it is concerned with faith, reminds us of St. Ambrose's saying, "tolle argumenta ubi fides quæritur," and then proceeds to explain the matter by mapping out an exact and systematic field for argument in theology. True, he says, revealed truth is to be the starting-point; but that once allowed, theology is argumentative just as other sciences are. Each

* 1ª 1ᵉ Q. I. Art. VIII.

science has its first principles, which are established from a previous science; and it argues freely from these principles. It does not dispute about them, because such dispute is the subject rather of the previous science. The first of all sciences is metaphysics, in which the principles are final; and if a man will not grant them you cannot dispute with him, as you have no common ground; though you can answer his objections to your conclusions. And theology is in this respect very much like metaphysics. The theologian does not attempt to argue with those who do not admit the authority of revelation, any more than the metaphysician can prove his system against those who deny its fundamental axioms; but in both cases argument is freely used (*a*) in reasoning from first principles, and (*b*) in answering objections to the conclusions of the science, and showing those conclusions to be not contrary to reason.

This frank recognition of the place of dialectic in dealing with religious mysteries is then one mark of the scholastic tone. Another is, as I have already said, the clear separation of truths to be proved by reason and truths to be known only by revelation. St. Thomas deals with this question at the beginning of the *Summa contra Gentiles* in a passage too well known to be worth citing. In both these respects St. Thomas was giving the weight of his authority to the distinction already marked out by the founder of Western Scholasticism, Scotus Erigena. The vague—perhaps, at times, too vague—protests of some of the Fathers against dealing by means of the reason with matters of faith, applying dialectic where spiritual tact is rather in place, and indulging curiosity and private judgment where obedience to authority is rather called for, gave place to the precise distinction—perhaps too precise to deal quite accurately with so large a subject—between the province of reason and the province of authority. "All authority," wrote Erigena, "has proceeded from true reason, but by no means reason from authority. All authority which is not approved by true reason appears to be weak; but true reason since it remains unchanged, fortified and ratified by its own strength, requires to be strengthened by no pledge of authority." Yet he adds, and so guards himself from the imputation of rationalism, "nothing is more fittingly proved by true reason than the authority of the holy Fathers, which is probable and unshaken." These two points, the defining clearly the provinces of reason, authority, and the encouragement within limits of the argumentative and dialectic tendencies, formed the basis, as is well known, of the mediæval disputations, and resulted in a freedom of discussion and speculation, as Cardinal Newman points out, unparalleled in the history of Christendom.

And this naturally leads to the remaining mark of Scholasticism

of which I have spoken; its liberal attitude towards non-Catholic philosophy. Instead of fearing it and expelling it as so many of the Fathers did, the great schoolmen threw themselves into contemporary controversy, accepted and even reverenced much of the non-Catholic teaching, did full justice to it, adopted much, confuted much. We need not remind ourselves that to St. Thomas Aristotle—the bugbear of so many of the Fathers—is the "philosopher" *par excellence*. Albertus Magnus follows in part with respect and sympathy the teaching of Maimonides the Jew. The same great scholastic thinker uses the Arabian Avicenna in great measure as his guide in the interpretation of Aristotle. Both he and still more St. Thomas criticise closely the doctrine of the pantheist Averroes and confute him in detail. Plato as well as Aristotle is a great authority with them.

It may be worth while to recall these characteristics of the school of St. Thomas in relation to the age in which he lived, and to the non-Catholic systems and thinkers who possessed intellectual influence in that age, as it helps us to realise what the scholastic movement ought to mean and did mean in the hands of its greatest exponents, and what it does not mean. The present Holy Father in the Encyclical *Æterni Patris* particularly guarded himself against recommending an exact return to the letter of scholastic dissertations, and in a memorable passage marked off the "wisdom of St. Thomas," which he was extolling, from any such barren learning by rote of obsolete discussions. "We say," he wrote, "the wisdom of St. Thomas; for it is not by any means in our mind to set before this age as a standard those things which may have been inquired into by scholastic doctors with too great subtlety; or anything taught by them with too little consideration, not agreeing with the investigations of a later age; or, lastly, anything that is not probable." And it was a conspicuous part of the "wisdom of St. Thomas" that he did keep his mind open to the thought of his day, and did not ignore the investigations of a later age, or teach "with too little consideration" what in view of the progress of thought in his time was "not probable."

Now to attempt to apply St. Thomas' *via media* to the conditions of our own day. St. Thomas, as we have said, by emphasising his adhesion to patristic tradition as to matters essential to Christian doctrine, and marking out the sphere of authority, rendered for the first time possible that freedom of discussion which is required for the progress of philosophical science. Free thought had been proscribed because it had overstepped its lawful province; but that province having been clearly marked out, it was, in its allotted sphere, entirely compatible with Catholic obedience. And hence an absolute revolution in

Christian philosophy became possible, without the slightest detriment to Christian faith. St. Thomas marks the point at which the Church made the most far-reaching concession to the non-Christian thought of the day which is to be found in her history. The claims of Aristotelianism hitherto resisted were allowed; and the form of Catholic teaching, philosophical and even theological, was from that period onwards changed. The Aristotelian method and philosophy were adopted by Catholics, as they had been by the Jewish and Arabian schools, and reconciled by us, as by them, with traditional religious teaching. It was a victory by surrender. St. Thomas surrendered what was unessential—the philosophical and theological method and form—to ensure what was essential, that the influence of current philosophy should be compatible with acceptance of patristic tradition and Christian faith. And thus to couple the warning in the papal encyclical to remember Catholic traditional philosophy in all its stages, with special reference to the name of St. Thomas, is to remind us how that tradition may be guarded, and yet the most fearless acceptance of what is good in non-Catholic thought, and discussion of its various aspects good and bad alike, be allowed. It suggests by analogy that the fundamental principles of Christian Scholasticism will only derive new strength and greater exactness of expression from further development, analysis, and illustration in the light of the living thought of the present time.

Let us now attempt to suggest one or two practical details in which the general principles brought before us by St. Thomas's work may be applied. I will confine myself to two points—namely, (*a*) the possibility of preserving old principles while modifying the form of expression, and changing the proportion of attention given to particular philosophical problems; (*b*) the attitude observed by St. Thomas in relation to the non-Catholic speculation of his time.

On the first point, let it be noted that the whole subject-matter of Aristotle's elaborate metaphysics was new to Christendom in the age of St. Thomas. Abelard, a century earlier, enthusiastic admirer though he was of Aristotle, knew only his logic and certain dialectical works. When we reflect that the subjects chosen by St. Thomas for discussion were in very large measure on the questions peculiar to the peripatetic Metaphysics, we realise something of the magnitude of the change which he introduced in this respect. Then again the terminology of the Aristotelian philosophy was especially marked; and it was a terminology almost unknown to the Fathers, and in great part unknown to the earlier schoolmen. *And its* admission was the adoption, for the sake of assimilating *con*temporary thought, of a phraseology which had certainly been

considered pantheistic, and which the best critics consider to have been intended by Aristotle himself as pantheistic. Even a writer so sympathetic with the schoolmen as Father Stoekl, when discussing Aristotle's conception of the νοῦς in its relation with the ψύχη, does not undertake to decide the matter in favour of the Christian explanation of his meaning.

Surely St. Thomas's power of preserving, and expressing with greater depth and precision the principles of Christian philosophy, and yet combining them with such extensive modifications to suit the needs of contemporary thought, is very remarkable and suggestive. And we have in the same strain the weighty words of the greatest Scholastic of our own times, Father Kleutgen: "The scholastic philosophy," he writes, "as a whole is susceptible of noteworthy improvements, nay, from the circumstances of the time it needs them; insomuch that in this sense it may be superseded by a better philosophy. . . . . We have never asserted that all questions now raised were solved in times past; nor have we ever expressed a doubt that for their solution the ancient Philosophy might derive advantage from the modern. That which we do deny is that in order to perfect philosophical science it is necessary to deny the fundamental principles of antiquity."*

It seems then in accordance with the action of St. Thomas in reference to his own day, and not out of accord with Father Kleutgen's own view of the philosophical necessities of our time, to modify in great measure the actual subjects treated by the old Scholastics, and to adapt philosophical terminology to the custom of the day. Much of the Aristotelian metaphysics was dwelt on at length because it was the subject of which the mediæval mind was full; and just so far its proportion naturally dwindles as it becomes foreign to the thought of our own time. On the other hand, such questions as the analysis of moral obligation, the evolution of the moral idea, the external world controversy, the part played by intellect and sense in our knowledge, assume large proportions in contemporary thought; and it would seem in accord with St. Thomas's action to give the fullest attention to them, and to their solution on the lines of the traditional Christian philosophy, and in the language which the problems themselves have incidentally created. Earnest thinkers of all kinds, who have traced the ethical controversy in England from the days of Hobbes and Cudworth to those of Herbert Spencer and Martineau, need the light which might be thrown on their controversies by the best Catholic thought. On the other hand, admirable as is the Thomistic analysis of the

* "La *Philosophie* Scholastique," vol. ii. p. 256.

Synderesis, and the *Conscientia*, and the *Lex Naturalis*, the proportion occupied by such matters in St. Thomas's own writings is comparatively small. What St. Thomas did in applying and expounding the best patristic thought to solve the questions raised by mediæval Aristotelianism, the Catholic philosopher has now to do in expounding St. Thomas's principles, and applying them to these great modern controversies of which I have spoken. He will at the outset of the dispute put his finger on the divergence between Hobbes's egoistic utilitarianism and the Thomistic rational morality, and will thus be started on the right lines; and as he pursues the subject he will find many questions raised of which St. Thomas had not thought, and which require to be answered, but which will only deepen his sense of the absolute necessity throughout of conceiving of morality, as St. Thomas does, as something generically distinct from the happiness it brings (though this is often important as a criterion of the material morality of acts)—and as founded in the last resort on God's Eternal Law of which a portion is placed within the apprehension of man's rational nature. And I am encouraged to speak of this as a suitable form of Catholic philosophy, with respect to problems of deep contemporary interest, by the fact that the programme I am indicating has been recently carried out with signal success by an English Jesuit, Father Maher, in his very able work on Psychology.* He emphasises both points—the necessity of observing the historical development of an idea in controversy, and of criticism from the standpoint of Catholic principles at each stage. "I have been led," he writes, "to introduce so much historical matter, party by the general aim of the work—the interpretation or solution of new problems by means of old principles, partly because experience has assured me that the history of a dispute is, as a rule, the easiest, as well as the most interesting way of enabling a student to attain a clear comprehension of the point at issue; and partly because I am convinced that the chronological development of a theory is a most thorough test of the value of the principles from which it started . . . . my exposition throughout is accompanied by criticism, and my constant aim has been to exhibit counter-hypotheses in such a manner as to bring out clearly the true doctrine." Such is Father Maher's purpose, and he carries it out with thorough success. And his success is instructive and encouraging to those who see the danger lest St. Thomas's method of active philosophising on questions of the day should be abandoned in favour of the mere acquirement by rote of the details of an over-subtle metaphysical speculation which has ceased to be a living force. Father Maher

* "Psychology." By M. Maher, S.J., M.A. Stonyhurst Series. Macmillan & Co.

treats in the same spirit, at once real and in the best sense liberal in thought and reverent to Christian tradition, other problems besides the ethical—the great controversies on the external world, and on the sensible and intellectual elements in cognition.

The second point to which I have referred is equally important; and here, perhaps, Father Maher is somewhat less liberal than his master, St. Thomas, or St. Thomas's master, Albertus Magnus—I mean the question as to the attitude of the Catholic philosopher towards non-Catholic thought. It cannot too often be insisted on—as showing the conception of philosophy entertained by the great mediæval scholastics—that the man whom they reverenced as the greatest of thinkers was a pagan; that they were so anxious to use his great thoughts for the service of Christianity that they took infinite pains to surround his teaching with Christian associations, and preferred to use forced interpretations of his meaning, rather than weaken his authority by admitting the Antichristian drift which portions of it appear to have. And the same careful study, partly in approval, partly in criticism, marks, as we have seen, the attitude of St. Thomas and Albertus towards the Arabian and Jewish thinkers of their time. The general fear and avoidance of non-Christian philosophy, which no doubt was not without good reason in earlier days, had given place to close study and criticism. Let it be noted parenthetically that both attitudes are in their measure reasonable, and in limits necessary, but from different points of view, and in different circumstances. The one is the attitude of Christian rulers or pastors, the other of Christian philosophers. The pastor and ruler looks to the weak brethren, and sees the danger of subtle and deep questions being raised and disputed about in the presence of the young, or the illiterate, or the half-educated. St. Bernard's remonstrance against Abelard's free disputation and advocacy of pagan teaching are greatly based on this. "Not only in the schools," he writes to Pope Innocent, "but in the roads and public places, disputes are carried on about the Holy Trinity and the nature of God, and that not only among learned and passably instructed persons, but among children even, and simple and ignorant persons." And again, to Cardinal Stephen he writes: "Scarcely has (Abelard) separated his young and unskilled scholars from the rudiments of dialectic, than he introduces those who are as yet barely able to comprehend the rudiments of the Faith to the mystery of the Holy Trinity, the Holy of Holies, the very chamber of the King, and even to him who makes darkness his dwelling-place." And he speaks in the same strain to many others.

This attitude of caution and sense of the dangers of discussion, and its tendency to unsettle immature minds, is clearly necessary

in a measure for our rulers and pastors, though such dangers are greater at one time and less at another. It may be, perhaps, at a critical juncture their business to proscribe philosophising altogether. A recent and saintly Catholic thinker has maintained that the narrowing of Catholic thought since the Reformation has been owing to a duty of this kind. Private judgment had run wild, and the idea of authority was thrown to the winds by Luther and his followers. A stern enforcement of authority became necessary to neutralise the danger. No matter if the intellectual life in the Church did suffer for the time. A more important interest was at stake—Catholic faith itself. Authority became more absolute, more stringent. A liberty at other times allowable, and even essential for vigour and life, became dangerous. As martial law supersedes, in time of rebellion, the freer process of trial by jury, and other institutions essential to the rightful liberties of a people in a state of peace, so the necessary vindication of authority after the Reformation, contracted and repressed the freedom of Catholic thought and speculation which characterised the Middle Ages. Authoritative suppression of opinion became more necessary, lest a liberty, at other times desirable, should under the peculiar circumstances degenerate into license. But this interference with speculation, however necessary, naturally checks the ardour of a philosophical movement, and may even render philosophical thought impossible. And in the palmy days of mediæval philosophy, though the danger of scandalising the weak was not forgotten, and the great masters of the second period of Scholasticism were not accused, as Abelard had been, of unsettling young men by startling and dangerous disputations, it was recognised that in the sphere of philosophy, careful, dispassionate, and in great measure sympathetic study of all great thinkers was called for. It was not desirable for all. All men were not required to be philosophers. The minds of many would only be upset by a task beyond their intellectual strength. And, again, at all times this development of philosophy must be in the hands of teachers and not of learners. It was to men whose life-work was philosophical thought—as St. Thomas and Albertus Magnus—that the task naturally fell of adjusting the relations of Christian philosophy to the Jewish, Arabian, and Pagan schools. Such a task would have been impossible to half-trained minds, and to attempt it would have been full of danger. But now, as then, if a Catholic philosophy is to flourish, this process of its adjustment to non-Catholic thought must take place—not, indeed, in organs of ephemeral controversy, but in those works in which philosophical teachers will naturally express themselves. A true *philosophy* cannot identify itself with the unphilosophical measure *of mere* proscription. Rulers may proscribe. The philosopher's

business is in his own sphere to consider candidly, to discuss, to refute what is false, to accept what is true.

And att he present time, now that comparative peace is supervening after the struggle of the Reformation, and spiritual rebellion has resolved its elements into renewed obedience in some, and hereditary separation in others, now that the suspended commerce of intellect is being resumed, and the institutions essential for a flourishing community in time of peace are again coming into play, now that English Catholics have their civil and political rights in a measure restored, have their hierarchy re-established, are making themselves felt in the great social movements of the day, are recognising who are their friends outside the visible fold in these movements, are surmounting the indiscriminate sense that every man's hand is against them in the world of politics and society, we naturally have to look more exactly in the intellectual sphere, as well as in other spheres, at non-Catholic writers and their principles. Intellectual life becomes possible for us as political life, and social life. In the absence of philosophical organisation—at such times as I have referred to—our rulers may warn us against false prophets, against Kant, against Locke, against the Scottish school,—as well as against thinkers whose principles are anti-religious,—as out of accord, in much or in little, with the principles of the Church. A wholesale flight is the only course when the weapons and resources of philosophy have been removed. But when the ruler's martial law is revoked, and arms are once more allowed, and Catholic philosophy is called upon to deal with the matter, it must separate the wheat from the chaff. It condemns Kant's theoretical scepticism, but it recognises in his pages probably some of the deepest thoughts which the intellect of man has wrought out on the great principles of ethics. It treats him as St. Thomas treated Aristotle—interprets him for the best, claims his support where it can, examines him closely, parts company with him where he is clearly at variance with Catholic truth, but reverences him intellectually, and recognises that his great thoughts, as all great thoughts, come from God. And so with our great English and Scotch thinkers, Reid, Dugald Stewart, Bishop Butler, Dr. Martineau,* Catholic philosophy does not treat them as enemies, but it considers closely what they say, and welcomes the good, and examines and corrects what is

* I have chosen these names as representing thinkers who have conferred great benefits on true philosophy, although their teaching is not entirely in accord with scholastic ethics. It is perhaps important to remember that such writers have done more than any Catholic towards the refutation of the Utilitarian philosophy represented in our own day by Mill and Spencer.

inaccurate. The great fact that in the exercise of purely philosophical thought a non-Christian intellect may be supreme, and far superior to his Christian commentators, was emphasised once and for ever by the schoolmen, and to forget it is to forget a cardinal point in their teaching.

To express briefly the practical conclusion towards which these remarks tend: there appear to be two conceptions of the direction which the Catholic philosophical movement should take. One tends rather to fall back on the scholastic phraseology, to devote its principal attention to the identical questions which St. Thomas had to deal with in contemporary Aristotelianism, to view modern thinkers, so to speak, at a distance, as enemies on the whole, to be read hastily, for the purpose of refutation; nervously, half in fear lest to read them carefully and fully will be to shake Christian faith, wholly in fear of adopting in any considerable degree opinions first advocated by thinkers outside the Church. The same view is inclined to regard contemporary philosophical movements as something quite external to us, and radically vicious, to be compared (more in their conclusions than in their trains of thought which are not entered into) with individual scholastic conclusions, and where they differ to be considered simply false while the scholastic conclusions are held to be simply true. Such I say is a not uncommon view observable among Catholic writers. But there is another view more or less prevalent in the writings of such thinkers as Father Maher, and which falls in with the general account of the history of Catholic thought given by Father Hecker. And I have attempted to point out that the lesson to be learnt by studying the attitude of St. Thomas towards contemporary thought in his own day is far more in accord with this latter view. That an attitude of general hostility to and avoidance of non-Catholic thinkers may be indeed as a political and social policy wise under given circumstances, I have not denied. But at those times and places, in which the Church encourages philosophical thinking and study such an attitude is out of place, as being destructive of philosophy; and the first systematic philosophy which the Church adopted held on high a diametrically opposite policy in their regard. St. Thomas's example in this matter should teach Catholic writers not to give their chief attention to questions foreign to contemporary thought, but to questions which occupy the mind of the age; not to adhere jealously to phrases and forms of the past, but to be ready, as he was, to assimilate modes of speaking and thinking which we find in use, clothing old principles if needs be in a new dress; not to be shy of great thinkers, because they are not Catholics or even Christians, but to treat them in that calm, kindly, candid, and *philosophical* spirit in which he and his greatest fellow-scholastics

treated Aristotle, Plato, Avicenna, and Maimonides; not to fear a great thought, or a happy solution of a contemporary controversy, because the thinker who first expressed it was not a Catholic; not to hesitate, if philosophy is our vocation, to study fully, carefully, dispassionately all sides of crucial problems and discussions; to be quite prepared to find a great movement of modern thought outside the Church as compatible with the faith which is handed down to us as portions of the philosophy of the Neo-Platonists were with the teaching of St. Augustine, and the essential features of Aristotelianism with that of St. Thomas; not to view tentative expressions of even the greatest Catholic thinkers as final analyses of philosophical truth. Such expressions, as supplying the answer to particular questions proper to a given time, which naturally lead in due course to further questions, must necessarily, while the human mind is what it is, be somewhat incomplete. In the science of ethics the sympathetic study of such writers as Kant, Bishop Butler, or Dr. Martineau, gives far greater help in expressing exactly, with reference to the Utilitarian controversy, the principles of the intuitionist morality, than can possibly be supplied by the writings of the schoolmen, to whom the problem was in part unknown.

This general view of Catholic philosophy makes possible an intellectual life in the present; the other view makes speculative thought pass into archæological study; or at best leads us to view the drama of past intellectual movements as spectators, in place of living a life of thought of our own as actors in the great battle of philosophy.

WILFRID WARD.

Art. III.—THE POPE AND CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLAND.

DURING the month of January of the present year there appeared in the columns of *The Tablet* a letter from His Holiness to the Bishop of Salford on the subject of "Catholic Philosophy at the English Catholic Colleges." Along with that of the Pope there was published a letter from the Bishop of Salford to the Rector of Stonyhurst, commenting on the former. As we fear that these letters did not attract at the time the attention which a subject of such first-rate importance deserves, we purpose in the present article to discuss the matter at some length.

The immediate occasion of the Holy Father's letter seems to have been an account furnished to him by the Bishop of Salford, describing the efforts which have been made in recent years by the authorities at Stonyhurst College to provide there a sound course of Catholic Philosophy for the lay students who follow the higher studies, and also mentioning the steps taken at Ushaw to secure to the students there a course of lectures from Mr. Wilfrid Ward on "Modern Philosophy." It is well known, since the first years of his Pontificate, what a deep interest the present Pope takes in the subject of philosophy. We ourselves do not believe it rash to prophesy that the future historian of the Church will single out as among the most important events of Leo the Thirteenth's reign the great revival of scholastic philosophy, which received so powerful a stimulus from the celebrated Encyclical, *Æterni Patris*, of 1879.

The object of the Encyclical of 1879 was to impress on the Bishops and Patriarchs of the universal Church, on the Superiors of the religious Orders, on the authorities entrusted with the government of Catholic schools of theology and philosophy, on the professors holding chairs in these faculties, and on the faithful at large, the vital want at the present time of a more universal and more thorough study of philosophy; and especially the necessity of unity of doctrine, to be brought about by the general adoption of the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas. It will naturally take a generation or two to reveal the full force of the impetus given to the study of scholastic philosophy by that document; but, even within the twelve years that have already elapsed there have appeared many encouraging proofs of its effect. The Holy Father himself was the first to take action by appointing a select committee of the best Catholic scholars to publish a new and *magnificent* edition of the works of the Angelic Doctor. A

large number of text-books, and several valuable treatises on particular branches of scholastic philosophy have since appeared in various countries on the Continent. The chairs of philosophy in Catholic hands throughout the world have become rapidly filled with professors who follow St. Thomas in no half-hearted manner. And there has been a large increase in the number of literary periodicals, of societies, of academies, and of other organisations specially devoted to the extension of the study of scholastic philosophy.

It is, too, a matter of some satisfaction to us that the recent letter of His Holiness affords evidence that even here in England the great Encyclical has already borne fruit. There is, indeed, much to be accomplished still; but there is encouragement in the fact that something has already been done, and that we are not altogether isolated from the great Catholic movement of philosophical revival on the Continent. His Holiness is able to congratulate us on the publication of a series of English philosophical text-books, and on the establishment in one of our leading colleges of a sound course of philosophy for Catholic laymen, and on the institution of a special series of lectures on modern philosophy in another. This circumstance justifies us in quoting the words of the Pope in his letter to Dr. Vaughan:

> The great anxiety with which we turn our thoughts to the task of securing that the Catholic faith in England may day by day make greater advances, causes us to welcome with feelings of joy and thankfulness whatever work or pains, giving promise of great results, is bestowed on this subject. Hence you will easily understand, Venerable Brother, the pleasure we felt in what you lately reported to us about the College of Stonyhurst in your diocese—namely, that by the efforts of the Superiors of this College an excellent course of the exact sciences has been successfully set on foot, by establishing professorships, and by publishing in the vernacular for the use of their students, text-books of philosophy, following the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas. On this work we earnestly congratulate the Superiors and teachers of the College, and by this letter we wish affectionately to express our goodwill towards them. It has also been a great pleasure for us to hear what has been done in this way at the College of St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw, and we trust that what has been well begun may, by God's mercy, be happily carried through.

The consciousness that even a little progress has been made in the right direction not unfrequently constitutes a cheering stimulus to further efforts, and we may therefore reasonably feel gratified that some useful steps have already been accomplished.

Our present purpose, however, is not one of self-congratulation; on the contrary, our aim is to make clear how much remains to

be done, and of what extreme importance it is that this work should be well performed. Our desire is to show how necessary it is that a thorough grounding in the principles of the true philosophy should form an integral part in the higher education of English Catholic youth. Probably at no previous period did there await the young Catholic entering the world of life such serious dangers to his faith as at present. Probably, not even in the days of the early martyrs, were the assaults upon a Christian's loyalty to his belief of such a deadly character as they will be in the coming fifty years. The violence of persecution may for a while overwhelm the weak-kneed, and extort for a time external conformity and submission; but it also raises up grand examples of edification, heroes who, by their constancy through suffering, enkindle courage and zeal amongst their brethren, and by their prayers win great blessings for those who remain behind them. Apart, too, from the rich store of grace abundantly supplied at such epochs, there is something that appeals even to the natural man, and rouses the combative instincts in human nature to play a courageous part under the pressure of physical trial. The martyr, the confessor, and even the apostate felt that, however feeble he might himself be, the cause for which he had been called on to suffer was irresistible. The very fact of their being driven to appeal to force proved to him the inherent weakness of the persecutors' side.

In the present war against Christianity all this is changed. Instead of attack by open assault, the fortress is undermined, the confidence of the defenders in the strength and justice of their cause, and in the ability of their leaders, is slowly worn away, and their courage and vigour gradually destroyed by a subtle poison. The weapons of the enemy now are not the dungeon, the rack, or the lions of the Colosseum. They are arguments carefully forged by acute intellects. The struggle now is not with brute force, which may be despised, but with what claims to be human reason, which, unless its pretensions be exploded, will necessarily be reverenced. Instead of the encouraging example of heroes, who win before his eyes the martyr's crown, the Christian beholds, from time to time, the desertion of comrades who declare they have discovered that the cause for which they had been fighting is an illusion. Moreover, he feels that the foe is ever multiplying his forces. He cannot brace himself up for one heroic effort and finish the struggle, but from day to day must be subject to silent insidious attacks, the cumulative weight of which he often realises only after great evil has been already wrought.

The agencies which may do such fatal harm to the faith of the *young* Catholic in the immediate future are manifold. We will

touch only on the more important. In the first rank we would set the infidel atmosphere into which he is often ushered on leaving school; into which he is, at all events, pretty certain to be introduced sooner or later. Non-Catholic society at the present day is impregnated with rationalistic or atheistic principles. The heresy of three hundred years ago has nearly worked itself out to its logical conclusions. The doctrine of free private interpretation of the Bible has already led a multitude of minds to the rejection of the entire Christian creed. Concomitantly with disbelief in the doctrine of the Redemption has grown up a deistic tendency to repudiate a providential government of the world. Finally, an avowed agnosticism, which is practically indistinguishable from positive atheism itself, claims to be the most reasonable as well as the most recent theory of life. An intellectual environment like this must inevitably do grievous injury to any nature that is not specially strengthened against it. The young man in whom Catholic instincts are sound, who starts his worldly career with a strong religious spirit, and who keeps that spirit alive by regular frequentation of the sacraments and the avoidance of sin, may sometimes live unscathed among surroundings most perilous to faith, even though he have little or no knowledge of the rational grounds on which his creed rests. But even to such an one, personally, a training in Catholic philosophy would have been a great benefit; whilst his efficiency as an instrument of good to his neighbour and of glory to God would by means of it have been enormously increased. If, however, from any cause—from the native bent of his mind, from unfortunate early surroundings, or from influences later on in youth—his faith should not be naturally robust, if his devotion should grow cold and his religious duties be neglected, or if the temptations amid which he is placed should succeed in luring him into vice and habits of sin, then, assuredly, there will arise most serious danger to his belief. He begins to conceive a dislike for those portions of Catholic doctrine which utter threats against the evil-doer. His intellect is bribed to find reasons to justify the indulgence of his passions. The complete ignoring of God by the world around him is ever silently suggesting that the unseen universe with which his religion is indissolubly bound up is an illusion; and, as time goes on, unless some extraordinary restorative grace comes, his faith grows gradually fainter, until it is almost impossible to decide that it is not completely extinguished.

Partly the cause, and partly the effect of the noxious intellectual atmosphere which surrounds us, stands out as the next most potent instrument for the disintegration of religious convictions, the poisonous quality of much of the literature of the day. This

new engine of the devil—for it is nothing less—has come upon us so suddenly, and is so skilfully masked that the immense havoc it is capable of effecting is not yet recognised in any adequate manner. It is true that attacks on Christianity, on Providence, or even on the existence of God are by no means novel. During the last three centuries, unfortunately, publications directed against revealed or natural religion have been frequent. But there is a profound difference between the character of infidel literature of the past and present. Hobbes, or Spinoza, or Hume, or La Mettrie, or Holbach, might publish attacks of a grosser or more refined quality on the objects of religious faith. Their works, however, reached but a very limited circle. It is true, indeed, that they are the arsenals from which most of the ammunition of the free-thinkers of the present day is derived. But immediately they could act on the minds of only a comparatively small body of readers—and these mainly men possessed of considerable cultivation, and some power of criticising the arguments presented to them. Now, however, every boy and girl in Europe or America, who can read, is brought within range of the enemy's fire. Each department of literature is pressed into the service of the foe. Large, stout volumes of biblical criticism, neat handbooks on geology or physiology, three-volume novels, professedly infidel magazines, and short spicy articles in popular reviews of a general character, all keep up a constant and increasing cannonade against the foundations on which the faith of the Christian world rests.

The most dangerous of all—at least to the young Catholic—we believe to be in the two last—the popular Review and the Novel. The evil capabilities of the latter, moreover, are largely increased by another modern institution—the lending library. As for the more serious works, every Catholic whose special office does not impose such reading upon him knows that he has no business with books explicitly aimed at the destruction of his faith. He is aware that he is not capable of estimating the value of the arguments which they contain. He sees that they can do him no good, and he feels that they will probably do him much harm. Furthermore, they are not obtruded on his notice; they are not, at all events as yet, prominent on the railway bookstalls and in the lists of the lending library, and they are not subjects of ordinary conversation with which most people moving in good society are expected to be acquainted. The Antichristian novel, and the agnostic article in—say, for example—the *Nineteenth Century* or the *Contemporary Review* are, however, in a different position. By their means the germs of unbelief are now scattered broadcast; and an educated Catholic will hardly pass many years of his life without receiving into his system the

poison, which, unless he is previously strengthened by the appropriate antidote, will inevitably tell.

The monthly Review has now become as much the literary bread of the upper and upper middle classes as was the daily paper thirty years ago. Nine out of the ten articles which each number generally contains are of an innocuous character. Politics, science, literature, art, current events may be the topics: and little harm to the reader is to be anticipated from these. They are all agreeable reading. Each writer has carefully got up the subject which he handles, and he usually presents us in a small space a large quantity of interesting matter. As a consequence, the Review is a successful and profitable institution; and, so far, we see no reason to blame or condemn it. The remaining article, however, is probably by no means of this harmless quality. It seems to be at present accepted as a fundamental rule by the managers of the leading Reviews that a number is never complete without a paper on the subject of religion, often by such writers as Professor Huxley, or Mr. Herbert Spencer, or Mrs. Ward, or Mr. Leslie Stephen, or some other representative of that line of thought. Now, we have no hesitation in saying that such articles do, in all probability, far more immediate harm than the most elaborate works of the infidels of previous generations. When we consider the enormous circulation of our leading magazines at the present day among the superficially educated classes, it would be scarcely rash to affirm that one of Professor Huxley's Articles may easily do more direct harm to the Christian faith than Spinoza's "Ethic," or Holbach's "System of Nature" could effect in any twenty years of its existence. Here, in a couple of dozen pages, written in a brilliant and effective manner, and interspersed with racy Voltairean sarcasm, the reader finds some great Christian doctrine assailed with the best arguments that physical science and historical or philological research can supply. If his acquaintance with the point treated, and his own intellectual training are such that he can distinctly perceive the fallacy, or the weak links in the writer's argument, the perusal of the article may do but very little harm to his mind; the discovery of the flaw may even strengthen his own convictions. But if this be not the case—and we fear that as a general rule it is not—if through obscure or superficial ideas regarding the tenet attacked, through ignorance of the justification of the doctrine and of the solution of the difficulty supplied by Catholic philosophy or theology, or through want of that dialectical training which would enable him to discover the flaw in the attempted demonstration; if from any cause he fails to see his way clearly through the argument, he will certainly receive injury. The damage may be slight or it may be serious; but at all events *some* poison has been introduced into

his system, and his constitution necessarily feels the effect. If the process continues, if month after month the dose be repeated, the injury is inevitably increased. The worst feature of this poison is that its action is cumulative. When doubt once takes hold of the intellect resistance becomes feebler and feebler, and every successive difficulty, every successive inroad into the citadel of faith, tends to work more and more havoc.

It is true, of course, that the articles on Religion are not all hostile. Editors find it prudent to preserve an air of impartiality, and so we have also occasional essays in defence of Christian truth. But any thoughtful man who follows a religious controversy in one of the Reviews will come to the conclusion that the evil wrought by the infidel articles is out of all proportion greater than the good effected by those on the side of orthodoxy. It is proverbially easy to urge difficulties; and here the aggressor has the entire field of Catholic Belief to select from. The laws of Magazine controversy do not lay him under obligation to indicate his own views, or to put forward any coherent system. His mission is purely destructive. In his several assaults he may himself adopt the most incompatible positions; and, as a rule, he is not very scrupulous as to his method of attack, provided that he can deal telling blows.

The man who undertakes the defence, on the other hand, is at a great disadvantage. He has to guard a large district of territory. He has to maintain the truth and consistency of a multitude of doctrines—most of them involving mysteries transcending human reason. They all hang together; and very few of them can be adequately defended on their own merits. The strength of the Christian scheme is not in the separate links, but in the entire chain. Consequently, the thorough solution of a single difficulty would sometimes involve a whole treatise on Theology. It is evident, then, that the attempt to reply in sixteen or eighteen pages to a clever assault must often necessarily appear weak and inconclusive, even in the hands of an able writer. Moreover, he cannot, when speaking in behalf of solemn truths, employ that light, flashy cynicism which gives such point and *verve* to the attacks of the enemy.

This recent form of infidel literature is a new source of enormous peril to Catholic youth of the upper classes. There was little danger of his reading a large work written by a professed freethinker with the declared object of doing harm to the Christian faith. But here the situation is different. Nine-tenths of what the modern Magazine contains he knows to be harmless; some of the articles are constant topics of conversation in society; and *he* feels awkward if he remains unacquainted with them. He buys

the Review, or reads it at his club; but having taken it up, he is very unlikely to omit the article on Religion.

After the Magazine, probably the next most dangerous enemy is the Lending Library. This new machine showers down books of every sort upon us. Apart altogether from the religious aspect of the question, we are inclined to agree with the late Matthew Arnold, that this recent institution, in spite of its multiplying manifold the reading done by the nation, really causes more harm than good to the true interests of literature. He held that for the average man nearly every book worth reading is worth buying, and that if people had to buy the books which they read, they would, as a rule, only read works of some value. At present, however, the subscribers to a lending library, in order to get what he considers to be the full value for his money, skims through a huge quantity of ephemeral trash, and has no time or taste for reading thoroughly the few good books. Whatever be the force of this argument, the new institution has undoubtedly very much increased the occasions of temptation for the young Catholic in the matter of unwholesome literature. Many a man, for instance, who would not buy or put on his book-shelves such a work as "Robert Elsmere," easily yields to the temptation to insert it in his fortnightly list to Mudie or Smith.

We have not space to go at greater length into the rapidly increasing dangers to Faith which already surround the young Catholic, whatever path in life he may elect to follow, but, in addition to these, there are special perils attached to his entrance into the learned professions. The medical student, for instance, will have to receive instruction from a professor who is probably a materialist. Yet the treatment of certain questions entering into his course may be easily made the means of inculcating false and pernicious psychological theories. Thus the physiological and medical works of Drs. Maudsley, Bastian, Luys, and many others, almost invariably contain a large quantity of private dogmatic assertions on philosophical questions as false as they are irrelevant. It is, accordingly, very difficult for the Catholic student who has had no training in philosophy to avoid being injured by the study of these works. Again, the candidate for legal honours at the Bar has to master the writings of Austin, Bentham, and Sir Henry Maine—probably under the guidance of a professor in no way preferable to the author. The relations between Law and Ethics are necessarily very intimate, and these writers in particular give full vent to their views on Morals in their legal works, which the student has to read. It is needless to say that the philosophical doctrines of all three

are radically wrong, and that two of them are distinctly Anti-christian.

We hope we have now made it clear that an educated Catholic, mixing on terms of equality with his neighbours, cannot expect to pass through life in the immediate future without encountering forces which, if he is unprepared for them, may prove ruinous to his faith. The question next arises: How is this grave and threatening evil to be met? What is to be done to prevent these disastrous consequences? For the answer we must come back to the Pope's recent letter, and to the admirable commentary on it contained in that of the Bishop of Salford, published at the same time.

For the young English Catholic of the present day a solid grounding in Philosophy is, His Holiness has told us, a *causa maxima*—a matter of vital moment. There is no conceivable way of guarding him against the coming dangers, save by training him carefully in the principles of that grand system of rational thought which constitutes the basis and the bulwark of the Christian Faith. To us it appears impossible to exaggerate the need of such a training for our young men living in an atmosphere of unbelief. The only method of safe-guarding them against the false is to arm them with the true doctrine, to acquaint them beforehand with the difficulties that are to come, and to instruct them in the solutions that have been wrought out by the greatest intellects of the Catholic Church. If the young Catholic during his closing college years follows a fair course of philosophy, and is judiciously made acquainted with the stock objections to the chief doctrines, he may not, indeed, be secure from all danger afterwards, but he will be in a vastly safer position than if he were flung defenceless into the hostile world that awaits him.

The student who has gone through a course of Catholic Philosophy, in the first place, at any rate knows what doctrine is true on all the more important questions, even if he has not completely mastered the proof in each case. He similarly knows what are the false principles from which the chief modern errors start. Now, even this much knowledge is of immense value. A large part of the harm—perhaps the greater part—caused by Review articles is due to the fact that the reader cannot distinguish the assumptions and assertions which he may grant from those which he should deny. He reads through the essay with a vague feeling that the leading statements seem true, or at all events probable; and then gradually he finds himself carried on to the conclusion which the writer has in view, without being able to detect where the flaw lies. In all probability it was in some of the most unsuspicious looking propositions, the

importance of which the author ingeniously concealed, that the error was introduced; and if the reader only had had a moderate acquaintance with the subject-matter, he would have been able to put his finger on the weak point, and say: "Here the whole question is begged;" or, "This cannot be proved."

Again, a large portion of any systematic course of lectures on Catholic Philosophy is necessarily devoted to the answering of difficulties. The efficient and exhaustive solution of a forcible objection is often the best way of completing the exposition and defence of a doctrine; consequently, from the first days of Christian speculation this has been considered one of the chief functions of the professor. The result is, that the student, by the time he has completed his course, is familiar with the solution of almost every possible objection that can be suggested to him during his after-life. We have ourselves made an estimate of the number of objections thus handled during a course of about five months' lectures on "Natural Theology." We found that in all about one hundred and fifty had been dealt with. As the stock objections of the Magazine essayists and popular lecturers do not exceed a score, the young Catholic who has done such a course, even in a moderately careful way, ought to be pretty well provided for the enemy.

This matter introduces us to an objection urged occasionally by Catholics of experience against the wisdom of introducing all young men indiscriminately into a branch of study which may, even in the hands of the most judicious professor, be attended with danger to some minds. Is it not possible, it is urged, that you may raise doubts which you cannot allay? Is it not likely that your exposition of particular difficulties may be more intelligible to some of your hearers than the corresponding solutions? Is there not a danger that you may arouse in certain intellects an interest in philosophical controversies which may lead them into dangers from which they would otherwise be exempt? We do not for a moment wish to consider this a trifling argument; it undoubtedly possesses weight; and it proves that great prudence is required of the professor entrusted with the delivery of a course of Philosophy to young Catholic laymen. Serious harm may indisputably be done to individual minds if judgment and caution are not exercised in the treatment of many subjects; and before now the germs of unbelief have unfortunately been imported into the system by the very medicine which was intended to strengthen the constitution against the disease.

But the study of Catholic Philosophy is not exceptional in this respect. Every good gift is liable to abuse; and even the sacraments themselves may be perverted to the deeper ruin of the sinner. Moreover, with *reasonable* care, the chances of harm

ought to be reduced to very small dimensions. The surroundings of the student during the period of his philosophical course are all most favourable. The atmosphere of his college is not only Catholic but distinctly religious. The moral tone which prevails around him is very much superior to that of the world into which he will have to enter. He has received a good Catholic training, and his natural disposition, apart from his knowledge of the obligations of his Faith, is to accept and defend the doctrine approved by the Church. He is, moreover, surrounded by companions governed by the same spirit. And, more important still, he has at hand his professor, familiar with his character, to whom he can easily go for particular assistance in special difficulties, and for general guidance in his reading. Finally, whether the young Catholic receives a course in Philosophy or not, he cannot, henceforward, avoid coming across assaults on his faith. He cannot hope to go through life without meeting the enemy. The only question now is, whether he should meet him prepared or unprepared—whether he should, whilst all the surrounding influences are favourable, have exposed to him, and answered for him, by a prudent and competent teacher, the objections which he is certain to meet afterwards, or whether he should wait to have them thrust upon him when his own faith and devotion may have grown cold, and when all the surroundings are adverse. Whatever method may have been wisest for our fathers or grandfathers, there seems to us to be absolutely no doubt as to the course that we ought to take at the present day. The boy who may manage to receive injury from a carefully delivered course of Catholic Philosophy, the boy who seems always to apprehend the difficulty, but rarely the answer, who appears to have a natural affinity for erroneous doctrines, and who has a strong preference for reading the wrong books—the boy or man of this type is just the one who is sure to meet the full force of the infidel agencies in after-life. He would be certain to come across the difficulties and objections later on, when their power of injuring him would be far greater. Clearly, then, even in his case a course of philosophy will be a great benefit.

It is therefore a matter of the greatest consequence that Catholic parents who seek to secure their children the advantages of higher education should realise the enormous importance of a philosophical training. There is danger lest that, since they themselves have not felt the need of it, they may not see how essential it be to the safety of their children's faith in the immediate future. There is also a danger lest, since Catholic philosophy does not count in Competitive Examinations, and is *not* included amongst the subjects required by the Bar or

Medical corporations, that worldly-minded people ignore its value. However, any man of experience in the learned professions will bear witness that, even from a purely utilitarian point of view, a philosophical training is an excellent investment. For our own part, we can imagine no better educational training for the future barrister than that to be derived from a good course of Catholic Philosophy. The careful study of Logic and Ethics is as direct and immediate a preparation for his later work as, for instance, that of Roman Law, whilst the dialetical training afforded by the mastering of the proofs of the theses, and the solution of the objections in Natural Theology and the other branches of metaphysics, cannot be surpassed. In Medicine, too, we believe that an elementary knowledge of Psychology is now required by most bodies which have the power of conferring degrees. But, whether prescribed or not, there can be little doubt that the doctor who has made a careful study of the science of the mind has a distinct advantage over a rival who has never done so. The advantages of such a philosophical training for the man destined for a literary career, or who intends to take part in public life, are too obvious to require dwelling upon.

But the primary motive for the Catholic parent must be, not the worldly advantage to be derived from a course of sound philosophy, but the absolute necessity of this element in a complete religious education. If the educated Catholic intends henceforward to take part in the higher social life of this country, he must either put his faith in serious jeopardy, or have previously received a sound discipline in the principles which underlie his belief. The whole situation is so admirably stated in the letter of the Bishop of Salford to which we have already alluded, that we do not hesitate to quote his Lordship's words at length:

> Catholic youth in England is probably in greater danger of imbibing false principles from society and the literature of the day—in greater need, therefore, of safeguards and tests of truth—than the Catholic youth of countries in which either the line of demarcation between wholesome and poisonous literature is clearer, or Catholic society is more preponderant in influence and stronger than it is in England. Catholics in England have one of two courses to choose—either rigidly to stand outside the intellectual movement of the day, remaining resolutely strangers to it, or diligently to fortify their minds by the study of Catholic Philosophy, so as at once skilfully to spot and expose the false principles which pass current with the mass of men as signs of progress and superior wisdom. I fully appreciate the position of a Catholic who professes openly to be unable, from want of training, to deal with the intellectual difficulties of the day, and takes the Catechism with the

maxim *sentire cum ecclesia*, as his sole guide and defence. This is the only position tenable for a Catholic untrained in Catholic Philosophy. He cannot attempt to enter the lists against intellectual error and sophistry, without extreme imprudence and peril to the perfection and stability of his faith. An unarmed civilian is no match against an armed band of invaders. On the other hand, who does not see that Catholics mixing on an equality with the English educated classes—whose whole literature, whose minds and opinions are impregnated and permeated with rationalistic principles or materialism—ought to be equipped with the solid armour and weapons of Catholic Philosophy? I can hardly conceive a serious and thoughtful Catholic parent deliberately supposing that he can give his son a liberal education—an education fitting him to deal with educated men upon their own level, without securing for him a competent training in Catholic Philosophy. Catholics who are to be launched upon the storm and wreck of intellectual opinions which cover the modern society of England, ought at least to be prepared beforehand for the dangers they will encounter. They ought to be trained in the use of the one approved lifeboat which can weather the storm. Instead of that we behold many parents, with a simplicity equalled only by its folly, taking no heed to such precautions, trusting that their son may somehow or other escape at last with his life, and finally save his soul. One or two years devoted to the solid course of philosophical studies now established at Stonyhurst would go far to prepare a man to meet the philosophical dangers to which he will be exposed, and to give him a superiority over the English University students with whom he may be brought into contact in early life. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Holy Father should promptly avail himself of an opportunity to give a solemn expression of praise to the efforts which have been made to establish good courses of Philosophy in the vernacular for our Catholic laity, and that he should conclude his letter by urging that the study of Catholic Philosophy should be widely extended among the Catholics of England.

Assuming now that the Catholic parent has been led to see the vital need of a training in Catholic Philosophy for his child, the next question to arise is: "How is the demand for this article to be supplied?" The answer here is, fortunately, ready enough—by an extension of the work already begun, and which has just received the special approval of His Holiness. A course of Catholic Philosophy should be within the reach of all those who receive the advantage of an education at our Catholic Colleges; it is as essential, nay, as we have shown, more essential than any other part of the training which our boys receive, consequently it must be brought within the power of all. The problem therefore, is: How is this to be effected? The Holy Father expresses the desire that as in Stonyhurst and Ushaw, "so als*o* the other Catholic colleges, attention should be given to

advancement of sound and solid philosophical teaching." We do not, however, think that this observation is to be interpreted as implying that His Holiness wants a complete philosophical course to be instituted in every Catholic school in the country. Such a project would, it seems to us, be impracticable. Of the fourteen or fifteen best-known Catholic schools several do not take their boys higher than Humanities; and of the entire list very few indeed retain an average of even six or seven students to the end of Rhetoric. Now, clearly, for a college of some eighty or one hundred boys, of whom not more than six or seven survive Humanities, and three or four, perhaps, reach Rhetoric, it would involve annually a serious loss without any corresponding good to secure a capable professor of philosophy, and devote him to this work. In all probability he will not have more than two or three students, unless the lower classes, who are utterly unfit as yet for this subject, are admitted.

If a course of Catholic Philosophy is to be given at all, it must, at the present day, be well done. The man devoted to the office must know his business, and his heart must be in his work. His lectures ought to be carefully prepared, and he must have time for this. He must also have a sufficient motive to enable him to give his full energy to this important duty. Now, if he feels that he have an audience of which not more than two or three are capable of following the matter, it will be virtually impossible for him to throw himself into his subject as he ought, if it is to be satisfactorily handled. Again, from the student's point of view, there is no branch of his educational course in which he derives so much benefit from the presence of a large number of school-fellows as that of philosophy. The life of philosophy is *discussion*. If interest is to be aroused and sustained, if wits are to be sharpened, if difficulties are to be satisfactorily threshed out, and proofs thoroughly comprehended, if, in fact, the study of Catholic Philosophy of to-day is to be a reflection, however faint, of that which prevailed in the glorious period when scholasticism was at its zenith, then, assuredly, there must be a tolerable number of students to make a philosophical class worthy of its name. In our own opinion, a class which does not on the average contain at least a dozen members will not have sufficient vitality to maintain an efficient course of Philosophy. If there be twenty in the school the value of the course will be more than doubled, if thirty it will be still further increased.

It is possible even, in a very small school, and the practice has prevailed, we believe, at several of our colleges, to assign the philosophical tuition of the one or two boys who desire to have it to some worthy old priest incapacitated by increasing age and infirmity from taking part in the general educational work

of the establishment, and who, some thirty or forty years ago, may have imbibed enough philosophical information from the text-books then current to enable him to enter upon his theological studies. Now, the need of philosophical instruction of some sort is become so acute that even the notions a student may be able to pick up by this means may possibly be better than complete ignorance; still, there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that this is a course of Philosophy, or that any student, however diligent, can derive from this species of tuition the substantial advantages of systematic teaching. It certainly is not the method recommended by the Pope to the Catholic colleges.

Since, then, it is impossible to start and sustain courses of Philosophy in each college, evidently the best plan is to have a small number of recognised and well-supported centres, at which such courses will be delivered, and which will severally represent in their general character the various grades to which the other colleges belong. It is evidently incomparably better that there should be two or three well-known centres, such as Ushaw and Stonyhurst, where efficient courses could be given, and large classes of philosophers gathered together, than that each school should have one or two students nominally following such a course. It would in no way interfere with the interests of the smaller establishments that the boys who had passed through their classes should afterwards pass to a common centre to complete their philosophical course; and the final year or two amid new companions from other schools would have a widening and invigorating effect of a most beneficial character on the minds of the boys themselves.

It may now be asked, What should be the general character of the course of Philosophy to be thus arranged for young Catholic laymen? In the first place, it seems to us clear that the course ought to be in English. In saying this, we do not at all mean to ignore the necessity of Latin lectures for the ecclesiastical student destined to go on to theology, and their inestimable value for the man who intends to continue his studies until he acquires a thorough mastery of the scholastic philosophy. We have in view merely the average English Catholic layman about to enter the world; and we have no hesitation in asserting that to be of any immediate practical advantage to him it must be in vernacular. The two courses selected by the Pope for approval—that given by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, at Ushaw, and that given at Stonyhurst—are both in English. His Holiness, also in the same letter, expresses his satisfaction at the publication of the Stonyhurst series of philosophical text-works in English, so we clearly *have* the Pope's sanction in this matter.

In the second place, the course of Philosophy intended for the

Catholic layman should embrace all the leading questions of our own time. It will, indeed, have to contain a satisfactory exposition of positive doctrine, and all the chief theses in each branch will have to be established. But, besides this, most of the Latin manuals include a very large quantity of matter not likely to be of much use to the lay student, whilst, unfortunately, they are, as a rule, very jejune and deficient in their handling of the difficulties of the present hour. The errors of the Neo-Platonists, of Averrhoes, or of Abelard, may, indeed, present matter for intellectual exercise, but this is equally furnished by the great heresies of to-day. We are inclined even to think that the labour devoted by the Latin text-books to the demolition of Locke, or Reid, and the Scotch school, is thrown away. The works of these writers do little harm just now, yet the majority of the scholastic manuals stop at these authors. The errors which cry out for refutation are not those of the thirteenth, or even the eighteenth century, but those of the last fifty years.

It is true, indeed, that the most recent false doctrines often have their source in a writer dead some generations ago—and it will be the duty of the professor to trace them up to their fountain-head; but if his work is to be of practical use to his disciples, he must refute error in its most modern shape. At the same time, it will not be wise to attempt to crowd the memory of the student with refutations of the innumerable systems of heterodox teachers who have appeared in recent times. Such a plan would merely confuse the learner's mind, or at best afford him a superficial smattering of information regarding theories which he had not really grasped. The right method is to select the two or three typical lines of false thought which virtually hold the field at present. The two leading antagonistic schools founded by Hume and Kant include, we believe, between them nine-tenths of the errors of our day. For the English Catholic student a thorough treatment of the Philosophy of the empirical school from its first exposition by the celebrated Scotch sceptic down to its latest developments in the hands of Bain and Herbert Spencer, is of the first importance. It is the philosophy which has held despotic sway in this country for the last fifty years, and which is only now beginning to be seriously challenged. Kant until recently had very little influence in this country; but during the last thirty years the German Idealism of the first quarter of the nineteenth century has been showing increasing symptoms of revival here at home. The critical philosophy, or rather a development of Kant's teaching in the direction of Hegelianism, has already routed the old English sensationalism at several of the Universities, and the Catholic student of the future has to be prepared for Scylla just as well as for Charybdis.

Materialism is so distinctively the heresy of our popular scientists that too much pains cannot be devoted to its complete confutation, both in Natural Theology and Psychology. In the former branch, the bearing of the doctrine of natural selection on the Design Argument requires efficient handling; and agnosticism must be adequately treated. In Ethics, a great deal of work —and of indifferent or bad work—has been done in recent years by English writers, which the Catholic professor cannot ignore. In the first place, the foundations of morality must be solidly laid and well defended. It is not enough to expound to the student the magnificent doctrine of St. Thomas on the "Eternal Law" and the "Natural Law." He must be carefully armed against the acute and plausible difficulties of Sidgwick, of Leslie Stephen, and of Herbert Spencer, no less than against those already ancient worthies, Mill and Bain. Moral writers of such wide influence as Green and Martineau should also not be passed over in silence. In "Applied Ethics" Catholic text-books have, as a rule, been better than in the abstract portion of the same science; but the social questions of the hour present a long list of new problems urgently demanding treatment from the standpoint of Catholic Philosophy.

We have now spoken of the necessity of courses of Philosophy for the youths at our Colleges, of the way in which it seems to us the arrangement of such courses could be best effected for the good of the general Catholic body, and of the character which the instruction should assume. It may be worth while to make one or two observations or suggestions that have been put forward for the extension of the knowledge of Philosophy amongst Catholics not at our Colleges. The Pope's recent letter, which is the text of our present article, does not allude to this subject; still, a word or two may not be thrown away. It has been proposed that courses of lectures covering the several branches of Philosophy should be given in our leading towns, so as to furnish a general notion of Catholic teaching to those desirous of knowing at least something of the subject. The extraordinary success which has attended the University extension lectures in this country lends a good deal of plausibility to the idea. But it is doubtful whether educated Catholics are yet sufficiently strong and sufficiently impressed with the value of a philosophical course to make this project a success. The plan has, we believe, been tried in Liverpool. In spite, however, of some advantages, that city is not well selected for a first venture. Though the number of Catholics there is very large, the proportion of them who belong to the middle or upper classes is infinitesimal. It is not improbable that a similar course if *given* in London would command a much larger degree of

success. In popular lectures of this sort, moreover, it would probably be advisable to limit the course to the more easy and interesting subjects such as Ethics, Natural Theology, and the simpler questions of Psychology. It will be very difficult to make abstruse metaphysical problems intelligible to a mixed audience.

It should, too, not be lost sight of that some of the objections based upon the danger of raising doubts that are not easily allayed, which we have before treated of, may have real force here. The lecturer will certainly require a thorough knowledge of his matter as well as great prudence; and if he offers to answer all difficulties, he may easily find himself drawn into an unprofitable controversy. At the same time, now that we have got in the "Stonyhurst Series" a complete course of Philosophy in the vernacular, a few lectures on each branch would probably give the diligent student enough start to enable him to read up the whole subject for himself.

The possibility of the private student initiating himself into Catholic Philosophy has called forth the suggestion of the institution of reading-parties as an alternative or a supplement to the project of courses of popular lectures. This method of study has been adopted with considerable success, we believe, in many towns in connection with the University Extension scheme. And if a number of young men anxious to improve themselves, and very desirous of getting a sound knowledge of Catholic Philosophy, meet together frequently for mutual help and the interchange of ideas, and if they are provided with a competent guide to direct their reading and to assist in the solution of difficulties, they would undoubtedly derive much good from the practice. But we fear that the earnestness and thirst for knowledge required to make this method a success are yet far too rare.

The main hope then for the young Catholic of the future lies in the institution of courses of Philosophy which will be within the reach of all who are taught at our colleges. Such a course must come to be looked on as an integral part of his education —as not less essential than the instruction in Latin and Greek, of which he will probably never make any use after he has left school. But, in order that this be brought about, in order that philosophical courses be instituted, and that Philosophy be made an essential part of the Catholic student's course, it is necessary that parents be got to realise its importance. With them the matter ultimately lies. The demand will create the supply. If they see the need, and if they really desire philosophical tuition for their sons, the colleges will be certain to take measures to meet the want.

Art. IV.—TALLEYRAND'S DIPLOMATIC LETTERS, 1792–1799.

1. *La Mission de Talleyrand à Londres en* 1792; *ses lettres d'Amérique à Lord Lansdowne.* Avec Introduction et Notes, par G. Pallain. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

2. *Le Ministère de Talleyrand sous le Directoire.* Avec Introduction et Notes par G. Pallain. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

"THE true life of a man is in his letters. . . . . Not only for the interest of a biography, but for arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method."*

This principle applies especially to Talleyrand. His long-looked-for Memoirs have at last appeared. The general impression produced by them is that the great diplomat, not satisfied with overreaching his contemporaries during his long life, has endeavoured to overreach posterity also. By delaying the publication of his manuscript until at least thirty years after his death,† he thought to secure his statements from contradiction. But, happily for the cause of historic truth, there still exist in public archives and private cabinets many thousands of his letters. In these his true life is to be sought. The Memoirs, indeed, will always be read with interest; but they will need to be checked or confirmed by what Talleyrand himself wrote at the time when the events occurred. M. Pallain has done well to work this literary mine. He has already brought to light four volumes of letters. Besides the two mentioned at the head of this article, he has also published "Correspondance inédite du prince de Talleyrand et du roi Louis XVIII. pendant le congrès de Vienna," and "Ambassade de Talleyrand à Londres, 1830–1834: première partie." All four volumes are enriched with valuable introductions and notes; but, unfortunately, three of them, like so many French books, have no index. I propose here to give some account of the contents of the volumes which deal with Talleyrand's early diplomatic career. On some future occasion I

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* Dr. Newman to his sister, Mrs. Mozley, May, 1863. Long ago St. Gregory Nazianzen had said that St. Paul should be studied in his letters. Τί Παῦλος αὐτὸς περὶ Παύλου φησὶν ἀκούσωμεν (*Orat. Apolog.*).

† Talleyrand died in 1838. His Memoirs should therefore have appeared in 1868. But his literary executors have thought fit to keep them back until the present year, more than half a century after his death.

hope to treat of his relations with Napoleon, and his services during the Restoration. It may be as well to state at the outset that I have no intention of attacking or defending his conduct; still, I venture to think that any one who studies his letters will come to the conclusion that he was not so black as he is painted. His name has supplanted that of Macchiavelli as a byword for cynical deception But we who live in an age that has worshipped the shallow cunning of Napoleon III., and the brutal, bullying methods of Palmerston and Bismarck, may sometimes look back with regret on the skilled and polished diplomacy of Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun and Prince of Benevento.

One of the characteristics of the "philosophes" of the eighteenth century was an unbounded admiration for all that was English. Voltaire's "Lettres Anglaises" and Montesquieu's panegyric of the English Constitution set the fashion. Later on, the economists taught the advantages of a free interchange of goods between the two countries, and deplored the fearful waste of wealth which had been entailed by their long wars. Hence a strong party, led by Mirabeau in the Assembly, took the English Constitution as their model, and strenuously advocated an offensive and defensive alliance with England. Pitt, the English Minister, was not averse to the proposal. He was above all things an economist. In his early days, at least, he had none of the military ardour of his father, the great commoner. Besides, it could not but be flattering to the mass of Englishmen that their ancient foe at length sought an alliance with them, and acknowledged the superiority of everything English. But there was a greater than Pitt here in England who looked with no friendly eye upon the changes that were being made by the Assembly, and whose prophetic vision foresaw the terrible scenes that were yet to come. Just at the moment when the prospects of an alliance were at their brightest, Edmund Burke startled Europe by his "Reflections on the French Revolution." The vials of his wrath were poured out on all who found anything in common between the demagogues of the Assembly and the statesmen who had brought about the "glorious Revolution" of 1688. The new Constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical, was assailed with the bitterest ridicule. But, above all, the violence of the mob, the pillages, the murders, the insults to the king and his august spouse, were described in words that stirred men's deepest indignation. A great reaction set in. Men felt that the spirit of the Revolution must be stamped out. Pitt tried for a time to resist, but he too was afterwards carried away. The Whig party, already thinned by the evil consequences of the coalition, was now reduced to a mere handful. Mirabeau, the chief support of the English connection, died in April 1791. All hope of an

alliance seemed now at an end. But Mirabeau's diplomatic confidant still survived. Talleyrand persuaded the new Assembly to persevere. He himself undertook to win over the Cabinet of St. James's, and accordingly set out for London in January 1792.

As early as 1786 Mirabeau, at that time about to start on a secret mission to Berlin, sent by the hands of Talleyrand a memoir to M. de Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In it he said: "France has inexhaustible resources, but she must be better advised and better served. We must try to make friends with England." And again, writing from Berlin to the Abbé de Périgord, as Talleyrand was then styled: "The idea [of an alliance with England] has been revolving in my head for the last seven years; . . . . it would change the face of Europe, and would be altogether to our benefit, because it would only make the English our carriers." And on his death-bed Mirabeau bequeathed to Talleyrand the execution of this favourite project. The Assembly could therefore have made no better choice. But there was an obstacle in the way. Robespierre had induced the former Assembly to pass the fatal self-denying ordinance forbidding the employment of any of its members by the State. How could Talleyrand, who had held so prominent a position in that body, be now sent on a diplomatic mission? An attempt was made to evade the difficulty by furnishing him with the following letter of introduction from the French Foreign Minister to Lord Grenville, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It is evidently from the pen of Talleyrand himself:

This letter will be delivered to your Excellency by M. de Talleyrand-Périgord, formerly Bishop of Autun, who is going to England for various reasons which interest him personally. I have no doubt that he is already known to you by his reputation for wit, by his distinguished talents, as well as by the important part which he played in our Constituent Assembly. I shall be personally obliged for the welcome that your Excellency will be good enough to give him: you will certainly deem him worthy of it for his own qualities.

M. de Talleyrand, having been a member of the Constituent Assembly, is incapable of bearing any diplomatic character. But as he has been in a position to study our political relations, above all those which we have with England, I beg your Excellency to discuss them with him, and I am certain beforehand that he will convince you of our desire to maintain and strengthen the good understanding which exists between the two kingdoms.

Talleyrand arrived in London on Tuesday, January 24, 1792, and took up his abode at No. 33 Golden Square. He was not able to see Pitt until the 30th. He thus describes their *meeting*:

Our interview, as I had foreseen, consisted of nothing but mere civilities. On reading your letter he remarked that I had no *character*. I answered that I could not have any. He at once added that all the same he should be very glad to talk about French affairs. He remembered that we had once met at Rheims. . . . . My plan is to see him often, but more by chance than by appointment. I think it is better not to show any eagerness; this is the best way of exciting it in others; it is at least a sign that we are not in need of any reply, and it places us in the best position for attaining our object as soon as you shall have drawn up your political plan of campaign. I am still of opinion that England is your best field. Just now, indeed, it is our only firm ground. As we have to deal here with men of method, we must proceed in an orderly fashion. First and foremost, we must strive to secure a declaration of neutrality at the present moment. We must show in every possible way that England need not look upon herself as bound by any of her treaties to help our enemies. . . . . I am not sure, but I am strongly of opinion, that it will be a good, nay a great, thing to obtain a positive declaration to this effect. A formal refusal to recognise the duty of furnishing supplies to those who have reckoned on them would necessarily be a step in our direction, and, by that very fact, an opening for an alliance. (Talleyrand to Delessart, January 31, 1792).

A few days afterwards (February 3) he goes on to speak about the way to persuade England to declare her neutrality:

We must show by a bold countenance that we have the right to ask for it, and that it is England's interest to grant it. Every one must be addressed in his own language. We speak to the Northern Powers, with 150,000 men at our backs; it is with a fleet that we must speak to England. Nations do not make up their minds unless you excite them as to their own interests; and when their power is based upon credit, which the slightest event or even a shadow disturbs, this method cannot fail to succeed. England, therefore, which certainly seems more tranquil than she really is, should see in us neighbours with whom she must come to terms; she should know that we can do her more harm or more good than Prussia can, for Prussia cannot secure for her India or America; she should bear in mind that our new Constitution, whether she approve of it or not, is the strongest guarantee of her own, and that two neighbouring nations, one of which relies on commerce, and the other on agriculture, are destined by the nature of things to be on good terms with each other, &c. &c. Some evil genius, I think, is mixed up in our affairs. Every imaginable means have been taken to give a false notion of our position. We are said to have no will or power to do anything—no plan, no men, no army, no navy. Let us change our conduct and our language, and I warrant that England will listen to us. But if we do not consider ourselves worthy to treat with her, if we *think* that we are beaten beforehand, if we do

not believe in our own Revolution, how can we inspire any confidence in others? It is, then, on our attitude that I insist. A squadron at Brest would certainly produce a good effect. . . . . Moreover, it is essential that you should send here an envoy with full powers, and in sympathy with the Revolution.

I was presented to the King yesterday—civilities and the ordinary questions.*

The task before Talleyrand was no easy one. His project met with little encouragement from his own Government. Delessart seldom answered his letters, and even when he did so it was to raise objections. The state of Paris grew more and more alarming; the danger of the king and queen aroused the sympathies of the other Sovereigns. The French Chargé d'Affaires in London wrote to say that it had practically been decided that England would join the league against France. But Talleyrand did not despair. On Feb. 15, that is, a little more than a fortnight after his arrival, he had a long interview with Lord Grenville. They had previously met on several occasions, but the quondam bishop had avoided any serious conversation, because, as he says, he wanted first to see how he stood and to measure his man. He describes what took place in a letter to Delessart (Feb. 17). The following extract is long, but it will serve to give the reader an excellent idea of Talleyrand's diplomatic method. Put a pen into his hand, let him button-hole a Minister in his cabinet, and the face of Europe becomes changed:

For a long time past, said I to Lord Grenville, every man of sound judgment in France has been desiring a rapprochement with England: it seems reasonable, natural, and advantageous to both Powers. Our Government has wished me to come here. . . . . It knows that I am entirely devoted to the cause of liberty and equality, and to the establishment of our monarchical Constitution, while, at the same time, I have opposed the disorders which have disfigured so fair a cause; it knows that I have always maintained that England was our natural ally. . . . . I cannot be the bearer of any diplomatic *character* to your Court, because this would be contrary

* "The King of England, who is not given to favour the French Revolution, received M. de Talleyrand very coldly. The Queen was even more distant with him, as she did not say a single word to him. The Ministers paid him more regard, but we shall soon know whether they have given him any confidence." (*Gazette Universelle*, February 19, 1792). Forty years later Talleyrand met with a very different reception. Cannon announced his arrival; the son of the Victor of Waterloo, at that time Prime Minister, came to offer him a guard of honour; the great city magnates at once called on him; the King (William IV.) received him most cordially. His reception by the Queen was even more gratifying. She asked how things were going on in France. "Madam," replied the old beau, "our King is loved, and when one is loved *everything* becomes easy, as no one knows better than your Majesty, and *your* august spouse."

to our Constitution; but I can lay before you the desire of my countrymen, and support them with arguments drawn from reason, justice, and fitness.

Above all, I must explain to you the present state of France. You are continually being told that all is anarchy there. This is, to say the least, an exaggeration. We have, of course, our troubles; but I need not explain to a well-read Englishman that a revolution so extraordinary and so rapid as ours must leave some germs of agitation. . . . . Nevertheless, we have a Constitution accepted by the king, and sworn to by the whole of France; we have local administrations, judges, juries, a vast armed force, an inexhaustible soil completely freed from burdens; and, lastly, we have methods provided by the Constitution for bringing about any reforms that may be needed. All this, I grant, is not yet in full working order, for inexperience, distrust, and bad faith are obstacles to many movements. . . . . If I were speaking to a Minister of M. de Maurepas' age [he was seventy-three years old at the time of his second Ministry], and in a country less enlightened than England, I should perhaps feel some embarrassment, because one who has but a short time to live might think only of the benefits which England would derive from our present troubles; but you, my lord, are only thirty; you will still be young when many years shall have gone by, and, whether you are Minister or not, you will enjoy the glory of having secured for your country a real and lasting happiness . . . . The French Revolution is a fact; you may oppose it, you may fight against it, but it has excited too many heads, it has aroused too many sentiments, to be ever stamped out. *There*, added I, is a vast field for meditation to all Governments; *there* is something to tempt a Minister worthy of our epoch, who has seen all the rights, the powers, the pretensions, and the prejudices of this earth handed over to the tribunal of reason. The Powers of the north must perceive that it is useless to fight against the Revolution; but the English should deem such opposition a crime, for they themselves are free because it is their own will.

He then renounced all ideas of propagandism, and spoke in terms of the highest praise concerning the English Constitution; Frenchmen would ever look upon the English as their elder brothers in freedom, and their models of courage in its defence. Nor were hints concerning the weak points of English policy omitted—India, which was in a state of war; Ireland, where troubles were breaking out. "You know better than I," said he to Lord Grenville, "that peace is the soul of your commerce and of your credit, and that credit is the soul of your power."

"This is very much [he concluded] what I said to Lord Grenville. I thought it over too carefully to forget it. I spoke to him for about three-quarters of an hour. He listened with the greatest attention, and often repeated my words. I begged him more than once not to interrupt me, and not to reply at the time, for I did not wish, as I

told him, to take him by surprise, or to receive any vague answers. I wanted him to understand me exactly, and then to reflect at his leisure. In order that none of my remarks should be forgotten, I gave him a summary of them before leaving him. I begged him not to lose sight of what I had said about the object of my visit to England, about the state of France at the present time, and about what she might one day become; about the connections between England and France, some of them natural, others brought about by the Revolution itself; about our desires at the present time, and the reasons why the English Government should fall in with them. He told me that he thoroughly understood me, and bore in mind what I had said. I once more begged him to make no reply, and then we parted.*

On March 1 Grenville sent for Talleyrand, and informed him that he had laid before the Cabinet the substance of their last interview, but that it had been decided to make no reply. Pitt, Dundas, and Grenville himself were in favour of France, but Camden, Thurlow, and, above all, the King, were altogether on the other side. Talleyrand was somewhat disappointed. He rightly attributed part of the failure to the fact of his having no definite recognised position. However, he assured Delessart that it was clear from Grenville's manner that although England would not make any formal declaration of neutrality, she would in fact remain neutral.

It is interesting to turn to Grenville's account of these meetings. Writing to Lord Gower, the English Ambassador in Paris, he says:

I have had the honour of twice seeing M. Talleyrand on the subject of his mission to this country. The first time that I met him he spoke in very general terms about the disposition of the French Government to enter into the closest relations with England, and he proposed a treaty of mutual guarantee, or any other means which the Government of this country might prefer. Having said this, he at once begged me not to make any immediate reply, and gave me to understand that he would prefer to see me again on the subject. I answered, that to oblige him I would do so, but at the same time I took care to warn him that in all probability I should confine myself to expressing how impossible it was to discuss such delicate subjects with one who had no authority to treat. When I saw him the second time I repeated this, and added that it was the only answer that it was lawful for me to give him; but that nevertheless I took it on myself to tell him personally (as indeed I had often

* Long afterwards, in 1833, Talleyrand used the same arguments in his interviews with Palmerston and Grey. "The two Ministers," he wrote, "*listened* attentively to the remarks which I developed to them, and seemed *to be impressed* by what I said."

told any Frenchmen whom I had spoken to on the present state of France), that our Government did not seek to excite or to prolong the disturbances for the sake of benefiting by them.

Delessart was now much struck by Talleyrand's labours. He felt, however, that it would be better for them to meet in order to discuss matters at length. Accordingly the envoy returned to Paris on March 10. But meantime great events were taking place. The Emperor Leopold died on March 1. Delessart himself was charged with high treason, and the Cabinet of Moderates, to which he belonged, was broken up. Louis, whose real object was to tide over the next few months till the arrival of the Austrians and Prussians in Paris, now chose members of the Left as his Ministers. They at once declared war against the allies. The friendly negotiations with England were, however, renewed. Dumouriez, the new Foreign Minister, was intimate with Talleyrand. It was arranged between them that a young friend named Chauvelin should be sent as plenipotentiary to London, but that he was to be only a figure-head to Talleyrand, who was to be the real ambassador. Talleyrand had proposed that Louis XVI. should write to George III. to assure him of the goodwill of the French Government towards England, and so to endeavour to win over the English king. Louis now wrote, or rather was made to write, a private letter, in which he expressed his ardent desire to see the two countries joined in friendly alliance, and spoke of Talleyrand in such terms as to give him a quasi-official character. The wily diplomat took care also to draw up written instructions for himself and his nominal chief. In them we find that "his majesty desires his Minister to act in concert with [Talleyrand and Duroveray], and consequently the instructions are directed to all three of them collectively." Chauvelin reached London April 24; his colleagues followed a few days later.

The news of the outbreak of the war had caused great excitement in England. The Funds fell 4 per cent. Pitt, indeed, still strove hard for peace. He sent round to the press a notification that there was "not the smallest sign of anything that could destroy the existing peace, which every one was so anxious to maintain." The three envoys, however, were received with coldness. George III., knowing well that the so-called royal letter did not contain Louis' real opinions, sent only a curt reply. But once more Talleyrand triumphed over all obstacles. A formal declaration of neutrality appeared in the *London Gazette* of May 26.

The war opened badly for the Revolutionists: the troops fled in disorder in the first battle. Paris was thrown into confusion at this failure; the new Ministry was dismissed early in June;

Dumouriez, disgusted with the excesses of his colleagues, attempted to take the king's side, but was compelled by the Assembly to resign (June 15). Five days afterwards Louis and his queen were mobbed in the Tuileries. Talleyrand was summoned back from London, but proved to be of little aid; he never possessed any power of controlling masses of men. On August 10, the monarchy fell. The hastily formed Provisional Government was most anxious not to provoke England to war, and now Talleyrand rendered the greatest service. His apology for the overthrow of the monarchy is a masterpiece. Unfortunately, it is too long to be quoted here in full, but the following abridged extracts will be read with interest:

The Provisional Executive Council of France, to which the most imperious necessity, viz., that of the public welfare, has just given birth, amidst the terrible scenes of August 10, believes that it owes to all the Powers—and particularly to those which, like England, have kept themselves within the bounds of neutrality—an account of the events which have just taken place, of the weighty reasons which have given rise to them, and of the unchangeable sentiments which animate the French nation.

For a long time the public confidence, that first need of kings, was withdrawing from Louis XVI. The French people saw, at first with sorrow, but at length with indignation, that the new Constitution in which the King occupied so fair a post, was insensibly being undermined by him: that the King, still the slave of the prejudices of his education, could not bring himself to look upon the august function which was delegated to him as an honourable endowment, but that he found in it only the degrading remnant of a power unjustly torn from him; that bribes were lavished by him for the purpose of extinguishing the burning patriotism with which he was beset; that he surrounded himself with the enemies of freedom and held aloof from its friends; that all the remonstrances addressed to him only embittered him the more; that the war declared against the Emperor in support of our revolution was not, and never could be, maintained in good faith by one who looked upon himself as robbed by it—nay, rather, that the war, if conducted by him, could not fail to end disastrously for France.

When at length these suspicions became confirmed; when the Tuileries was filled with armed men resolved on a counter-revolution; when it was known that a great number of Swiss, who had remained in Paris in spite of a formal decree of the National Assembly, had been won over in the most criminal fashion; when every rumour and every sign pointed to a vast plot ready to burst out everywhere in France—then it was that the people of Paris, suddenly aroused in the middle of the night by the dreadful tocsin, rushed in arms to the King's palace. At first they contented themselves with proving that their rights could not be violated with impunity, nor their indignation too long defied. They made

of peace to the Swiss, whom they still wished to treat as brothers; they received similar signs in return, and it was only when the Swiss violated these that their fury burst forth, and they sacrificed these cowardly satellites, who had been hired to betray them.

After describing the King's taking refuge in the Assembly and his deposition, Talleyrand concludes:

The Provisional Government offers to England the frankest expression of its friendship, its confidence, and its profound esteem for the people who were the first in Europe to win, and to keep, their freedom. It expects, in return, the like sentiments from the English nation, who should remember that when they themselves took possession of their sovereignty under circumstances more stormy, and by an event still more terrible, the Powers of Europe, and France in particular,* did not hesitate to recognise the new Government which they had set up for themselves.

This document proves that if he possessed none of the masterfulness of Mirabeau, Talleyrand nevertheless had no small share of the great Tribune's powers of expression. The Provisional Government, however, did not think fit to send him back to London. On the other hand, Lord Gower, the English ambassador, was at once recalled from Paris. The awful massacres in the early part of September convinced Talleyrand that it was dangerous to remain in France. With great difficulty he contrived to obtain a passport from Danton. As soon as he reached London he took care to let it be known that he had no longer any sort of diplomatic mission, but with characteristic astuteness he told Lord Grenville that he should always be ready to be useful to his country. He himself afterwards asserted that he was sent by Danton to prevent the outbreak of hostilities between France and England.† No doubt he persuaded Danton to let him go for this purpose, but in his Memoirs he frankly acknowledges that his real object was to get away from France.

Thus ended the first stage of Talleyrand's diplomatic career. On reviewing it, I think that it deserves unqualified praise. His object was a noble one; the difficulties which he had to encounter on both sides were enough to discourage even the most sanguine. Yet, as far as he was concerned, his success was complete. The outrages of June 20, the overthrow of the monarchy—nay, even the bloody days of September, did not undo his work. It was not till after Louis' head had fallen on the scaffold that England

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* Mazarin concluded a treaty of peace with Cromwell. The soldiers of the Commonwealth fought side by side with those of Louis XIV. under the famous Marshal Turenne.

† Petition addressed to the Convention, 1795.

and France entered on the memorable struggle which lasted more than twenty years.

As we are here dealing only with Talleyrand's diplomatic correspondence we must touch but lightly upon the story of his life during the years 1793–1796. In spite of his services to his country, a warrant of accusation was issued against him (Dec. 7, 1792). He soon perceived that England would not long be a safe retreat. His first idea was to take refuge in Tuscany; but the Grand Duke refused to receive him. At length, in January 1794, he was ordered, under the provisions of the Alien Bill, to quit the kingdom within twenty-four hours.* In February he set sail for America, where he remained until August 1796. His exile was most irksome to him. "Another year here," he wrote to Madame de Stael, "will kill me." The polished courtier had little in common with the rough colonists. Although his friend Lord Lansdowne had given him a cordial letter of introduction to Washington, the President refused to receive him. The newly framed Constitution, however, could not fail to interest him. His remarks upon it, addressed to Lord Lansdowne, are characterised by his usual sagacity:

How can America be anything but an English province, seeing that the characteristics of its Constitution, whether in the Federal Union or in the different States, are borrowed so manifestly from the English Constitution? Some of the States have ventured to depart from it, and not to reproduce an image of the triple legislative power—king, lords, and commons. Experience has punished them, and, what is rare, has enlightened them; and must not the respect for the English Constitution become extreme when it is acknowledged that success or failure depends upon a greater or lesser resemblance to it? What is the foundation of the liberty of the individual in America? The Habeas Corpus and the jury system. Go to the sittings of Congress and of the State Legislatures; follow the debates on the bills proposed. What do they cite? Whence do they take their analogies? Where do they look for precedents? In English law and in the customs and regulations of the Parliament of Great Britain. Go to the courts of justice; what is spoken of there? The Common Law, the statutes, and the cases of English courts. Lawyers have no books but what are written and printed in England. Surely, if such men are not altogether English, we must refuse to recognise the influence of law upon men, and we must deny that they receive any modification from their environment. It is in vain that the names "Republic" and "Monarchy" seem to make the two Governments utterly distinct. Any one who goes to the bottom of things must see that there is something of a repu[illegible] in the English Legislature, and something of a monarchy in

* Pitt speaks of him at this time as "deep and dangerous."

American Executive. This will be especially the case as long as Washington is President. The force of opinion which attaches itself to his person, and which is growing every day, is the exact counterpart of the sort of magic power which public lawyers attribute to kings, a power which, indeed, at the present time, does not grow as constantly as the power of General Washington (Philadelphia, February 1, 1795).

About a year after his arrival he sent a petition to the Convention to be allowed to return to his own country. In it he set forth how he had quitted France by order of the Government, with a mission to London to prevent the impending war; how he alone among men of mark was singled out by Pitt for expulsion; that his labours in the cause of education and finance, and his zeal for the republican cause, entitled him to claim a reversal of the act of proscription against him. After considerable delay his request was granted. He left America, and stayed for some time at Hamburg; finally, he reached Paris in September 1796. His absence from France during the terrible years 1793–1796 saved his life, and, perhaps, his good fame. Had he remained, he would almost certainly have fallen under the guillotine; we may charitably hope that he would have had no hand in the bloody deeds of the reign of terror. For the first year after his return he held aloof from public affairs. But, as the course of events was tending to a cessation of hostilities, the Directory was anxious to secure the services of an able diplomat. In his Memoirs he tells us that it was with great reluctance that he was induced by Madame de Stael to call on Barras with a view to accepting office. Madame de Stael's account, and, indeed, Talleyrand's own letters, prove that he was highly gratified by the offer of the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs (July 16, 1797).

A vast change had taken place in the state of Europe during the years that had elapsed since Talleyrand had been relieved of his mission to London. In the autumn of 1792 the Austrian and Prussian troops were in full march on Paris, but the French coast was secure, since England still remained neutral. Now, however, the genius of Napoleon had made France the first of continental Powers, whereas England had become her bitter foe and the mistress of the seas. At the moment when Talleyrand once more entered on the scene, an attempt was being made to come to terms with England. Lord Malmesbury had been sent to Lille by Pitt, but it was commonly thought in France, though unjustly, that this was done merely to evade increasing difficulties at home. Bonaparte was encamped at Leoben, within a few days' march of Vienna, and had already (April 18) signed the preliminaries of peace with Austria. Talleyrand at once entered

into both negotiations. His duties were to draw up reports from time to time to be laid before the Directors, and to communicate their orders to the plenipotentiaries at Lille and Leoben. The reports are models of what State papers ought to be. They are written in clear and forcible language, while the arrangement of the materials is admirable. They show a wide knowledge of the state of the different kingdoms, and a keen insight into the character and aims of the men who ruled them. One long document, which fills more than a hundred pages of M. Pallain's second volume (pp. 243–346), embraces an account of every Power in Europe, and tenders advice to the Directors as to the line of conduct to be taken with each.*

In the letters sent to the negotiators Talleyrand's hands were considerably tied. His predecessor, Delacroix, had abruptly broken off negotiations with England. Talleyrand, as we should expect, at once renewed them, and with some chance of success, had not Rewbell, the Director who had charge of the diplomatic department, overruled his efforts. As Mirabeau had observed, it was Talleyrand's misfortune to know what men should do, but to be without the strength of will to make them do it. The

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* The reader may care to see some of his remarks upon England. It must be borne in mind that the report was drawn up in July 1798. "The British Government has been from the beginning the soul of the great conspiracy formed against France; it has stirred up and advised and paid the successive factions which have stained the Revolution. England, not content with being a member of the coalition of kings, has proved herself to be its instigator, never ceasing to tighten up again the knots which are ready to be loosed, pouring over Europe her agents and her intrigues, terrifying some and enticing others, and lavishing her gold on those whom she sees about to desert so criminal and base a cause." After showing how England prevaricated as long as she saw any chance of a favourable outcome of the campaigns in Italy, he continues: "The Republic possesses very fair means of attack against England. If Bonaparte lands in Egypt the British power in India will be destroyed. Malta is already ours. . . . . The Irish insurrection, cemented by the blood of some celebrated victims, seems to be making wonderful progress. It is to Ireland that all our efforts must be directed. We must hasten to send there arms, men, and stores, and so pay England back for all the evils she has done us. A republic rising up at her side would teach her, or, at any rate, would punish her. All her strength is in her commerce and in her navy. We harass her commerce by our privateers, by our laws, and by our treaties: her navy, we defy. Besides, how do we know that a mutiny may not soon break out on board her ships? More than a third of her sailors are Irish, and the love of their country may teach them to look upon the English as oppressors and enemies. [He adds in a note: 'Admiral Nelson's fleet is manned almost entirely by Irishmen, as I am assured by the Spanish Minister']. . . . . Before treating with England we must do her much harm . . . . and, in the event of a peace, we must make such arrangements as may secure for ever the freedom of the seas. We should have England trusty secret agents. I used to have a very useful correspondence *this kind*, but now it has ceased, and I feel the loss of it every day."

difficulty was this. During the war, England had seized many colonial possessions of France and her allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic; France, on the other hand, had overrun the provinces belonging to Austria, England's ally. Both parties agreed that there must be some mutual restitution, but they could not come to definite terms. Talleyrand himself was prepared to sacrifice the German and Italian conquests, but the young conqueror insisted on making his own terms. Meantime, fresh troubles broke out in Paris. In the recent elections the royalists had succeeded in returning more than two hundred members of their party. Pichegru, now an ardent supporter of the Bourbons, was nominated President of the Council of Five Hundred; another royalist became President of the Council of Ancients; and Barthélemy, who held monarchical opinions, became one of the Directors. It was clear that an attempt would be made to restore the Bourbons. Three of the Directors, however, determined to anticipate this by main force. The two victorious generals, Hoche and Bonaparte, lent their aid; the former sent troops, the latter a general, Augereau. On the 18th Fructidor (September 4, 1797) the refractory members were arrested, and shortly afterwards shipped off to Cayenne. Once again Talleyrand's skilful pen was made use of to explain to foreign Powers the violent acts of the *coup d'état*. His defence of the 18th Fructidor, considered as a State paper, is worthy to take its place beside his more famous apology for the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792. He begins by proving the existence of a conspiracy "entirely for the benefit of royalty," and bent on the destruction of the Republic; then he points out that the Constitution provided that extraordinary measures, even by arresting members, should be taken in case of supreme danger:

You will be told (he continues) that the Constitution has been violated, and this accusation will be made particularly by those whose real regret is that it was not destroyed. To this you will reply that the Constitution was almost overthrown, and that by means which it had not and could not have foreseen. From that moment it was necessary to take the only steps of setting it up again, and of strengthening it once for all. As soon as that was done, every subsequent act was carried out in the most orderly fashion, and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution itself. . . . . Such, then, will be your answer. You will add that the recent events have brought out the admirable qualities of our Directory; they show that it possesses the art of governing in a difficult crisis; that the French Republic can make use, both at home and abroad, of the most fruitful and energetic resources; that she has on her side that public spirit which, with Frenchmen, makes all things possible; and

that she has given a splendid proof of her vigour by triumphing, in an hour, and without a struggle, over the most terrible danger which she has yet encountered.

Although he composed and circulated this defence of the conduct of the Directors, the Foreign Minister had already perceived that the real centre of power was in the camp at Leoben, and that the youthful victor of Arcole and Rivoli was already the master of France. He had, indeed, expressed his indignation that a treaty of such importance should be entrusted to a general of twenty-eight, and that Bonaparte should have dared to boast that he would sooner march against the Government in Paris than against Vienna. But as soon as he was appointed Minister he took care at once to notify the same to the young general.

I have the honour to inform you, he wrote, that the executive Directory has nominated me as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Justly awed as I am by the perilous importance of my office, I am reassured by the thought that your glory will make negotiations easy. The mere name of Bonaparte makes everything smooth. I shall be eager to make known to you all the views which the Directory may charge me to transmit to you; whereas fame, which is your ordinary messenger, will rob me of the pleasure of giving information of the manner in which you will have carried them out.*

It is interesting to note the contrast between the tone of the dispatches addressed to Lille, and the tone of those addressed to Leoben. The negotiators at the former place receive orders and complaints; Bonaparte, respectful advice and congratulations. When sending him the defence of the 18th Fructidor, Talleyrand wrote:

This despatch will give you the details, and will enable you to grasp the general scope of the Revolution which your superior mind must have foreseen. . . . . The conduct of Augereau is perfect; it is easy to see that he was brought up in a good school.

He concludes: "Salut et respectueux attachement," instead of the customary "Salut et fraternité." Two days later (Sept. 8), he writes again:

The events of the 18th Fructidor must necessarily affect our foreign interests. They will prove to Europe the strength of our Government and the energy of the Republic, which has overcome its enemies at home with the ease with which you have scattered them abroad. . . . . The tone of our negotiations must therefore be more lofty. This remark, as you may imagine, is not meant for

* It is impossible to convey in a translation the subtle flattery of the original. Talleyrand, in his Memoirs, gives us to understand that Napoleon was the first to make advances. This letter disproves the insinuation.

ho have assuredly not waited till now to make France speak
guage which becomes her; but it seems to me that, as a
uence, you should bring more pressure to bear on the nego-
s. If, with the Republic of Italy well established, we have
ine boundary, and Venice is not to belong to the Emperor,
ould indeed be a peace worthy of Bonaparte.

pite of the open disapproval of the Directors and the
opposition of the Foreign Minister, peace was signed by
eon, at Campo Formio, on October 17, 1797. Early in
ber he returned to Paris, and met with an enthusiastic
on. On December 11, he was presented to the Directors
leyrand, who pronounced a most eloquent panegyric on his
it successes, but at the same time took care to claim for
public a share of the glory.*

negotiations at Lille came to an unsatisfactory conclusion,
e war continued. Great preparations were made for an
n of England, which was to be conducted by Bonaparte.
personal examination of the coast and the preparations
ad been made, convinced him that the attempt would not
l. English influence could be dealt a severe blow in a far
it quarter. Talleyrand wrote to Sandoz (Feb. 22, 1798):

going to confide to you certain projects which are my own
y. I have proposed an enterprise which will possibly
the sphere of our colonies and light up the history of the
it is to employ the 40,000 at present in Italy for the con-
f the most flourishing part of Egypt. We shall meet with
pposition there and immense resources for our commerce and
ure for science.

doz himself says in a letter written in the following
"Talleyrand acknowledged to me that he was, with
lon, the Consul in Egypt, the author of this great expe-
and that he expected from it the greatest success."†

object of the expedition was explained at some length in
r from the Foreign Minister to the French agent at Con-
ople (Aug. 3, 1798):

commerce of the Mediterranean must change its course and
ntirely into the hands of France. This is the secret desire of
rectory, and, moreover, it will be the inevitable result of our
n on that sea. . . . . To perfect our admirable position there,
ust have Egypt—that country so long coveted by France.

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e relations between Napoleon and Talleyrand are narrated, from the
view of the latter, in the Memoirs. The portions published in
ntury Magazine for February and March are entirely devoted to

lleyrand afterwards denied that he had anything to do with the pro-
Gazette Nationale, du 7 Thermidor an vii. [1799]).

Fortunately, the insolence of the beys towards us and the inability of the Porte to demand for us due satisfaction, give us the opportunity of entering and of establishing ourselves there without our being taxed with injustice or ambition. Is it a crime to chastise brigands? Our expedition, then, has apparently no other object but the reparation of our outraged rights and honour. It is on these lines that you should shape your conduct towards the Porte. In your conferences with its Ministers you will do your best to thoroughly convince them that the Directory has no idea of conquering Egypt, but merely wishes to take vengeance on the beys and mamelukes, the true enemies of both Powers; that the rights of the Porte in Egypt will be respected by us, and authority restored to the Pasha; that the Republic, recognising all forms of worship, will not interfere with those observed in Egypt; that the caravans on their way to Mecca will be disturbed as little as the Christian pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem; finally, you will make them understand that the true object of our arrival in Egypt is to be able to strike in India a deadly blow against England, our implacable foe. I confidently expect that these various considerations, put forward with your usual skill, will soothe the alarms of the Porte.

At the same time, I must not disguise from you that the Directory has no intention of evacuating Egypt, but rather of maintaining itself there by every means in its power. Mild measures, most in accordance with the principles of equity, will, of course, be preferred. We may count much upon the effects of time and custom to consolidate our rule.*

The story of the Egyptian expedition does not concern us here. Bonaparte embarked at Toulon on May 19, 1798. Malta was captured on June 10. Three weeks afterwards Egypt was reached; the battle of the Pyramids was gained on July 21; but on August 1 the fleet was destroyed by Nelson. Two letters from Talleyrand deal with these events, and deserve to be quoted here. One was written to Sieyès, the *ci-devant* abbé, now envoy at Berlin:

The pleasure which I should have had in transmitting to you the message from the Directory is turned into pain by the bad news which you will find at the end of enclosed newspaper.

It seems but too certain that our fleet has been attacked, beaten, and destroyed by Nelson. . . . . The details are frightful. The Admiral was killed; Duchayla and Dupetit-Thouars have also fallen. Only two ships appear to have escaped. The *Guillaume Tell* has returned to Malta without having lost a man or received a shot. Her captain, Villeneuve, has brought the news. How far can we believe a man who appears to have fled? What was the fleet doing at

* This despatch, I admit, is thoroughly Macchiavellian. It might almost be taken for a letter written at the present time by an English Minister of Foreign Affairs to one of our agents in the East.

Alexandria? Instead of making for Corfu where, according to arrangements, it was to await the orders of the Government, why did it lie waiting for the enemy in a position in which no fleet has ever escaped defeat? I have reason to tell you that there is something inexplicable in this horrible affair. I have thought it my duty not to soften the details. It is better for you to hear them from us than from our enemies.

The other letter was written to Bonaparte himself, and *on the very same day* (September 15, 1798) as the letter to Sieyès:

It is with the liveliest eagerness, Citizen General, that I carry out the instructions of the Directors to transmit to you the testimony of their sincere satisfaction at the recent glorious services which you have rendered to the Republic since your departure from Toulon. Before expressing to you the joy which they felt at your astonishing and rapid conquest of Malta, and at your skill in deceiving the English Admiral, they were waiting for official news of your arrival and disembarkation in Egypt. . . . .

The despatch contains not the slightest allusion to the disaster of the fleet!

During Napoleon's absence everything went wrong with the Directors. Talleyrand had already made secret arrangements with him to resign office and enter his service on the first favourable opportunity. The revolution of the 30th Prairial (June 18, 1799) showed that the Directory was doomed. The Foreign Minister accordingly threw up his portfolio on the 18th of July, and eagerly looked for Bonaparte's return.

T. B. Scannell.

Art. V.—THE INSURRECTION IN CHILE.

1. *Reports of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation.* Commercial, No. 14. 1876.
2. *Chili,* 1879–80. By R. Nelson Boyd. London: Messrs. Allen. 1881.
3. *La Guerra del Pacifico.* Per Arano Barros. Santiago 1880.

THE instability of democratic government in States of revolutionary origin is again being illustrated by events at the other side of the Atlantic. Chile, hitherto apparently exempt from the tendency of other Hispano-American Republics to lapse into the barbaric conditions of society, has now fallen under the same curse which has blighted the prosperity of her neighbours. Her previous immunity was generally regarded as in part due to the isolation resulting from her singular geographical configuration, in part to the absence from her territory of that mineral wealth which tainted the colonisation of the adjacent countries with the character of a rapacious hunt for treasure, and left behind it the doom with which ill-gotten wealth blasts communities as well as individuals.

No national enterprise was, perhaps, ever so visibly actuated by gold-hunger as the Spanish conquest of America, and none in Christian times was so darkly stained with wholesale treachery and inhumanity. Its legacy of injustice still rests like an incubus not only on the continent which was its scene, but on that other where it has reacted in the still worse horrors of the slave-trade. On its immediate authors it wreaked its own Nemesis in the evil passions it evoked. Quarrelling among themselves, like a band of pirates over their prey, they avenged on each other the wrongs of their common victims, and the unexhausted malediction drawn down by their crimes still clings, like that attached to the fabled hoard of German Saga, to the splendid inheritance they won. Their mother country, gorged for a time with the plunder of a hemisphere, dates her decadence from that plethora of prosperity, while the colonies she founded on the basis of unscrupulous race domination, were ruined by the sacrifice of all other forms of industry to the working of the mines, into which the native population was drafted, to the agricultural ruin of the country.

The oppression of the conquered people on the one hand, and social fusion with them on the other, resulting in the deteriora-

tion and almost obliteration of the European race, were alike due to the character of the Spanish colonisation as a wild rush for mineral wealth, on the part of adventurers rarely accompanied by European ladies. Intermarriage with natives, in combination with a miscellaneous tide of coloured immigration, has created in the Spanish-American colonies, where purity of descent in any class is rather the exception than the rule, the most singular amalgam of humanity in the world. To Iberian colonists, Spaniards and Portuguese alike, is wanting that invincible instinct or prejudice of caste which forbids the Anglo-Saxon to sell his birthright of race, and marks him out as a hereditary ruler of men, a type apart, among the many-tinged races over whom he holds sway. In no part of the world has there been, on the part of a transplanted British population, either in Australasia, South Africa, North America, or Hindustan, intermingling of race in any degree approximating to assimilation; and in the case of the latter dependency, at least, it may be safely affirmed that had it been so the British Empire would ere this have been like the Lusitanian, a scarce remembered dream. That the English home has thus preserved its unalloyed distinctiveness, even when transported to the remotest ends of the earth, is due to the spirit and courage of the women of England, who, bearing cheerfully their part in the hardships and struggles of exile, have had their full share in working out the imperial destiny of their race.

The Chileans, whose boast it is to style themselves "the English of the Pacific," have, in this respect, followed to a certain extent on the lines of British colonisation. The comparative poverty of their country in mineral wealth led to its settlement, with a view rather to the development of its agricultural resources, by a class of immigrants less unstable in their lives and habits than the fierce treasure-seekers of Peru. The semi-feudal system introduced by the bestowal of large grants of land on the colonists with "encomiendas" or villages of native peasants and labourers attached, created a territorial aristocracy proud of their unblemished white descent, and resenting as an insult any imputation on its purity. The same prejudice of colour obtained, to some degree, even among the poorer settlers, so that Chile, unlike its neighbours, has always had a white as well as an Indian labouring population. The steady policy of opposition to the introduction of negro or Chinese labour pursued by its Government, has impeded the further admixture of colour, so conspicuous in other parts of the continent. In Peru, for instance, the so-called whites form but 15 per cent. of a total, in which Indians count for 57, mixed races 24, negroes 3½, and Chinese 1½ per cent. In La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, a city of 70,000 inhabitants, the blending

of colours has gone so far that Signor Gallenga * tells us it would be difficult to point to 500, 50, or even five individuals of pure European descent. In both these countries Cholos, or Indian half-castes, form the bulk of the population, the European element tending to increasing effacement with every succeeding generation. Valparaiso is, in comparison, a white man's town, where the stigma of Indian descent, repudiated by all classes, is in the higher walks of life a positive bar to advancement. The permanence of racial and social distinction thus maintained in Chile, gave to its political institutions a stability wanting to those communities in which the restless hybrid element was all-powerful.

Its geographical position has no doubt contributed to the same result. For this shelf of littoral, fronting the ocean most remote from Western civilisation, is fenced off on its landward side from the bulk of the continent of which it forms part, by natural barriers so formidable as to give its territory almost the inaccessibility of an island. Forming for 2485 miles the Cornice of the Pacific, with an average breadth north of 41° of but 100 miles, it is hemmed in on the east by the "abysmal solitudes" of those "lonely pinnacles of the world," the Andes; on the north by the Atacama Desert, a waterless expanse barren of all forms of life; and on the south by the wrathful billows that gird the extremity of the continent with Antarctic desolation. While Bolivia and Peru, the adjoining Pacific States of South America, include within their dominions a large portion of the "montaña" or eastern declivity of the Andes, where a copious rainfall fosters vegetation into true tropical luxuriance, Chile, with the summit of that great range for her boundary, possesses only their steep and arid ocean slope, chilled and parched by the ungenial currents of air that set perennially from the South Pole. It is thus scarcely a figure of speech to say that no part of its soil is out of hearing of the guns of its ironclads, and this maritime character gives its inhabitants much of the hardihood and adventurous spirit of a seafaring population.

Its climate is so modified by this exceptional situation, that though extending within the southern tropic to 18° 28′ S., it may be classed throughout as a temperate region, and its southern provinces alone, screened by a continuous fringe of islands from the Antarctic currents of air, are, though furthest from the Equator, clothed by their copious rainfall in such exuberant vegetation as is generally associated with low latitudes. Its extreme length of 2800 miles, running nearly due north and south, is divided into three zones by strongly marked differences of climate and physical

* "South America." By A. Gallenga. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

conditions. Their extremes are sufficiently characterised by the fact that the rainfall, absolutely *nil* in the north, amounts in the south to 102 inches per annum. The most northerly of these sections is the Atacama Desert, a waterless and lifeless tract extending over 10½° from the 29th to near the 18th parallel, where utter vegetative destitution is compensated for by extraordinary mineral wealth. The second is composed of a series of fertile upland valleys enclosed in the trough between the main Cordillera, or chain of the Andes, and its flying buttresses forming the Cordillera Maritima, or coast range. This intermediate zone forms the true heart and vital centre of the country, containing its capital, Santiago, its chief port, Valparaiso, and the bulk of its population. "El Sur," or Southern Chile, though thinly peopled and containing districts in which the native tribes are little more than nominally subdued, has greater natural capabilities than either of the two other divisions. It is still clothed, through great part of its extent, with primeval forest, rich in valuable timber, while the clearings furnish good agricultural and pastoral land.

The distribution of mineral wealth throughout the three zones is in an inverse ratio to their other capabilities, thus tending to equalise their general productiveness. For while the southern provinces contain extensive coal-fields, and the central some of the richest copper mines in the world, it is in the arid regions of the north that are found the still more valuable silver mines, as well as those deposits of nitrates and guano which are the principal sources of national revenue. Hence this desolate march between Chile and Bolivia, where all necessaries of life, including water, have to be artificially supplied, was the bone of contention in the recent war of the Pacific, resulting in its incorporation *en bloc* in Chilean territory.

The Atacama Desert, thus become the prize of the successful belligerent, is a land resembling rather our conceptions of the lunar surface than one presenting the conditions of life prevailing on our own better equipped planet. Here, in the absence of all rain and dew, vegetation is non-existent, and the ridges and valleys which follow the direction of the main chain of the Andes are formed of bare rock, or covered only with loose sand and gravel. Yet this forbidding region hides, like the leaden casket, the choicest gifts of fortune under its unpromising exterior, and the nitrates and salts on its surface, and metalliferous veins beneath it, render it a veritable treasure-house, guarded by the demons of hunger and thirst. Its geological formation is, according to Mr. Boyd, whose work we quote as a heading, plutonic intermixed with stratified porphyries, but at the base of the Andes the limestones of the Jurassic period crop out,

and contain the rich silver lodes for which the desert has become so famous.

The aspect of the coast is most repelling, as it fronts the sea in an uninterrupted wall of brown and barren rock for the seven hundred miles from Huasco to Callao. The land ascends steeply to a height of 1500 or 2000, and more gradually to 8000 or 10,000 feet, the peaks of the Andes rising sharply from these lower eminences. This dreary landscape is seen under a lowering sky, charged with clouds brought up from the chill south, though forbidden to melt into showers by the warmer land temperature they meet. The ports, Caldera, the second in the Republic, Iquique, Chañarel, and Pisagua, are mere depôts for the export of minerals, dependent on distillation for their water, and on importation for their food. The latter, built on a mere shelf of rock, was the scene of a celebrated feat of arms on the part of the Chilean troops, who escaladed the steep heights in its rear under an almost vertical fire from their Peruvian enemies. From Chañarel, a railway, twenty-two miles in length, carries provisions, consisting of distilled water, and jerked beef or "charqui," to the colony of miners engaged in the extraction of nitre.

The latter is found in the desert in beds several feet in thickness, covered only by a few inches of pebbles, salt, or gypsum. Circular pits or fissures on the surface generally indicate the presence of the deposits, which occupy well-defined basins, apparently the beds of desiccated lakes, of which the sloping edges are richest in mineral. The "caliche della pampa," as it is called, contains 15 to 20 per cent. of "salitre," or nitrate of soda, with magnesium, common salt, and a small quantity of iodine as associated substances; the latter a valuable bye-product, even when found in a less proportion than 0·12 per cent. The nitre is extracted by a process resembling that used for rock-salt, the pounded mineral being passed through a series of dissolving and precipitating tanks at successively descending levels. Nitrates owe their value to their fertilising qualities, for which they are in especial demand by growers of beet. The exportation amounted in 1888 to a value of over 33,000,000 dollars, and a weight of 750,050 tons, or 16,700,000 quintals, of which 15,000,000 were shipped to Europe, and 1,700,000 to the United States.

Recent vicissitudes in the nitrate industry are owing to increased competition since its appearance, as a form of speculative investment on the European Stock Exchanges. The large profits realised by the original proprietors when production was on a comparatively limited scale, fell away with its vast increase under the stimulus given by the purchase of nitrate properties on behalf

of joint-stock companies. Natural causes have, however, combined with artificial ones in introducing fluctuations into the trade.

Earthquakes and tidal waves [says Consul Newman in his Report to the Foreign Office on the nitrate industries of Chile in 1889] have twice in the last twenty years caused a great destruction of life and property in the ports, and, lastly, the Chilean-Peruvian war left its mark. After the conclusion of the war, producers had a good time for some years, and this induced increased production till prices began to fall. By 1884 matters were so bad as to cause very serious anxiety among the banks and merchants who had dealings in the nitrate districts. By-and-by it became clear that a limitation of production was an absolute necessity, and this was carried out, though with many difficulties and uncertainties, which for a time robbed it of part of its effect in steadying prices. The principle on which the limitation was agreed on was a percentage of the possible output of each oficina; consequently, each oficina claimed as large an output as possible. The producers who were strong enough financially to stand a period of losing prices, had to be persuaded to come into the combination by being allowed to produce more than their fair share, and when better times came they made large profits. Naturally this brought in a fresh set of producers, and it is questionable if the combination could have been longer maintained. Fortunately at this juncture consumption expanded wonderfully in Europe, and all the producers made money, working as hard as they could.

The inevitable consequence of this epoch of prosperity was a fresh outbreak of speculation, in which the shares of the leading Nitrate Company, the Primitiva, were run up by the eagerness of investors to a premium of 600 per cent. The year 1888 was signalised by large purchases of nitrate properties on behalf of English joint-stock companies, whose shareholders have had to face a fresh period of depression owing to the present political struggle in the country. Restriction of production may, however, have its attendant compensation in enhancement of price, as Chile enjoys a practical monopoly of the article. Even previously, however, investors had been warned, in the Report just quoted, against extravagant hopes of large returns, although it declares the business as a whole to be established on a sound natural basis. The cost of production of a quintal of nitrate, shipped for exportation, but exclusive of freight, was estimated by it on June 3, 1889, at 2 dols. 46 cents against a selling price of 2 dols. 60 cents.

This calculation [says the writer] takes no account of interest or depreciation. Several of the new oficinas can produce considerably cheaper, and one or two might get down as low as 2 dols. 5 cents;

the variable item is the first, namely, *cost placed in bulk in the oficina*. This depends on the quality of the raw material, its distance from the works, and the class of machinery employed. The latest oficinas have, of course, the latest modern improvements. The business is profitable enough at present, but we have seen nitrates as low as 2 dols. 15 cents, in which case, perhaps, only five oficinas could produce it at a bare covering price.

The fact that the Chilean Government is dependent, to a large extent, for its revenue on the export duty on nitrate, hampers producers in resorting to the usual remedy of restricting output in order to enhance price, as it is the general impression that the consequent diminution of revenue would have to be met by an increase of taxation. Even before the drain on the resources of the country by the present calamitous struggle, such an expenditure had been incurred on public works, construction of railways, docks, and piers, as well as on ironclads and war material, as was only justified by the large revenue derived from the tax on nitrates. From this source, indeed, is derived more than a third of the total receipts of the national exchequer, nitrates contributing 21,000,000 dollars, against 20,500,000 levied as import duties, to a total of 56,000,000. The future of nitrates as an investment is thus complicated by political as well as commercial perturbations.

To the south of the desolate coast whence this mineral is exported lies the great silver port of Antofagasta, won from Bolivia in the war of the Pacific, as the nitrate province of Tarapaca was from Peru. A length of sixty miles of railway leads hence to the mines of Caracoles, whose name, in Spanish signifying snails, is a descriptive one, derived from the number of Ammonites found in the Jurassic formation. Here, on the flanks of the Andes, at an altitude of 10,000 feet above the sea, over 4000 mines have been registered, the ores of some of which yield chloride of silver in the proportion of 60, and mercury in that of 2 per cent. The export of ore from Antofagasta, whence nitrates are shipped as well, amounted in one year to £75,000. Another rich silver and nitrate district, that of Chañarel, is reached from Caldera, whence six million dollars' worth of mineral produce are exported in the course of the year. The railway hence to Copiapo is the oldest in Chile, and its effect in stimulating the production of the precious metal may be inferred from the haste made on its construction to pull down walls and houses built from the "relaves" or refuse ores, which, though containing sixty ounces of silver to the ton, had not previously been worth the cost of transport. The name of Copiapo has always been associated with mineral spoil, for it was here that the Inca Manco, who accompanied Almagro the conqueror of Chile, caused

the inhabitants to bestow on the Spaniards their golden treasures, amounting to a million of dollars.

The copper coast succeeds that behind which lies the region of silver, and here we have Huasco, which exports the produce of the Freirina, one of the richest known copper districts, whose mines of Correzal influence the price of the metal in all the markets of the world. Coquimbo comes next, where ores from the mines of Panulcilla, Tamaya, and others are smelted in the great establishment of the firm of Urmeneta and Errazuriz. Although Chile can no longer claim, as she once did, to regulate the price of copper for the world at large, she is at least a large factor in its production, her specialty being the rougher sort specifically known as Chile bars. The ferocity common to all mining populations finds vent, among the copper miners of Chile, in a singular form of duel, in which the adversaries in any serious quarrel fight with their left legs tied together, until one or other falls dead or mortally wounded.

The copper and coal regions overlap, both minerals being found in juxtaposition to the south of Valparaiso, in the neighbourhood of the port of Coronel. Here are situated the mines of Puchaco and Playa Negra, which supply the smelting works of Lota, owned by the Cousiño family, proprietors also of the largest collieries in Chile. Further south are the Lebu coal-mines, owned by the family of Errazuriz, while the islands of Chiloe and the province of Valdivia are known to contain large deposits, as yet little worked.

The enumeration of the mineral treasures of Chile by no means, however, exhausts the list of its resources, since, as an agricultural and pastoral country, it has capabilities scarcely less great. Its central division consists, broadly speaking, of one great valley lying between the parallel Cordilleras, and of the steep lateral valleys dividing their buttressing ranges. Here wheat, maize, and other cereals are grown in such abundance as to leave a considerable surplus for exportation, although of the total area classed as cultivable throughout the country, only one-thirteenth is actually under cultivation. So far afield does Chile find her markets that even remote England takes some of her produce, drawing on the golden vale of Huasco, the Vega of Aconcagua, and other Andean slopes, for a portion of the food of her redundant population.

The agricultural development of Chile dates from 1848, previous to which the cultivation of cereals was not considered lucrative, and only sufficient grain was raised for home consumption.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 [says Mr. (now Sir) Horace Rumbold, *author of the* Report among our headings] changed

the whole aspect of things. The exports in wheat and flour alone increased nearly fourfold in two years, and sevenfold in seven, Chile, as the nearest available market, supplying the wants of the swarms of adventurers of all nations who flocked to the Californian shores. This happy state of things went on for a few years, large fortunes being realised in the Californian trade at Valparaiso and other Chilean ports; but, as early even as 1852, the Ministerial Report above quoted foresaw that such a run of luck could not be of long duration, that the fertile regions of California and Oregon would soon grow enough to support themselves, while the railway building across the Isthmus of Panama, and the new class of clippers carrying grain and other produce from New York round the Horn to San Francisco, in the same time that ordinary vessels took to reach that port from Valparaiso, would help to drive Chile from her newly acquired Californian market. These previsions were speedily realised, the trade with California collapsing as speedily as it had arisen.

The exports to that country, amounting in 1850 to nearly 2,500,000 dollars, of which upwards of 1,500,000 were for grain and flour, had fallen in 1855 to 275,763, and in 1858 to 178,484 dollars, the breadstuffs supplied to San Francisco in that year being valued only at 15,600 dollars.

But at the very time [continues the Report] when the Californian Eldorado was eluding the Chilean producers, a fresh but likewise transient outlet was opened to them by the Australian gold discoveries. The trade with Australia lasted only a few years (1853–1859), but in 1855 the exports represented a value of no less than 2,698,911 dollars, of which 2,541,692, or £500,000 sterling, were for wheat and flour.

Meanwhile equally remote and unforeseen causes were combining to assure to Chile a valuable and far steadier customer in her nearest neighbour. Peru, which in the last century sent wheat to Chile, and raised an abundance of grain, cattle, potatoes, and other kinds of food, had by degrees neglected her production and had taken to tropical husbandry, such as cotton and sugar-cane planting. The war in the United States for a time made cotton planting so lucrative as to turn Peruvian capital yet more in that direction. Thus Chile, who from the first year of which her statistics keep any record had supplied her neighbour with an average value of 250,000 dollars of breadstuffs, now found an outlet for five times that amount. The general conditions of her trade with Peru have indeed been completely reversed in the last thirty years. In 1845 she imported from Peru to the value of 1,474,889 dollars, and exported thither to the amount of 674,552 dollars. In 1863, her imports from that country had fallen to 701,297 dollars, and her exports to it had risen to 2,619,386 dollars. In 1874 the imports *from* Peru figured for 1,947,770 dollars, but her exports thither *attained* the far higher value of 6,916,413 dollars. Peru now

stands second (next to Great Britain, but a long way behind her) in the list of nations who take Chilean produce, while as an importer into Chile she comes in only for the sixth place. To the Chilean grain growers Peru affords the steadiest of markets. The wheat and flour exported thither during the last four years amounted to an average yearly value of 1,900,000 dollars, or £380,000. During the same period Peru likewise took each year 870,000 dollars worth of barley, or nearly two-thirds of the export of that grain, most of the remainder being taken by Bolivia.

Chile's export of breadstuffs to England, insignificant before 1861, expanded in that year to 769,366 dollars' worth, second only to that to Peru. This figure, grown in 1869 to nearly a million, showed in 1871 and 1874 a further increase to 3,032,809 and 6,457,945 respectively, an eightfold increase in thirteen years, representing considerably more than half the total sent out of the country. Yet so vast is the demand of the English market, that though this last and the preceding year were exceptionally favourable to the Chilean importer owing to the great failure of European crops, but a twentieth and twenty-eighth of its total imports were then met from this source.

Of the total export trade of Chile, 80 per cent., amounting to 73,000,000 dollars, was, according to the official figures for 1888, transacted with this country, while she derived nearly half her imports, to the value of 26,000,000 out of 60,000,000 dollars, from the United Kingdom. Cotton goods, railway plant and machinery, form the largest items of the latter, and of the former copper bars and other mineral produce.

The rural industry of Chile is hampered by scarcity of labour, due not only to the competition of the mines, which employ about half the population, but to a large drain of foreign emigration, amounting in some years to 30,000 out of a total of under three million inhabitants. This movement forms in itself presumption of the dissatisfaction of the rural classes with the original conditions of their lives. The existing land system of Chile is an outgrowth of that established by the conquest, as the prevailing form of servile tenure is derived from the "encomiendas," or grants of native labourers with the land, in their original constitution legally abolished in 1791. It has been succeeded by occupancy terminable at will, the *corvée* or labour rent being the equivalent given. Although not necessarily more irksome than payment in money or kind, this class of partnership in land tends to keep husbandry, whether that of the proprietor or the tenant, in a backward and slovenly condition. The services which the "inquilinos," or resident peasantry on a Chilean estate, are called upon to perform for the owner, as "brazos obligados," or compulsory hands, are in the case of

wealthier occupants discharged vicariously by the "peones" or day labourers hired by them.

This unpaid service or *corvée* [says Mr. Rumbold] is the distinctive feature of the system known as "inquilinaje," but the amount of service required of the "inquilino," in person or by deputy, varies greatly on different estates, and is determined by custom or voluntary agreement. For the rest, and by far the greater portion of his work, the poorer "inquilino" receives ordinary payment as a day labourer, and, indeed, in some parts of the country the unpaid service to which the "inquilinos" are bound seems to be confined to such exceptional cases as "rodeos," or the driving in of the cattle at stated intervals from their hill pastures to the "corral," where they are to be branded or selected for the market, or else "trillas," or threshing done by mares, where the modern steam-threshing machinery has not yet been introduced. On certain estates, again, they are only called on to furnish night-patrols to protect the house of the owner, and watch the live stock in their badly enclosed grazing grounds, no light task in a country where "abijeato," or cattle-stealing, is one of the commonest of offences.* In general it would appear as if paid labour were by degrees taking the place of unpaid service, the "inquilino" being thus gradually transformed into a salaried labourer, for whom a cottage and a patch of ground are provided, as on some English estates. The daily wages of agricultural labourers vary between 20 and 40 cents, sometimes rising as high as 50, or falling as low as 10 cents. The average of wages has increased considerably of late years.

There is no written contract between the proprietor and the "inquilino," an oral agreement terminable at will being the only definition of their relations. The instability of the arrangement may tell against either party to it, according as land or labour is in greater demand, but it tends in any case to deterioration of the holding, compensation for unexhausted improvements on which is absolutely unknown. An additional element of precariousness is introduced into all land contracts by the pernicious form of taxation known as the "alcabàla," a duty of 4 per cent. on the rent charged on all leases for a period exceeding ten years. Nine years and eleven months is therefore the universal term, and as most Chilean estates are underlet to middlemen, who are the actual farmers, the result is to make them, in the words of one of their number, "the enemies of the land they cultivate." The system is prohibitory, for instance, of the culture of the grape, as vines only begin to bear in the fifth year, and restricts agriculture to crops which yield an immed

*In the judicial statistics for 1873, 562 out of a total of 3275 crimes and offences in the whole territory of the Republic are put down to cattle-stealing.

return. The lessee is of course equally precluded, even were he so disposed from granting a lease to the "inquilino," although he may, like the landlord in chief, eject him at pleasure.

This servant of the glebe, nevertheless, despite his nominal dependence, has many advantages over the peasant proprietor in countries where the subdivision of holdings renders him the slave of the usurer or the tax-gatherer. These "remote sunburnt countries," as Carlyle calls them, have at least the merit of giving elbow-room to the human family in their amplitudes of scantily peopled soil. The "inquilino" of the better class generally receives, in addition to his "rancho," or hut, a plot of arable and meadow land, varying on good estates between four and six "cuadras" (the "cuadra" is over three acres), on which he is allowed to maintain a certain number of animals, amounting in some cases to eight oxen, nine cows, sixty sheep, and seventeen horses, so that the "inquilinos" on one property are said to own five hundred head of cattle. From their class, too, are taken the "sirvientes del campo," or farm bailiffs, the "capataz," or overseer of all the herdsmen and labourers, and the head "vaquero" in charge of the cattle of the "hacienda." These functionaries receive small fixed salaries, and the former sometimes a commission of 2 per cent. on the harvest, so that they have been known to rise from their state of semi-serfdom to proprietorship, by buying out the improvident, and often absentee, owners.

Far lower, however, than that of even the poorer "inquilinos" is the condition of the "peones," or day labourers, who, without fixed abode or family ties, form a true proletariat, living on precarious earnings, and leading a more or less vagrant life. To these supernumeraries of labour, the mines and foreign emigration offer a welcome resource, pending the time when the development of the latent capabilities of Chile shall have provided improved opportunities of existence for all her sons at home.

The sordid domestic surroundings of the "huaso," as the Chilean countryman is called, are probably due rather to his own low standard of living, than to actual want of means to improve them. In point of fact they are but little removed from barbarism, or rather the "rancho" of branches in which he and his family huddle together with but scant protection from often inclement weather, is a degree lower in the scale of comfort than the wigwam of the Red Indian or the grass hut of the Central African.

It is true [says the Report before us] that on many "haciendas" far better huts have of late years been provided for them by the landlord; but it is a frequent though hardly intelligible complaint, that they do not appreciate the advantages of superior dwellings, and certainly, as a rule, their habitations may be said to be much of the same class as the "lines" in which on tropical estates (in

Ceylon, for instance), the gangs of hired coolies are housed at harvest time. Their food is exclusively vegetable, consisting of "frijoles" (the haricot or kidney bean), or sometimes a mess of "harina tostada" (grilled wheat flour), cooked with lard, and unleavened bread made of the coarser kinds of flour, ingredients which constitute a wholesome rather than inviting dish.* The haricot bean, which is the staple of their food, is, however, highly nutritious, and on it they perform an extraordinary amount of heavy field work, beginning with sunrise and ending at sunset; and thus, in summer-time, labouring for little less, on an average, than thirteen hours a day, with a rest of half an hour at 9 A.M. for breakfast, and for another hour at midday for dinner; and this, be it remembered, under a sky as pitilessly scorching as that of Southern Italy or Greece, and without the support of any sort of stimulant, neither wine nor beer, nor any other liquor being allowed them from the estate. The dreary monotony of lives so toilsome is not unnaturally broken by bouts of revelry, when a week's, or maybe a month's, hard earnings are wasted in a few wild hours at the "despacho," a combination of village store and public-house; the women, meanwhile, sitting listlessly at home, and both they and their numerous offspring frequently faring but badly.

The national beverage of the Chileans is Paraguayan tea, or "yerba de mate," so called from the gourd out of which it is drunk. A silver bowl, in which it is infused, with the addition of sugar, is its more aristocratic receptacle, and from this it is sucked through a silver or other metal tube with a perforated bowl. The favourite dishes are "cazuela," broth with chicken or meat, and potatoes or vegetables boiled in it, "puchero," a variation on this, and "valdiviano" soup, made of "charqui," or jerked beef, potatoes and onions.

An obvious difference of race separates the "hacendados" or Chilean landowners, pure Spaniards still holding in some cases the great fiefs bestowed on their ancestors at the conquest, from the lower orders of the population. On such a scale were their original estates, that it was a popular saying some half century ago that the whole country between Valparaiso and the capital, ninety miles as the crow flies, was owned by three proprietors—one of them claiming lineal descent from Hernan Cortez. Alterations in the laws of inheritance have broken up many of these wide domains, while others have been alienated by owners, drawn

* The regulation rations of the Chilean labourer, according to M. Balmaceda, only consist, for the first meal, of the fifteenth part of an almud (about 1 lb) of flour, or a loaf of that weight; and for the second meal, of the same quantity of beans or maize, cooked with grease or lard; a third, loaf of bread and a dish of "frangollo," or bruised corn, is furnished them for supper on most estates.

from their country homes by the charms of the aristocratic society of Santiago.

The census in Chile gives only an approximate estimate of the population, believed to be over 3 000,000, but registered far below that figure, from the fear of the peasantry that their enumeration was the prelude either to a capitation tax or a *levée en masse*. On the eve of that taken on April 19, 1875, whole villages were left half deserted, as the "peones" fled from their huts to seek a refuge in the mountains. Difficulties of another sort arose in the cities from the crowding of the poorer quarters, and the repetition of the same names in the very numerous families. One "conventillo," or blind alley of Santiago, contained 400 inhabitants, as many as twenty-five occupying a single room, while out of eighty-six inhabitants of one house twenty-five gave the name of Gomez, and fourteen that of Gonzalez.

In Southern Chile rural life has all the picturesqueness derived from contact with primitive nature, in an unreclaimed country where man is still but an intruder on her domain. It is practically inaccessible save by sea, as it is cut off from the northern provinces by the intervening Indian territory of Araucania, where the aborigines, successful rebels against Inca and Spanish rule alike, have only recently acknowledged the sovereignty of Chile, and still live in semi-savage independence, to the number of 70,000 or 100,000, under the sway of their caciques or hereditary chiefs. Northern and Southern Chile are at the opposite poles of climate as far as rainfall is concerned, and the traveller who leaves Valparaiso blasted by perpetual drought, may land at Port Montt to find a country on which the cataracts of heaven have been pouring for three or four weeks together. Whole tracts are shrouded to the water's edge in primeval forest, emerald green under the weeping skies, and the chief export is timber, of which many varieties are little, if at all, inferior to the much prized woods of Brazil.

The coast, sheltered like that of its northern antitype, British Columbia, by a fringe of islands, forms, like it too, a series of landlocked channels, to which correspond a chain of lakes extending along hundreds of leagues in the interior, the largest, that of Llanquihue, measuring some thirty-three miles each way. This diversity of land and water gives panoramic change of aspect to some of the most beautiful scenery in the world, as its vistas alike on lake and sea open up the ever present Cordillera of the Andes, its volcanoes Osorno and Cabbuco, and the great Tronador or Thunderer, crowning with pyramids of snow the uplifted greenery of its flanks.

The principal rural settlements here are composed of German

colonists, who constitute in some of them a good half of the population, and it is a strange sensation to find sauer-kraut and Lager beer the prevailing delicacies, and the "Wacht am Rhein" the pervading melody on these remote Pacific shores. The island of Juan Fernandez, immortal as the abode of Alexander Selkirk, *alias* Robinson Crusoe, is also occupied by a German colony, having been purchased with that intent in 1868 by Robert Wehrdan, a Saxon engineer.

Land in Valdivia is to be had for less than one dollar an acre, and labour is cheap, though scarce. The harvest is reaped by gangs of temporary immigrants from the adjoining islands, distinguished as Chilotes, from the Chileños of the mainland. The interior is throughout almost uninhabited, and the forest of the Patagonian region is an unbroken solitude. The Chilean settlement of Punta Arenas, or Sandy Point, planted amid the majestic desolation of Magellan's Straits, is noteworthy as the most southern civilised community in the world, justifying its title to be so classed by the possession of a school in which 100 pupils receive instruction. The climate, despite a heavy snowfall, is not too rigorous to grow the hardier cereals, but its principal resources are its seal-fisheries, and its trade in guanaco skins and ostrich feathers.

The frontier of Chile on the south, long in dispute with her neighbours, was, unlike her northern boundary, determined by pacific agreement Her claim to some of the eastern shore of Patagonia was abandoned in 1881, when, by treaty with the Argentine Republic, a line bisecting Tierra del Fuego was accepted as the limit between the sister States. The delimitation of the South American Republics, after they had thrown off the Spanish yoke, was based upon what was called the *uti possidetis* of 1810, or limits of the several viceroyalties, as they then existed. But the definition of outline which had been sufficiently exact as between the provinces of the united empire, proved too vague to determine the contending sovereignties of States. The Constitution of Chile, proclaimed in 1833, declares that "the territory of Chile shall extend from the Desert of Atacama to Cape Horn, and from the Cordillera of the Andes to the Pacific Ocean, including the Archipelago of Chiloe, all the adjacent islands, and Juan Fernandez."

Those who drew up this declaration little imagined that the Desert of Atacama, then regarded as an uninhabitable marsh between Chile and her northern neighbours, should one day become the most valuable portion of the territory of either, whose possession should only be decided by a sanguinary war. When, in 1866, deposits of nitrate and borax were discovered in this region by Chilean subjects, a clumsy compromise was made, by

assigning to Bolivia the absolute sovereignty as far as the 24th parallel, but establishing between the 23rd and 25th a sort of joint ownership with Chile, with whom all royalties and dues collected over this debateable land were to be divided. As this condition was, in practice, never observed, Chile consented in 1874 to waive her claim altogether, leaving her rival in undisputed possession of the entire border.

Its commercial capabilities, meanwhile, were entirely developed by Chilean capitalists, who under concessions from the Bolivian Government had made roads, water-cisterns, and piers, entirely creating the port of Antofagasta. The discovery and working of the silver mines of Caracoles was also due to Chilean enterprise, which had to overcome the difficulty of transporting from the coast all supplies of food, water and forage. The conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Bolivia and Peru in 1873 encouraged the former in a policy of fiscal aggression. Nitrates were declared a State monopoly, and while one decree compelled mine-owners to sell exclusively to the Government at a fixed rate, another restricted their right of production so as to enhance the selling price for the benefit of the latter. Other confiscatory decrees followed with the result of transferring the activity of mining operations to Peruvian and Chilean territory.

To these wrongs was added the imperfect legal protection afforded to foreigners, when the revolution in Bolivia in 1876, and the accession to power of General Daza, a "cholo," or Indian half-caste, was followed by general anarchy on the frontier. Crimes of violence, for which the Bolivian tribunals gave no redress to Chilean subjects, were of every-day occurrence, while an arbitrary increase in the duties still further diminished the value of their property. The act which led to the final rupture between the countries was the repudiation by Bolivia, on February 1, 1879, of the treaty of 1872, accompanied by a decree withdrawing the concession of the Chilean Nitrate Company, and ordering the compulsory sale of its property. The war of the Pacific began with the despatch of a Chilean expedition to Antofagasta on February 14, to prevent the execution of this decree. The troops were received with enthusiasm, the majority of the inhabitants being of their own nationality, and occupied the country without opposition up to the 23rd parallel, liberating the captured Bolivian garrisons.

The State thus attacked was not in a condition to repel invasion, being devastated by famine, while the principal care of its President was to prohibit the promulgation in the capital of the news of the taking of Antofagasta, lest it might interfere with the festive celebration of his birthday, and other carnival gaieties then going on. The war consequently resolved itself into a

naval duel between Peru and Chile, in which the seamen of the latter displayed a gallantry worthy of the traditions of a service founded by a British hero. In a remarkable engagement fought off Iquique, on May 21, 1879, the wooden corvette *Esmeralda*, the capture of which from the Spaniards under the guns of Callao was one of the most brilliant feats of Lord Dundonald, made an end which that great captain himself might have been proud of. Sunk at last by the superior metal of her adversary, the ironclad *Huascar*, armed with 300-pounders, she went down with colours flying, while her tiny consort, the gunboat *Cavadonga*, lured the second Peruvian ironclad, the *Independencia*, on the rocks, there to become a total wreck. The result of a subsequent engagement on June 9 of the following year, in which the ironclads *Huascar* and *Cochrane* were the champions of Peru and Chile respectively, was to leave the latter mistress of the seas, and to secure to her eventually the possession of the whole of the disputed territory, of the nitrate and guano districts of Tarapaca, of the port of Antofagasta, and of the rich silver mines of Caracoles.

The material development of Chile is mainly a creation of British enterprise, which first furnished it with adequate means of communication with the rest of the world. A sailing vessel despatched from Callao two or three times a year, and long and anxiously looked for at Valparaiso, was, until fifty years ago, the sole bearer of intelligence and merchandise to Chile from any point outside her own dominions. From this position of isolation she was delivered by the formation of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, the idea of which, first started by William Wheelwright, a native of the United States, resident in Valparaiso as a shipbuilder and engineer, was adopted in England, after having been previously rejected by his own countrymen. Two steamers, the *Peru* and *Chile*, the precursors of a great fleet, sailed from Liverpool in 1840 to ply between Callao and Valparaiso, making the voyage round Cape Horn under canvas, while their machinery was conveyed across the Atlantic to Colon, and thence over the Isthmus to Panama. The enterprise was not at first a financial success, but the company, undiscouraged by five years during which it was carried on at a loss, extended their voyages in 1847 to Panama, and prospered so well as to be able to double in 1850 their original capital of a quarter of a million (now four millions sterling), and to establish in 1868 a monthly, which soon becam a fortnightly, steam service between Liverpool and Valpar They maintained their supremacy in the Pacific against efforts of the Messageries Maritimes and another French pany, of the White Star line, and the Royal Belgian contest it with them, and they have now only two com

the "Kosmos" line from Hamburg, and a Chilean company receiving a subsidy of £20,000 a year from the Government. These are rather subsidiaries than rivals to the English line, which in addition to conveying to Europe 2500 tons of cargo twice a month, has a practical monopoly of the local trade between Chile and Peru. A statue of Mr. Wheelwright in one of the principal squares of Valparaiso indicates the light in which he is regarded by his adopted country as one of its national benefactors.

The railways of Chile cover a length of 1498 miles, and are all the property of the State. The principal lines are that linking Valparaiso to the capital with a branch to the foot of the Andes, another running longitudinally along the central valley, and several short lengths connecting the various mining districts with the coast. Contracts have been signed for 600 miles in addition, comprising the extension of the present trunk line through Araucania to the southern provinces, and lines opening up some of the mining districts in the north, as far as Huasco and Vallenar. More ambitious and remote is the project of a Transandine line, to run from Santa Rosa de los Andes in Chile, to Mendoza, the terminus of the railway on the Argentine side, with a mountain section of 70 kilomètres, of which two-fifths would be over 3000, and one-fifth over 3200 mètres high. The steepest gradient would be 1 in 25 for a short distance only, and the estimated cost is £2,400,000. The danger of importing cholera or yellow fever by a route which would bring Valparaiso within forty-eight hours of Buenos Ayres, is one of the objections made to its construction on the part of the former.

The honourable position hitherto held by Chile among South American Republics, as the one exception to their record of civil convulsions, has been forfeited within the last few months. She owed this exemption in a great degree to the self-control of one of her citizens on the occasion of the last internecine struggle to which she was a prey. This was in 1851, when the exasperation of the Liberal party at the triumph of the Conservatives in the election to the presidency of Don Manuel Montt, led to a military revolt headed by General Cruz, the defeated candidate.

At this critical juncture it was [says Mr. Rumbold] that the outgoing President placed his sword at the disposal of the new. To appreciate the conduct of General Bùlnes on this occasion, it should be borne in mind that, although an influential leader of the party which had installed Montt, he is known to have been opposed to the selection of Montt as the candidate of that party; further, that he was bound by ties of close relationship to Montt's competitor; and, lastly, that his renown and popularity, as the victor of Yungay and conqueror of Peru, were such as might well have tempted a more ordinary man from the strict path of duty and military discipline.

Moreover, his offer of service was entirely spontaneous, and he might, without loss of reputation, have held entirely aloof from the dissensions of the State. The election of M. Montt being, however, legal in his eyes, he did not hesitate to support it. After a short campaign he met the forces of his kinsman General Cruz, at Lonesmilla, and overthrew them after a hard fought and sanguinary engagement. To his bearing at this momentous crisis, Chile in great measure owes her enviable freedom from the manifold evils which up to the present day afflict the surrounding sister republics, and have made the bulk of South American history a disheartening record of barrack revolutions, too often stained with political assassination. He gave the death-blow to militarism in this country, and when in 1859 at the close of M. Montt's second term of office, fresh political disturbances arose, they were easily quelled by a staunch and undivided army.

The most noteworthy feature of the present calamitous civil war is the division of the elements between the contending parties, the President, with the control of the bulk of the army, purchased, it is said, by wholesale promotions and promises of pay, being supreme on land, as his adversaries, who command the fleet, are at sea. The struggle appears to turn on constitutional rather than personal questions, and in face of the contradictory statements of the two parties, it is impossible to apportion the merits between them. The failure to summon congress to vote the Continuance Acts for maintaining the naval and military forces at the end of the year, has placed the President in a position of technical illegality, and he has been warned by the responsible officials that all treasury warrants for public expenditure have ceased to be valid since January 1.

The rebellious Congress, which includes a coalition of all political parties, is equally incapable of legitimising its position, and the barbarous arbitrament of the sword seems alone capable of solving the question at issue. Tho country, meanwhile, has to undergo in double form the miseries of civil war, for while its ports are blockaded and bombarded by the Congressional party from the sea, the inland districts are ravaged by the Presidential troops, who sack and burn the houses of their wealthier opponents. The excesses of martial law on the one hand, and of unlicensed anarchy on the other, have produced a reign of terror in which all business is suspended, and the operations of commerce and agriculture are abandoned alike. Some of the banks in Valparaiso have been closed by Presidential decree, and such pressure was put on the others by the threat of withdrawing the Government deposits, and thus reducing them to temporary insolvency, that they consented as an alternative to its issue of paper money to a large amount. Both parties seem equally determined, and as neither can strike an effectual blow at the

other, it is impossible to foresee the eventual result of the struggle.

Whatever it may be, Chile will have lost during its continuance the fruits of fifty years of progress, and her people will have learned the truth of the adage in which their neighbours of Mexico sum up the teaching of many such experiences, that "a bad government is better than a good revolution."

E. M. Clerke.

Art. VI.—THE HOMAGE OF CHRIST THE KING.

(1 Cor. xv. 28.)

TOWARDS the end of the year 52 of our Era a solitary Eastern traveller quitted Athens and turned his steps towards Corinth. He journeyed with a great purpose, for he had in mind no less an aim than to upturn the established religion of Greece, and on its ruins to erect the stately edifice of a new and antagonistic faith. And what were the qualities, endowments, and advantages that equipped him for so colossal an enterprise? Corinth was at this time the capital of the southern division of Achaia, that is, of the whole of Greece south of Thessaly. She was the rallying-point of a large floating cosmopolitan population, the commercial centre to which for the exchange of wares merchants converged from East and West, from the Orontes to the Tiber. Such was the city of "seagirt Corinth." The inhabitants were remarkable for their wealth, their culture, their literary tastes, their appreciation of intellectual talent, and, above all, for that luxury and licentiousness which had been raised to the rank of a religious rite, and which had turned the name of Corinthian into a byword for a voluptuary and a wanton.* What then were the credentials with which our traveller came furnished for an undertaking so impracticable? To all appearance they were insignificant indeed. He was a poor man, by trade a tentmaker. He was a foreigner, a "barbarian," one of a despised race—a Jew. The language of these refined and fastidious citizens of the "Star of Greece" was to him an acquired tongue, which he spoke rudely, and wrote ruggedly. These Greeks were proud of their orators, poets, and philosophers. This wandering stranger made light of eloquence, and professed

* *Cf.* κορινθιάζεσθαι and κορινθία κόρη.

to preach without "loftiness of speech," or "the persuasiv words of human wisdom." He girded at secular knowledge an learning, openly proclaimed "the wisdom of this world foolish ness," and counselled his hearers, "if any man among yo thinketh himself wise, let him turn fool that he may becom wise." And so little sympathy had he with wantonness, an effeminacy, and bodily indulgence, that his mission was to pr claim in trumpet-tones to these sensuous devotees of Aphrodit that man's body is the temple of God, and "if any man violat this temple, him shall God destroy;" with terrible directness h delivered the hard message of the New Law, that the Christia must "cleanse himself from all defilement of the flesh," fo "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor the wanton shall posses the Kingdom of God."

Such was the man who had come to combat the intellectua arrogance, the false pride, the debased philosophy, the deep rooted sensuality of a powerful, a wealthy, a cultured, and subtle-minded people! Judged from a human standpoint, wha hope of success in his enterprise awaited this foreigner, this tent maker, this enthusiast and seer of visions, this "babbler an setter forth of strange gods," at whom the Stoic and Epicurea philosophers had pointed a mocking finger when he stood in th midst of them in the Areopagus at Athens? From the point o view of what he himself emphatically called "the world," what were the chances in his favour as the traveller journeyed down the Isthmus by the "double-sea," and in the distance there rose into sight the high summit of the Acrocorinthus?

St. Paul entered Corinth. In eighteen months he had built up the solid edifice of a large, flourishing, and important Christian Church, the members of which were isolated from their neighbours by strangeness of religion, of manners, of dress, and by the possession of unknown and startling supernatural gifts. After eighteen months he quitted the city, and when he sailed for Ephesus there escorted him to the port of Kenkry a great concourse of every rank and class, who addressed him as "Father," regulated their lives in accordance with his precepts, and parted from him with expressions of sorrow and regret prompted by an affection and veneration uncommon in the Grecian character.

Five years after St. Paul's departure, three envoys from his Corinthian converts waited on the apostle at Ephesus. They were the bearers of an epistle begging for a solution of several questions on matters ecclesiastical, moral, liturgical, but especially of that touching the resurrection of the dead. When St Paul preached at Athens, the Athenians "mocked when they heard of the resurrection of the dead." And now, among the Corinthian Christians, with their strong taste for intellectual

speculation, with their love of logical subtleties and rhetorical affectations to which the Sophists had accustomed them, with their exaggeration of purely philosophical difficulties, the same question had been discussed, and misunderstood, and cavilled at, and called in question, until some had fallen into doubt, and asked, "How do the dead rise again, or with what manner of body shall they come?" so that the apostle was driven to complain, "How do some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" It was to the answering of this question that St. Paul addressed himself in the fifteenth chapter of his "First Epistle to the Corinthians."

In that chapter the apostle describes the past resurrection of Christ, the future resurrection of mankind, the subjugation of Christ's enemies, and the destruction of Death; and concludes this part of his argument with the statement that "when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then the Son Himself also *shall be subject* unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all" (ver. 28). This difficult verse, which has furnished a battle-ground for contending commentators of every age and creed, enunciates a doctrine of which there is no exact parallel elsewhere in the Scriptures. What, it is asked, is this subjection of the Son? Is it an act or a state? Is it a subjection of His divinity or His humanity? How can He be subject in His divinity? And in His humanity was He not ever subject? Does this subjection imply aught of diminution or humiliation? These are questions that call for answers, and have met with answers as varied as the varied bias of the commentators who put them forward. Even the Fathers were puzzled, and have left us by no means concordant interpretations.

The recent publication of Father Cornely's exhaustive work on this Epistle * has put it in our power to examine this doctrine anew, in the light of the most modern criticism, based upon a thoroughly sound dogmatic theology. The learned Jesuit, it is needless to say, shows a masterly grasp of the question, speaks with no faltering voice, propounds a clear and definite solution, and like a consummate pilot steers his course clear of the rocks and shoals which beset his path to the right hand and to the left.

Through eighty closely printed large octavo pages he discusses the resurrection of the dead with a fulness, a lucidity, a wealth of illustration, a firmness of dogmatic touch, combined with a wide and deep acquaintance with patristic theology that, together with his broad liberality, make Father Cornely—especially to

* "Commentarius in S. Pauli priorem epistolam ad Corinthios," auctore Rudolpho Cornely, S.J. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux.

students accustomed to use non-Catholic commentators—a most satisfactory and trustworthy guide. If there is a complaint to make, it is that he is perhaps a little *too sober-minded* in his judgments, and criticises in a somewhat too matter-of-fact spirit the imaginative, highly wrought, and dramatic soarings of the great mind whose writings he is here expounding. His conclusion on the question of Christ's subjection would seem to be a case in point. Father Cornely sums up his consideration of that question thus:

I am far from agreeing with that not insignificant school who, while keeping the proper meaning of the word "subjection," explain it as identical in meaning with "manifestation of subjection." Doubtless the Son—that is, the Incarnate Word—is, even now, subject to the Father; but on delivering up the kingdom He will become subject *in a new manner;* at present He is subject as King of the Church Militant, then He will be subject as Head and King of the Church Triumphant, &c. (pp. 480–1).

But to the present writer the view adopted by St. Thomas* seems far more plausible, viz., that Christ, after the general resurrection, will *not* be subject "in a new manner," but that the subjection of which St. Paul speaks implies neither more nor less than a "manifestation of subjection," that is, a fresh declaration, profession, and acknowledgment—a re-affirmation and renewed assertion—of a full, entire, perfect, and complete subjection which had existed on the part of Christ from the first instant of His Incarnation, when the Holy Spirit came upon Mary, and the power of the Most High overshadowed her. This renewal of subjection implies no abdication or deposition of Christ the King, but rather the assurance of an everlasting reign. For our Lord is that "certain nobleman who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. . . . . And it came to pass that he returned, having received the kingdom" (Luke xix. 12, 15). As in the ages of feudal service the liegeman was wont at intervals to do homage for his seignory to the over-lord in renewed recognition of a subjection and dependence that already existed and were not thereby increased, in like manner will the Vassal-King—the man Christ Jesus—do homage, render service, and show fealty for His everlasting kingdom to that Suzerain and Lord Paramount who appointed Him ruler of all His possessions (Ps. civ. 21). This homage of Christ the King is not a new, but the new recognition of an old subjection.

* In h. l. "Christ is, even now, as man, subject to God, but then His subjection will be made *more manifest*." This opinion was defended by Dionysius the Carthusian, Haymon of Halberstadt, and later, by Estius, Drach, and many others.

In the first part of the chapter under discussion (ver. 1–34), St. Paul confronts those who had denied the future resurrection of the dead with three arguments, of which the second and third are of lesser importance, but the first is primary and concerns us here. In the two minor arguments (ver. 29–34) the apostle shows that the conduct of himself in particular and of Christians in general is inexplicable, if this fundamental doctrine is denied. His first and cardinal argument (ver. 1–28) is drawn from the intimate connection subsisting between the accomplished resurrection of Christ and the future resurrection of mankind. This argument he expresses in the form of a syllogism, with—as is usual with him—a suppressed conclusion, thus: "Christ has risen from the dead" (ver. 1–20); "but the resurrection of Christ implies the resurrection of those that are Christ's" (ver. 21–28): "therefore all men will rise again." The major premiss he proves from the testimonies of eye-witnesses to whom the risen Christ had appeared (ver. 1–11), and from the absurd consequences springing from the denial of this resurrection (ver. 12–20). The minor premiss, in which alone we are here immediately interested, calls for a somewhat more detailed consideration.

Verse 20: "But now Christ is risen from the dead, the first-fruits of them that sleep." St. Paul, after leading his readers through a nightmare of horrors spread out before the view of those who deny the resurrection of Christ, after painting the hopelessness and despair awaiting them, bursts forth abruptly with a jubilant cry of deliverance "But now Christ is risen," is risen, moreover, not as a mere individual and disconnected unit, but as the head of that body whereof we are the members, as the firstborn of that family whereof we are the brethren, as the first-fruits of that harvest whereof we are the abundant sheaves. "The first-fruits of the sleepers." To the dramatic eye of the apostle the huge earth is one great cemetery, κοιμητήριον, or sleeping-place, in which the seed lies dormant until the spring-time of resurrection starts it into active life—one vast field, or God's acre, wherein the bodies of the dead are sown to yield a rich produce for the service of the Lord. Already the crop is ripening to the harvest. Already an earnest of it has been got in, a firstling offered to the Lord. Already Christ, the first ripe sheaf and richest of the harvest, has been gathered in, the rest of the crop will be housed in due season.

Verse 21: "For by a man death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead." As a man was the bringer-in of death, so it is fitting that a man should be the bringer-in of resurrection. By a man human nature had been blighted, debased, despoiled of its preternatural endowment of immortality; by a man it was

fitting that human nature should recover its health, dignity, and gift of immortality. Man had done the damage, and begotten death; it was fitting that man should repair the damage, and destroy death.

Verse 22: "And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive."* What is the relation of this to the preceding verse? The sense of both verses hinges on the prepositions "*by* man" (διά) and "*in* Adam" (ἐν). To consider first the introduction of death. Each preposition expresses a cause of death, διά the radical, remote, mediate cause, ἐν, the derived, proximate, immediate cause; διά refers to the death-bearing *act*, ἐν to the death-bearing *state*, the result of that act; διά implies the "peccatum originans," the actual sin perpetrated when, eating of the forbidden fruit, man incurred the doom, "In what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death," ἐν implies the "peccatum originatum," the habitual sin which contaminated the sinner's soul after the transient act had passed away. The actual sin of Adam, as actual, and consequently transient, was not, and could not be, propagated in his posterity. But the habitual sin, the *habit* of sin which that act caused, the guilt with which it infected the soul, the aversion of the will from its supernatural end, God—this could be and is transmitted to Adam's posterity. Sinners are we all, infants included. "Death passed upon all, because all have sinned" (Rom. v. 12). But, it may be asked, where in transmitted original sin is that element of voluntariness, that *free* defect of the will, which is a necessary factor of all sin? How can there be a free defect of will in an unbaptised infant whose soul original sin is said to blot and mar? The answer to this fundamental difficulty is supplied by St. Paul in this verse. It is this: the actual sin of Adam is *imputed* to all; his was a sin, not of the individual only, but of the whole nature, and stains that nature wherever found. The will of the race was bound up in a moral solidarity with the will of the head of the race, so that the sin of the head became the sin of the whole body. The race *fell by* Adam's actual sin; the race *sins in* the habitual sin of Adam's will, which is morally its own.

And as with Adam, so with Christ; as with death, so with resurrection. St. Paul in two pregnant verses has expressed a colossal antithesis. By act Adam sinned, by act Christ atoned; in the will of Adam, the natural head, the whole body fell; in the will of Christ, the spiritual head, the whole body rose again. Here is Christ's indefeasible title to His kingship and His kingdom—a kingship and a kingdom to endure so long as humanity remains

* Read for instead of and ὥσπερ γάρ.

liberated from the thraldom of death—that is, for ever. Christ will be for ever King of "all who shall be made alive."

This leads to the further inquiry as to the extension of this term *all*. That St. Paul elsewhere taught the resurrection of all bodies is abundantly clear from his pleadings before the Governor Felix—"having hope in God . . . . that there shall be resurrection of the just and the unjust." But whether this doctrine is, or is not, taught in this verse is a contested question. Ambrose is the choragus of the Inclusionists, Œcumenius of the Exclusionists. The latter point out that St. Paul sometimes, at least, speaks exclusively of the resurrection of the elect (*e.g.*, Phil. iii. 11); that Christ cannot be called the "first-fruits" of the reprobate;* that the resurrection of the head implies only the resurrection of the members; that in the latter part of the chapter the apostle explicitly confines his remarks to glorified bodies; and that the verb "shall be made alive"—*ζωοποιηθήσονται*—is applicable only to a glorious resurrection. This reasoning is, however, far from conclusive. The Ambrosianists retort with the unanswerable argument that Christ can only "destroy the last enemy, death" (ver. 26), by wresting from him all his spoils, the bodies not less of the reprobate than of the elect.

The truth seems to lie in the mean. St. Paul here refers to the elect alone explicitly, to all implicitly. By a euphemism gratifying to the Greek character he avoids mention of a distasteful subject.† He writes as if his hearers had a personal interest only in the elect. But his thought is couched in language which affords a legitimate and conclusive argument for the resurrection of all, just and unjust. Christ is head of the whole family. As far as in Him lies, He is the "first-fruits" of the whole race; and if, in the field of God's husbandry, tares be found, not Christ but the enemy hath sown them. Christ has won actual resurrection for the body in its preternatural life of glory or of suffering. He has won a *destiny* to resurrection for the soul in its supernatural life of grace and glory. All bodies *must* rise again, in the next world; all souls *will* rise again, in this world (from the merely natural to the supernatural life) if they apply to themselves the merits of Christ's passion. The preternatural resurrection of the body is unconditioned; the supernatural resurrection of the soul requires, as a condition, the co-operation of the soul.

Verse 23: "But every one in his own order: the first-fruits Christ, then they that are of Christ, who have believed in His coming." The better Greek texts have the preferable reading,

* Father Cornely even thinks such a view "foolish"—"nisi Christum reproborum quoque resurgentium primitias *stulte* velimus," &c., p. 472.

† Compare the Greek habit of calling the Erinyes, or Furies, by the less ominous name of Eumenides, or the Gracious Ones.

they that are Christ's, at His coming (οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ). This Advent defines the time of the General Resurrection. The verse is probably an answer to the Corinthian contention that the resurrection was only a spiritual resurrection, and already past (*cf.* 2 Tim. ii. 18), a false impression based on the Platonic doctrine that matter, ὕλη, is the source of all evil, physical and moral; that the material body is the principle of sin, and that, as such, its resurrection is a consummation devoutly *not* to be wished.

The word translated *order*—τάγμα—does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. The usual scriptural word for *order* is τάξις. The former means a *troop* or *company*, in the military sense. Clemens Romanus (1 Cor. 37) makes each officer to be a *troop* in himself. The word implies a precedence of time and dignity. First Christ, a legion in Himself—first in dignity, first in time; as the "first-fruits" precede the crop in time, and surpass it in excellence, so must the resurrection of Christ precede that of His elect. "And He is before all . . . . and He is the Head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things He may hold the primacy" (Coloss. i. 17). There is here no explicit reference to the reprobate. This, it may plausibly be argued, is another example of that employment of euphemism noticed above; by a sort of aposiopesis more eloquent than many words, St. Paul commences the enumeration of the "troops" only to stop short when he reaches those of the damned: "First Christ, secondly (ἔπειτα, deinde) they that are Christ's, ——" by an ominous silence the writer leaves the "*thirdly, the reprobate*," to be supplied by the imagination of the reader. Among the ranks of the risen elect, there is a precedence, not of time, but of dignity only. Not of time, for "the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall rise in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye" (ver. 52); but of dignity—for "there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead" (ver. 41, 42).

What, it may be asked, was the vision that filled the mind's eye of the inspired seer under this metaphor of τάγμα or *troop*? The apostle appears to have pictured the elect starting, at the trumpet-sound, instantaneously from earth and sea—"from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them"—ranged in their legions of doctors and confessors, and virgins and martyrs—to marshal themselves on the right side of Christ the King when He shall proceed to that Judgment whereat the hostile powers will be enchained (ver. 24),

and the arch enemy, Death, destroyed (ver. 26). Similar was the vision of John in the Apocalypse (xix.) when—"I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, ... who doth judge and make war . . . . and His name was the Word of God. *And the armies that were in heaven followed Him.* . . . . And He hath on his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords."

Verse 24: "Afterwards the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father, when He shall have brought to nought all principality, and power, and virtue." The preferable reading is ὅταν παραδιδῷ, *when He is* (or *shall be*) *delivering up;* that is, the "end" and "the delivering up" are to be simultaneous. What this *end* or *consummation** (τέλος) is, is defined in ver. 28—"that God may be all in all." All that follows after *end*, to the close of ver. 28, is explanatory of this end. This *end*, inasmuch as it coincides with the "delivering up," cannot mean, as some have maintained, the resurrection of the reprobate, since the "delivering up" follows the destruction of death, which follows the resurrection of the reprobate. Death is only destroyed by the resurrection of all. The order is (1) resurrection of all; (2) destruction of death; (3) delivering up of kingdom. It is absurd, too, to limit the meaning of τέλος to *end of the world*, for while the τέλος and delivering up are contemporaneous, the end of the world must precede both.†

What then was this τέλος in the mind of St. Paul? Explicitly it signified the accomplishment of that purpose for which we were created—the complete fulfilment of the Divine Will, "that God may be all in all." But it implied much more than this. It implied the point of time from which this complete fulfilment commences—the *terminus a quo*, or end of the world—when the powers of darkness have been abolished, and death has been destroyed, and "the first heaven and first earth have passed away, and there is no more sea." It implied the duration during which God will be all in all—*i.e.*, Eternity: "The *end*, everlasting life" (Rom. vi. 22). It implied the consummation of perfect happiness of soul and body, of the whole man, by the possession of God the Supreme Good: "Receiving the *end* of your faith . . . . salvation" (1 Peter i. 9). And lastly, it implied Him who is in Himself not only the source and origin, but the end and consummation of every good, natural and super-

* *Cf.* Rom. x. 4, and Bretschneider sub h. v., n. 4.

† No commentator seems to have attached a military sense to τέλος. Yet the word signifies, equally with τάγμα, a *troop* or *legioni*, *cf.* Herodotus i. 103, or *squadron*, Thucydides i. 48.

natural—God: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the *End*" (Apoc. xxi. 6). *

"When he delivers up the kingdom." What is this kingdom? The expression "the kingdom"—absolutely—is not elsewhere used by St. Paul. It may have a triple signification: the region ruled over, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii. 36); the subjects ruled over, "He hath made us a kingdom" (Apoc. i. 6); kingship or rule, "Of His kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke i. 33). And this rule or kingship may be based on a complex title, which in Christ is at least twofold. He is king by title of Creation, "God hath spoken by His Son . . . . by whom also He made the worlds" (Heb. i. 2), in virtue of which He rules over all creatures—angels, devils, reprobate and elect. He is king, too, by title of Redemption, "Who translated us into the kingdom of the Son . . . . in whom we have our redemption" (Coloss. i. 13). This latter kingdom may briefly and conveniently be regarded under a double aspect—as the kingdom of grace and of glory, the former a preparation for the latter; the former in this world, the latter in the next.

"After having brought to nought (abolished) all principality and power and virtue." These are understood by the Greek Fathers, by Hilarius, &c., and by most modern commentators, to be demons, denominated by the titles of the Angelic orders, to which they once belonged. But the terms also imply sin, death, and the reprobate—the instruments by which the devils carry on their work. This is manifest from ver. 55, 56, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin."

Verse 25: For He must reign, "Until He hath put all His enemies under His feet" (Ps. cix. 1): ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῷ, donec posuerit, *until He shall have put*. St. Paul proves from the Psalm what he had asserted in the preceding verse, that the delivering up of the kingdom will be preceded by the subjugation of the enemy—God, in the Old Law had foretold it.

Verse 26: "And the enemy Death shall be destroyed last," "For He (God) hath put all things under His (Christ's) feet" (Ps. viii. 8). The proof here adduced turns on the one word *all* (כל), as in the preceding verse it turned on the one word *until* (עד). *All* creatures are to be made subject to Christ,

* It deserves notice that the apostle has, in this chapter, assigned all the causes of the Resurrection. The *exemplar* cause, Christ, the first-fruits (ver. 20), (*Cf.* "Jesus said to her, I am the Resurrection and the Life" John xi. 25). The *meritorious* cause, Christ by His death (21). The *efficient* cause, God (28). The *formal* cause, the life infused by Christ, the ζωή contained in ζωποιηθήσονται (22). The *material* cause, the glorified bodies (36). The *final* cause, the τέλος, that God may be all in all (28).

and therefore Death is to be made subject. Death is here personified, and numbered among the rest of Christ's foes—Death, the royal tyrant, begotten of a royal sire, Sin. ("Death *reigned*," Rom. v. 17; "Sin *reigned* in Death," Rom. v. 21.) Death is the implacable enemy of Christ's kingdom, because as avenger of its parent, sin—sin, the offspring of Satan's hatred of God—it has dominated the whole race of man, having spared not to lay its icy grasp even on the sacred person of Christ Himself; and that, too, contrary to the will of God, who, in the beginning made man, soul and body, imperishable and immortal. Death is the foe last overcome, because it retains its hold on its spoils—the bodies of the elect—even after their souls have been translated into Paradise beyond the reach of the other enemies, the devils and sin. Christ had undermined the empire of Death by His own glorious resurrection; but this was not enough. This tyrant, with his imperious mandate, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return," must be "abolished," root and branch, he must be destroyed, for in Christ's everlasting kingdom the penalty of sin can no more have place than can sin itself. Death, indeed, will be destroyed by the restoration of that life which death had reft away—by the resurrection of the body; but to eradicate from the Corinthian mind all notion of the possibility of a second death of the body, the apostle personifies death, paints it as a dread, unsubstantial, shadowy despot, gives that "a shape that shape hath none," pictures it as a "grim and grisly" spectre, whose head the likeness of a kingly crown has on, and then dooms the goblin to utter, irreparable, everlasting destruction.*

Verses 27, 28: "When He (Christ) shall have said, 'All things have been put in subjection'—evidently excepting Him (the Father) who subjected all things unto Him (Christ)—when (I say) all things shall have been made subject to Him (Christ), then the Son Himself shall be subjected to Him (the Father) that did subject all things unto Him (Christ), that God may be all in all."

Here we come to the last great masterpiece in the gallery through which St. Paul has been conducting us. He has depicted the risen Christ as the first-fruits. He has bodied forth a vast

* *Cf.* Milton's "Paradise Lost," 2, 666; and Spenser's "Faerie Queen," 7. 17, 46:—

> But after all came Life and lastly Death,
> Death with most grim and grisly visage seen:
> Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
> Ne aught to see, but like a shade to ween,
> Unbodied, unsouled, unheard, unseen.

God's acre, sown with seed of the sleeping dead. He has portrayed the legions of the risen marching under their captain to deal a final and crushing blow at the tyrants—Satan, Sin, Death. Then for our study, he presented three other pieces—the abolition of the hostile Powers, the death of Death,* and the conqueror with His foot on the prostrate foe. And now that we have reached this crowning scene, the apostle's language mirrors the intensity of the thought and feeling struggling for expression in his heart and brain. St. Paul's style is always rugged, always abrupt, always inadequate to convey his pregnant thought. But, in these verses, the words have burst forth as the rough boulders in an avalanche plunge pell-mell down a mountain side, jostling and hustling in their headlong, spasmodic course, rebounding a moment from some immovable obstacle, then speeding forward again with precipitant rush—to lie at last in the valley a jumbled, tumbled confusion, and yet withal admirably expressive of the force that hurled them down. Symmetry, lucidity, grammatical construction, there is none, as the pent-up conceptions, striving for utterance, crack the language in its effort to convey them. Yet his words fill the reader with the intense conviction that the writer *saw* what he described, that, as he sat with the Corinthian scroll unrolled before him, there passed across his mental gaze a panorama of gorgeous scenes hardly to be outdone in vividness by the reality itself. St. Paul is emphatically the seer. "His words are not dead words, they are living creatures, and have hands and feet." His language is the offspring of a mind in which thought has fired the brain. His shipwreck of grammar and construction is the outpouring of the most impassioned eloquence, more expressive in its muscular collectedness than the balanced periods of a polished and fastidious orator. In eight verses he has painted, with the rapid strokes and large touches of a master-hand, the spiritual history of heaven and earth from its opening to its close.

It is curious and instructive to note the many conflicting interpretations of this last verse. The Sabellians and Marcionites† considered the future subjection of Christ to God to imply the merging afresh of the Son in the Father. Others, referred to by Augustine,‡ held that the subject involved the change of the Sacred Humanity into the Divine substance. The Arians declared that the verse plainly declared the inferiority, in every respect, of the Son to the Father. Akin to the last opinion is that propounded by certain Protestants, of who-

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* "O Death, I will be thy death! O see," 13, 14.
† *Cf.* Ambrose "De Fide." 5, 7.
‡ "Lib. contra Serm. Arian," c. 37.

Godet* may fairly be taken as a representative: "Subordination was therefore, according to St. Paul, in harmony with the essential relation of the Son to the Father in his *divine* and human existence. If, consequently, he is called to reign, by exercising divine sovereignty within the universe, it can only be for a time, with a view to the obtaining of a particular result. This end gained, He will return to his normal position —subordination relatively to God the Father. Such, as it seems to me, is the true thought of the apostle. How did he understand the state of the Son after this act of voluntary subjection? In his view this act of subjection could be no loss to the Son. It is not He who descends from the divine throne; it is his subjects who are raised to it along with Him: 'To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit on my throne, as I overcame.' Even on the divine throne Christ is only 'as an elder brother in the midst of many brethren.' 'Heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ,' says S. Paul in the same sense, *i.e.*, sharing with Him the divine inheritance, the possession of God Himself. He is, therefore, no longer a king surrounded by His subjects, but a brother, who in relation to His brethren keeps only the advantage of His eternal priority." There is little in this passage with which the orthodox can agree. The Son is not subordinate in His divine nature; the exercise of divine sovereignty in His divine nature is not for a time only; His exercise of sovereignty in His human nature is not divine. Nor will He return to subordination; not in His human nature, because in that He was never aught but subordinate; not in His divine nature, because in that He cannot be subordinate. To say that Christ will not be a King for ever is to forget that text of St. Paul to the Ephesians (i. 20): 'The Father of glory .... raising Him (Christ) up from the dead, and setting Him on His right hand in the heavenly places, above all principality, and power, and virtue, and dominion, and every name that is named, *not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.* And He hath subjected *all* things under His feet, and hath made Him head over all the Church.'"

It is interesting also to consider the standpoint of the late Dean Stanley:† "Even if in this present world a distinction must be allowed between God, the invisible Eternal Father, and Christ, the Lord and Ruler of man, St. Paul points our thoughts to a time when the distinction will cease, when the reign of all intermediate objects, even of Christ Himself, shall cease, and God will fill all the universe, and be Himself present in the hearts and minds of all." How much is there in this passage that is not

* "Com. on First Ep. to Cor.," ii. p. 371. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
† "The Ep. of S. Paul to Cor.," p. 316.

wrong or inaccurate? It is wrong to say there is no distinction between the Father and Christ, quite apart from the exigencies of "the present world;" it is wrong to say that this distinction will ever cease; it is wrong to say that Christ's reign will ever cease; and it is inaccurate to imply that God is not always and of necessity "present in the minds and hearts of all"—by His essence, by His presence, by His power—since "in Him we live and move and are."

Among Catholic commentators, several of the Greek Fathers, of whom St. Chrysostom is the corypheus, understand the subjection of Christ to be in His divine personality, in that the Father is *principium sine principio*, the Son *principium a principio*—a subjection, however, that is purely metaphorical, implying merely "a marvellous unanimity of Father and Son, by which the latter manifests Himself to be indeed God, but God of God." Again, not a few of the Fathers understand here by "Son" the mystical body of Christ, or even the individual members of that body taken distributively.* Moreover, very many of the Latin Fathers by "Son" understand the Word as subsisting in the human nature, for "inasmuch as the Word is God, His kingship is not only uninterrupted and without end, it is also without beginning. The Word *began* to reign only in so far as 'It was made Flesh.'" † But these two last explanations are but inadequate statements and different aspects of one and the same fact. The "Son" is indeed Christ in His humanity, but Christ as Head of the mystical body of the Church. In this capacity alone will there be, after the general resurrection, any occasion for subjection on the part of Jesus. Surely the explanation is plain enough? When a feudal lord rendered fealty for his barony he answered for the loyalty of both himself and his vassals. So Christ's act of subjection will be made, not for Himself only, but also for the members of the body of which He is the Head. "The Son Himself" explicitly signifies Christ the Head, it implicitly connotes also the Body to which that Head belongs.

With this brief indication of the many divergent views taken of this difficult verse, it is here maintained that this subjection

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* *E.g.*, Origen, Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyss., Cyr. Alex., Theodoret, Hilarius, Ambrose, Jerome, &c.; *cf.* Cornely, p. 480. De Wette stigmatises this view as "an empty subterfuge" (*eine leere Ausflucht*), but he would have done well to have first read the writers he condemns. Names weighty as these are not to be waived aside with such scant courtesy. Offhand rejection of this sort stamps certain latter-day commentators, who forget that, beyond the elucidation of grammatical and linguistic difficulties, they have added little or nothing to the exegesis of the Fathers. But these modern critics transcribe so diligently one from another that they have forgotten the original obligation—or were never aware of it.

† Augustine De Trin., i. 8, 10; qu. 6, 9; inter. qu. 83, &c.

of Jesus is no renunciation of power, or diminution of dignity, but is nothing more than an act of homage to God, performed by Christ in His human nature, by which on the introduction, after the Judgment, of the Church triumphant into heaven, the God Man will manifest anew that subordination which had existed in Him in unblemished perfection from the first instant of His conception, and which will continue to exist in that perfection for all eternity.

Christ, it is needless to point out, may be considered in a twofold manner, as God and as Man, in His divine and in His human nature.* Assuredly the subjection of which S. Paul speaks is not that of His divine nature. Christ, in his divine nature, is God; how then can He, in that nature, be subject, and hence inferior, to God? For the end and purpose of this subjection is to deliver the kingdom *to God and the Father*, "that *God* may be all in all." Christ, as God, was the artificer of the universe: "All things were made by Him" (John i. 3). "All things were created by Him" (Coloss. i. 16). This title to kingship, based on creation, as it was without beginning, so it will be without end—sempiternal. For whatever power is wielded by the Father, that same power is wielded also by the Son; "All things whatever the Father hath are mine" (John xvi. 15), and that by the virtue of the eternal procession of the Son from the Father, with diversity indeed of personality, but in absolute identity of nature. Whatever is in God is God. Hence to subtract power from Christ as God is to subtract God from God, and thus to destroy the Godhead. If, then, it is Christ, as God, who is conceived to deliver up the kingdom to the Father, such delivery can in no sense be a subjection; otherwise we are reduced to this absurdity, that the Father became subject to the Son when He delivered up all things to the Son: "All things are delivered unto Me of My Father" (Matt. ii. 27).

This subjection therefore must be the subordination of Christ His human nature. We ask, then, is that subjection to be voluntary or involuntary? Not the latter, certainly. It is inconceivable that the human nature of Christ, which is under the and guidance of its divine Personality—the Word—could be anything but perfectly subject. Such hypothetical insubnation—the imperfection of imperfect subjection—would be to the account of the Word Itself, which controls the created e to which It is hypostatically united. More than this, the New Testament studded with declarations of Christ's

* Godet, l.c. p. 368-9, calls this distinction in question. Such a ble want of acquaintance with the theology of the Hypostatic Union lent among Protestant writers, and leads to much error. The recent ray on the knowledge of Christ as man is a case in point.

absolute subjection to the Godhead? The very keynote of the relations of our Lord's human to His divine will is struck in that refrain of the Gospels, "Not My will, but Thine, O God, be done."

Christ's subjection, therefore, when the end and consummation comes, will be voluntary. And, as such, it will be either a new subjection, or the old subjection continued, reaffirmed, and manifested anew. Now, a new subjection it cannot be. A new subjection would imply the shortcoming above mentioned, that Christ's subordination in the past had been defective, incomplete, imperfect—leaving room for amendment. Yet how could His subjection to God be, in any way, deficient, who, even to Mary His mother and to Joseph His foster-father, had owned an entire and willing submission?—"And he went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them" (Luke ii. 51). There could be no shadow of independence of God in Him whose one object and purpose was to carry out the will of God; whose very meat was to do the will of Him that sent Him (John iv. 34); "For I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me" (John vi. 38), whose command to the world was that all men should do, not His, but the Father's will: "Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father" (Matt. viii. 21). So mindful ever was Jesus of the dependence of the creature on the Creator that when a certain ruler addressed Him as "Good Master," our Lord seemingly rebuked him, "Why callest thou Me good? None is good, save One, that is, God" (Luke xviii. 19). Christ, then, in His humanity, was from the beginning perfectly subject to God, with a perfection that admitted of no spot or blemish.

But, it is argued, this subjection, of which the apostle speaks lies in no insubordination or imperfect submission of the will, but in the delivering up to God of the kingdom (v. 24) over which Christ had ruled—in the resignation of regal power. This contention is, however, as thus stated, delusive. For, is this resignation an abdication or a deposition? Not a deposition—not an unwilling surrender—as has just been shown; nor yet a voluntary abdication. For will this abdication be of the whole kingdom or only of part? That Christ, as man, will not wholly lay aside the title of King is beyond question. As the Nicene Creed has it, "Of His kingdom there shall be no end"—of the kingdom of Christ as man, for the Creed is treating of God who became man, who was crucified, who was buried, who rose again and will come to judge the living and the dead. This interpretation too, is confirmed by Luke i. 33, from which the Creed quote "Behold thou shalt conceive and shalt bring forth a Son, . . . a

the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of David His father and He shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end." This eternal kingship of "the Man, Christ Jesus" is, moreover, witnessed to by St. Paul (2 Tim. ii. 12), "If we suffer, we shall also reign with Him," not in this life, but in the life to come—a reign in which Christ will sit "at the right hand of God, in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and virtue, and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world, *but also in that which is to come*" (Ephes. i. 20).

But if not wholly, will our Lord abdicate in part? Will He give up part of His kingdom, resign part of His power, surrender part of His dominion? The reasons adduced for this partial abdication are far from convincing. That drawn from v. 25, that "He must rule *until* He shall have put all His enemies under His feet"—and no longer—is based on a misconception of the force of "until." As F. Cornely points out, and as every scholar is aware, this conjunction does not always determine the action or state expressed by the preceding verb, so as to exclude the continuance of that action or state after the point marked by "until." To adduce only one text in proof: "And he (Joseph) knew her (Mary) not, *till* she brought forth her firstborn Son"; it is *de fide* that the "knowing not" is not to be limited by the point of time indicated by *till*. This is obvious, too, from the Psalm (cix. 1) on which the apostle has founded his reasoning: "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand *until* I make thine enemies thy footstool." This argument, then, wounds the hand that wields it—it deposes Christ, indeed, from His throne, but it also deposes Him from the right hand of God; it not only deprives the Son of His kingdom, it also deprives the Mother of her virginity! Another proof, on which much stress is laid, is founded on the express statement of v. 24, that "the end shall come only when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father." But, as before pointed out, the reading of the best MSS. is not παραδῷ, but παραδιδῷ—*i.e.*, "Afterwards the end (consummation) when He *is delivering* up, &c." The consummation *is* this delivering up, as will presently be shown. If the argument proves anything at all, it fails like the former, in that it proves too much—it proves the delivering up of the *whole* kingdom, the *complete* abdication of Christ the King—and that is inadmissible. There lies, however, a third arrow in the quiver of the adversary, and this it still remains to receive and turn aside. This argument may be stated thus. The word *Kingdom* (v. 24) here implies, not precisely *power*

wielded by Christ, but *subjects* ruled over by Christ, and that by a peculiar kind of rule. This meaning of the word *Kingdom* in the sense of "subjects governed" is obvious from such places as Apoc. i. 6, "He made us to be a kingdom" (ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν). Now, this kingdom is, in its entirety, ruled in a twofold way, by a peaceful rule and by a military rule. The peaceful rule is that by which Christ governs the elect in heaven, over whom, undisturbed by enemies, He reigns as Head over the mystical body, "He is the Head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence" (Coloss. i. 18). The military rule is that by which Christ defends the Church Militant on earth against her triple royal foe—Satan, Sin, Death. In this war our Lord is ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας (Heb. ii. 10)—the Captain of salvation—foretold in that prophecy of Isaias (lv. 4), "Behold I have given Him for a leader and commander to the people." In this war Christ will destroy the enemy. A large beginning of this destruction has, indeed, been already made: of the arch-enemy Satan, when by the death on the Cross our Saviour acquired for the Christian soldier a whole panoply of battle, clad in which he can with ease repel the onset of Satan and worst his attacking legions: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil . . . . and be able to stand in the evil day—the breastplate of righteousness—the shield of faith—the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit" (Ephes. vi. 11–18); of the second enemy, Sin, when Christ instituted His sacraments, and laid down the other channels for the remission of sin, so that henceforth it could be said, "Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are . . . . under grace" (Rom. vi. 14); of the third enemy, Death, when Jesus rose again from the tomb, the first-fruits of the sleepers, "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth now no more; death hath no more dominion over Him" (Rom. vi. 9). And the destruction thus begun will be fully accomplished when, the thrones of the fallen angels being all filled by the elect, Christ shall bring to nought all principality and power and virtue, and by the destruction of the last enemy, Death, shall put all his enemies under His feet. This is the termination of the campaign, which, together with the absorption of the Church Militant into the Church Triumphant, will bring Christ's military kingdom to a close. This, it is contended, is "the delivering up of the kingdom" and the "subjection" of which St. Paul treats.

But this view, however plausible at first sight, is seen on examination to be by no means in accordance with the context. It is a view, no doubt entertained by several Fathers and modern

commentators, and is adopted by F. Cornely as his own. Quoting Father Giustiniani,* Cornely writes:

> The Son will become subject to God when all shall have been subjected to Him, on account of what was said above—viz., that He should reign until He places all His enemies under His feet; implying thereby that that kingdom which Chrysostom calls the "regnum conjunctionis" or Kingdom of Conflict, will come to an end, because Christ will then no longer lead any one to faith and grace. Thus, on delivering up the kingdom, the Son is said to become subject to the Father, *i.e.*, in His character of Head of all the Saints; not, however, that He is to be subordinated to the Father otherwise than at present, but because, on laying aside the functions of King, He will no longer be dignified with the name of King.

The opinion thus expressed, Cornely supplements in the few lines before quoted:

> The Son—the Incarnate Word—is in His human nature already subject to the Father, but on surrendering the kingdom He will become subject *in a new manner*; for at present He is subject as King of the Church Militant, then He will be subject as Head and King of the Church Triumphant (pp. 479, 80).

The explanation, however, in spite of the great weight of authority in its favour, is open to many serious objections. First of all, it may be argued, not without reason, that the military empire of Christ never will end. No doubt His enemies will be subjugated, "abolished," beaten down, but our Lord, in His character of military conqueror, will still continue to rule them with the sword and with measures of sternest repression. Is He not that "Man-child who is to rule all nations with an iron rod?" (Apoc. xii. 5). According to the words of St. John, "Out of His mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it He should smite the nations, and He shall rule them with a rod of iron" (Apoc. xix. 15). And again, "Out of His mouth went a sharp two-edged sword," and He said, "I am the First, and the Last, and the Living One, and I was dead, and behold *I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and hell*" (Apoc. i. 16–18). Nor is this all. Grant, for argument sake, a termination of this military kingdom of Christ, what then? That termination would be due, not to any subtraction of power from Christ, but to withdrawal of subjects from under that power. This is an obvious but necessary distinction. On the conclusion of a victorious campaign, the General-in-Chief may lay down his command, or he may retain the command without having any further occasion to exercise it. On the former supposition he delivers up his

* Benedictus Justinianus S.J., "In B. Pauli Ap. Epistolas."

power; on the latter, his power remains intact even though he have no longer opportunity to use it. Now, it is in the latter sense alone—as Father Cornely and those holding his view must allow—that Christ can be said at all to give up His military rule. Take another example. It has been prophesied that Christ, the great High Priest, shall be a Priest for ever,* yet it is probable that after the general resurrection He will no longer exercise any sacerdotal function. His Priesthood will continue, the exercise of it will cease. So, too, with all other duly ordained priests of the New Law, the sacerdotal "character" will last for ever, indelible even in hell, where assuredly there will be no performance of priestly ministry. In one and the same sense, then, would Christ be Priest and Military King for all eternity; the power itself would remain for ever, the application and exercise only of that power would be brought to an end.

The opinion, therefore, here controverted appears to be founded on a confusion of ideas, on the identification of two things different and distinct—kingship and kingdom—the right and power to rule, and the subjects ruled over. For if, by supposition, Christ should have no subjects in hell over whom to exercise military rule, none the less His Kingship would remain intact; so that if—by an impossible hypothesis—an enemy were again to raise the head and front of rebellion, Christ, the Captain, would at once, without further delegation from the Father, be in full possession of the authority and command needed for their reduction. "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth" (Matt. xxviii. 18). Hence, to put the best possible colour on the view here combated, it amounts in short to no more than this, that those of the elect whom Christ now governs as a Church Militant, He will—after the general resurrection—govern as a Church Triumphant. To describe this as "subjection" seems, at the very least, a violent straining of language.

Briefly, then, against the explanation put forward by Father Cornely, to wit, that Christ's subjection will consist in the resignation of military command, and the delivering up of the military kingdom, it is answered that this military *kingdom* will subsist for ever in hell; that, even were it otherwise, His military *kingship* would be everlasting; that to describe this state of things as "subjection" would be simply a misnomer.

We have now seen, by a process of elimination, that our Lord's subjection is not in His divine but His human nature; that this subjection of His human nature is not compulsory but

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* *Cf.* Heb. vi. 20, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *in æternum*; and *cf.* vii. 3. He will remain a Priest for ever, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, that is, *for all eternity*, as may be proved by a comparison of x. 12, and x. 14.

voluntary; that this voluntary subjection is not a new subjection either wholly or in part. But one conclusion therefore remains, that it is nothing more nor less than a fresh act manifesting and reaffirming that perfect submission to and complete subordination of Christ to God which have existed from the first moment when the "Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us." It now only remains to set forth, with somewhat greater detail, in what this reaffirmation consists.

Throughout the mortal life of Christ we find Him repeatedly and emphatically declaring His perfect dependence on God. This complete subordination I have already insisted on. Further, not content with *being* subordinate, He, who was meek and humble of heart, strove to *manifest* that subordination. "My doctrine is not Mine, but His that sent Me" (John. vii. 16). "I do nothing of Myself; but as My Father hath taught Me I speak these things" (John viii. 28). "I seek not Mine own glory" (John viii. 50). "He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of Him that sent him, the same is true" (John vii. 18). "Glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. v. 16). "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what he seeth the Father do" (John v. 19). And these protestations of dependence and subjection were made by Christ for our sake, not for His own. "And *for them* do I sanctify Myself . . . . that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me" (John xvii. 19, 21). He willed to give us an example that, as He had done, so should we do likewise (John xiii. 15). He willed us to know God, "the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last" (Apoc. i. 8–11); to praise God "the Father of lights, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift" (Jas. i. 17); to serve God the Creator, from whom the creature has drawn all that it is and all that it has, "in whom we live, and move, and are," through whom alone we can obtain the fulfilment of every lawful desire and attain to perfect happiness. This is that "clara cum laude notitia"—that clear knowledge of God, conjoined with praise—that extrinsic glory of God—to render which we were created. And yet how imperfectly God's purpose has been and is being carried out in the world! Against Him, during all time, the demons are waging war—ceaseless, ruthless, vengeful war; wicked men are, deliberately, designedly, perverting the right order established by Him; good men are continually lapsing back into sin and forgetfulness of God. The Creator has in truth ever been "all in all"—by His essence, by His presence, by His power—but the recognition and acknowledgment of this fact, and the praise owing for it and the service due on account of it, have never, since the dawn of Creation, been adequately paid, save by two of God's creatures, by the man, Christ Jesus, and "the woman," Mary the Sinless.

But with the general resurrection the realisation and right appreciation of the relation of Creator to creature will become perfect—perfect in heaven, perfect in hell. For "when the first heaven and the first earth are gone, and the sea is no more"—when the judgment is done, and the sentence executed—when Christ introduces the elect into "the new heaven and the new earth"—when the Great Liberator, with that cheering "Come, ye blessed," triumphantly leads the captives of death captive—before "the throne of God, and they see God face to face, and the Lord God enlightens them"—*then* will be Christ's "delivering up of the kingdom." And, at this climax in the history of the universe, while the multitudinous hosts of the elect, whom no man can number, range themselves around the Great White Throne, Christ the Vassal-King and Vassal-Lord—on His own behalf, and on that of his sub-vassals—unto God, the King of kings and Lord of lords—will make the supreme act of homage and obeisance in solemn and sublime recognition and renewed manifestation of His own subjection as a creature, and in full acknowledgment and public reaffirmation of the complete subordination of that mystical body of which He is the Head, and the elect are the members. This is the perfect restitution of right order—of all creatures unto Christ, and of Christ unto God—of the whole body unto its Head, and of that Head unto Him "the Head of Christ, who is God" (1 Cor. xi. 3). This is the delivering up of the kingdom, this the subjection of Christ—a surrender and a subjection fraught with no humiliation, but preluding glory unspeakable. For when at the name of Jesus every knee is bowed, of those that are in heaven and under the earth, and every tongue confesses that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father, Jesus Himself, we may suppose, will address God in words similar, at least, to those which St. John (ch. xvii.) has preserved for us: "Father! the hour is come! Glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee. As Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that He may give eternal life to all whom Thou hast given Him. Now this is eternal life, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on earth; I have finished the work Thou gavest Me to do. And now glorify Thou Me, O Father, with Thyself, with the glory which I had before the world was, with Thee. I have manifested Thy Name to the men whom Thou hast given Me out of the world. . . . . Now they have known that all things which Thou hast given Me are from Thee: because the words which Thou gavest Me I have given to them; and they have received them, and have known in very deed that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me. . . . . And all

My things are Thine. . . . . Father, I will that where I am, they also whom Thou hast given Me may be with Me, that they may see My glory which Thou hast given Me. . . . . Just Father, these have known that Thou has sent Me; and I have made known Thy name to them and will make it known, that the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them."

Thus God will be, and will be known and acknowledged to be, "all in all" in the twofold sense of that expression, as it implies the final extrinsic cause of the resurrection—or (as we may say) the resurrection looked at from the point of view of the interests of God—and the final intrinsic cause of the resurrection, that is, of the resurrection regarded from the standpoint of the interests of the risen. The former is the glory of God, the recognition by His rational creatures, conjoined with praise, of His excellence. The latter is the complete possession of God by the creature, by which the created intellect possessed of Absolute, Increate Truth, by which the created will possessed of Absolute, Increate Good, will be, with unspeakable gratification and felicity, satisfied in every rational need, desire, and inclination. This is the fulfilment of the divine will of which God spoke by the mouth of Isaias, "For I am God, and there is no other. I have sworn by Myself . . . . every knee shall be bowed to Me" (xlv. 23–25). "*Every* knee"—but diversely. All shall bend the knee, but the elect a willing knee, the reprobate an unwilling: "All that resist Him shall be confounded." As St. Augustine writes:* "The wicked servant who has scorned first to labour in his Lord's vineyard, and then to rest and feast, shall be chained for ever, and doomed to toil for ever in the penal mill, powerless any longer to thwart the Master's plans. He has acted against his Lord's intent, but he cannot frustrate it." But it is in the elect that God shall, in the fullest and truest meaning, be "all in all." As St. Jerome says:† "Hitherto God has indeed been all in all. But not in the full sense, not all in each. In Solomon He was wisdom, in David goodness, in Job patience, in Daniel foreknowledge, in Peter faith, in Paul zeal, in John virginity. But when the end comes, then He will be all in all, that is, all in each, so that every Saint will possess every perfection." In the beatific vision wherein God is seen, "not as through a glass darkly, but face to face," the elect will be filled with God's presence as a crystal in the noonday sun is filled with light, as a sponge deep in mid-ocean is filled with water; they will become like unto God when they see Him as He is (1 John iii. 2)—"partakers of the Divine nature" (2 Peter i. 4)—just as iron in the fire, without putting

* "De Spir et Litt.," c. 33, n. 58. † "Epist. ad Amandum."

off the nature and character of iron, puts on the nature and character of fire, and with fire is permeated through and through. Not till God is thus "all in all" will the prophecy of the Psalm (lxxxii. 6) be fully verified, "Ye are gods, and all of you children of the Most High."

"Who shall not fear Thee, O Lord, and glorify Thy name? For Thou only art holy; for all nations shall come and worship before Thee, for Thy judgments are made manifest."

There is one aspect of the text of St. Paul we have discussed on which, however else they may differ, all commentators will certainly agree—that it contains a striking lesson for the men of this day. The world of to-day plumes itself on revolt, rebellion, uprising against authority. The homage of Christ the King teaches that the perfection of the creature lies in subjection, submission, subordination to authority.

CHARLES COUPE, S.J.

Art. VII.—"THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS" ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

THE first sensation which rises in the mind of one familiar with the "Politics" of Aristotle, after carefully perusing the newly discovered papyrus containing a large portion of the "Constitution of the Athenians," is certainly one of bathos. Yet there can be no doubt we have here, although incomplete at the beginning, and frittered away into shreds and tatters at the end, what certainly passed under his name, and was by Plutarch and Herakleides, as well as by the mass of Scholiasts and compilers (among whom the name of Harpokration is the most prominent), accepted and quoted as an undoubted and genuine work of the philosopher of Stageira. Professor J. B. Mayor has already recorded his doubts on the question of genuineness, and fortified them by questions relating to special words and phrases,* to which branch of evidence I hope to draw attention later.

But graver doubts still arise from what we do *not* find in the treatise. Having in his "Politics" touched so frequently, in various important passages, on certain prominent features in the Athenian Constitution and characteristic facts in its history, one would expect some reference in this work on the same subject at large, to his previously expressed judgments and previously† argued conclusions in that larger and more comprehensive work, to the theories of which this is related as a primary example is to a general view. Such references would be exactly in Aristotle's manner, who six‡ times in the "Politics" refers distinctly to his "Ethics,"§ not to mention minor traces of implied retrospection. So close indeed is the connection between the "Ethics" and the "Politics," that when we find in the latter a reference to points discussed (*πρότερον*), we may generally understand the former to be intended; and even when in the former a point is reserved for development (*ὕστερον*), it may be taken that the intention expressed was to be fulfilled in the latter. Such are the links which the philosopher establishes between his own two leading works on the two more human branches of philosophy. But the

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* See *Classical Review*, March 1891, p. 122-3.

† I say "previously," because, as noticed below, internal evidence points to the fact of this work being very late.

‡ See "Pol." ii. 2 (4); iii. 9 (3) and 12 (1); iv. 11 (3); vii. 13 (5) and (7); and *cf.* "Eth. Nikom." v. 5 (6) and 3 (4); iii. 10 (4); vii. 13 (2); i. 7 (15); x. 6 (2); iii. 4 (4 and 5).

§ See also "Metaph." i. 1 (17), where the "Ethics," and "Rhet." ii. 22, where the "Topics" are referred to.

relation of the Πολιτεῖαι, if we had them complete and genuine to the Πολιτικὰ is even closer yet; for they are the objective examples out of which, by induction or analogy, the conclusions of the latter treatise arise. Events and characters, previously touched upon in this latter, are reproduced with further details in this "Polity of the Athenians;" and also stand in a relation to antecedents and consequents which strengthens their pertinency to the theories of which they are the foundation. And yet, although abundant opportunities for such references present themselves, we may read this treatise, so far as now recovered, from beginning to end without suspecting that any such work as the "Politics" had ever existed. Thus the mention of ostracism in chap. 22 might have caused a reference to "Pol." iii. 13 (15, 23), 17 (7), v. 3 (3) and 8 (12); the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in chap. 18, to "Pol." v. 10 (15), and the history of the decline of the Areopagitic Council in political power traced in chaps. 3, 4, 8, 23, to "Pol." ii. 12 (2) (4), v. 4 (8) and 12 (2).

Of course it is, on the other side, true that the very fact of the "Politics" existing independently would enable the writer to dispense with philosophical reflections in this treatise. The discussions on principles, having a distinct sphere of their own, need not find place in what is a mere repertory of pre-existing facts. But it is not the absence of thoughtful reflections on the facts narrated—for, indeed, such reflections occur in chaps. 9, 13, 21, 26, 27—but the lack of all indices pointing to the reasonings of the "Politics," which checks our confidence in the genuineness of this treatise. For such references are so much a feature of the philosopher in his best accredited works, that the total blank left by their absence cannot but be viewed as a suspicious feature. But beyond even this, some of the remarks seem to take a different standpoint from that of the "Politics." Thus in chap. 23 we read:

> So then up to this time [the Persian war] the city and the democracy together went on gradually gaining ground. But (δὲ) after the Median [invasion] the Council of the Areopagus recovered its power, and continued to manage the state (πόλιν); not, however, that it obtained that leading position by any formal decree, but owing to its having caused the naval combat at Salamis. For, when the generals were without resource to meet events, and gave notice of a *sauve qui peût*, it found and distributed eight drachmæ per man, and [so] manned the fleet.

Now, compare with this "Pol." v. 4 (8), which I will present in Prof. Jowett's translation: *

> Governments also change into oligarchy or into a constitutional

* "The Politics of Aristotle," vol. i. p. 452.

government (πολιτεία), because the magistrates, or some other section of the State, increase in power or renown. Thus at Athens the reputation gained by the Court of the Areopagus in the Persian war, seemed to tighten the reins of government. On the other hand, the victory at Salamis, which was gained by the common people who served in the fleet (ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος), and won for the Athenians the empire of the sea, strengthened the democracy.

It will be noticed that two opposite tendencies are in this passage compared, and that with a preponderance ascribed to the latter. For such only can be the conclusion arrived at from the qualified and stinted influence ascribed to the former,* while the latter is stated as working broadly and without reserve.† But in the treatise, as cited above, a certain check to the advance of this latter—the democracy—is clearly indicated, through the Areopagus recovering its *prestige*, and this through the opportune patriotism which brought about the very battle by which the democracy, according to the "Politics," was reinforced. In not a few cases where we expect the writer to trace the political bearings of the facts recited, we find instead of this anecdotes, interesting, no doubt, but of not even secondary value as regards the principles or political characters of the persons whom they illustrate. The unequal touch with which the work is handled is noteworthy. The Solonian and Peisistratid period, and that of "the Thirty," are treated with an ample largeness of detail, those of Kleisthenes onward to Perikles with adequate fulness, while the remaining interval appears to be mere jotting and sketching. But this may, nevertheless, be not more unlikely from Aristotle than from another. "Justice" in the fifth Book of the Ethics is similarly paid off with a somewhat defective outline only, while "Pleasure" in the seventh and tenth comes in for double handling. But what one might have hoped for would have been some far-sighted glimpses, if nothing more, of the actual working of the various institutions which made up the Πολιτεία.

Neither is the arrangement of materials always orderly. Thus "ostracism" is discussed as a measure first directed against the family and friends of Peisistratus. This leads to the notice of other persons against whom it was successively adopted down to Aristeides, but no further; and in the midst of this is introduced a mention of the discovery of the silver mines at Maroneia (Laureium), and the use made of them by Themistokles to build a fleet, "with which they fought at Salamis against the barbarians; and Aristeides, the son of Lysimachus, was ostracised in these same times." Such is the method of the narrative,

* ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.
† τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίησε.

showing a discursive simplicity which may compare with Herodotus. Then follows the fact of the recall of the ostracised under the imminence of the Persian invasion, and the limits fixed for the future residence of any ostracised citizens, under the penalty of ἀτιμία if transgressed. It seems to me quite impossible that Aristotle can have written this. As regards the anecdotes, many have a good relish—*e.g.*, Peisistratus, who used to go about the country, asked a digger what he got out of the ground? Who answered, "Nothing but woes and worries, and that Peisistratus [not knowing whom he was addressing] must take his tithe of them too." The "tyrant" liked the man's outspokenness, and gave him an exemption from taxes. But many of the anecdotes are known by Plutarch's excerpts, so I forbear further samples. Perhaps the most curious fact is that the leniency of Peisistratus' personal government, given as a reason why he was acceptable to both the extreme parties, exactly illustrates the rules given in the "Politics," as to how a "tyrant" ought to behave in order to secure his tenure of power. The facts exactly fit the theory, but you would never guess from the treatise that the author had ever enunciated any theory upon the subject (See chap. 16, and *cf.* "Pol." v. 11, 17–33).

But if quotations can establish identity, the identification of the present treatise with that known as Aristotle's during all the ages from the Ptolemies to Pope Gregory the First, and even later, is irrefragable. The editor says:

> Ninety-one fragments are ascribed with more or less certainty to the "Constitution of the Athenians," in fifty-eight of which the work is referred to by name; of these fifty-eight, fifty-five occur in this treatise; one belongs to the beginning of the book, which is wanting; one belongs to the latter portion of it, which is imperfect; while one alone differs distinctly from a passage on the same subject occurring in the text. Of the thirty-three fragments in which the work is not named, though in most of them Aristotle is referred to as the author, twenty-three occur in [this treatise]; four come from the lost beginning; . . . . four probably do not belong to this work.
>
> Of the two remaining, one is untraceable through the mutilation at the end, while the other is either misquoted, or is from some other Aristotelian work. Thus seventy-eight of the ninety-one quotations are found in the treatise, and all the rest but two can be accounted for. Of the one quotation which diverges from the text, being on the same subject with a passage therein (No. 407, Appendix), the latter looks like a rather clumsy compendium of the former, or the former may have incorporated a marginal scholium of the latter from some other MS. But one may here notice that a large portion of the closing sections of the treatise

a compendium, being hardly more than a catalogue of
d functions. And this, indeed, is a part so barren of
nterest that we may easily suppose that for most pur-
abridgment would serve. But as there are quotations
r passages which correspond exactly, it is more pro-
t the excerpter of No. 407, confused text with scholium.
nternal evidence the editor infers

reatise was written, or at least revised, at the earliest in
ven years of Aristotle's life, and at the latest in the fifteen
r his death. We know further, from a quotation in
that Timaeus, who flourished about the middle of the
ury B.C., or only two generations after Aristotle himself,
the Πολιτεῖαι,* and referred to it as Aristotle's.

ls that

nce, internal and external, tends strongly to show that
himself was its author. Under these circumstances the
proof lies on those who would dispute its genuineness
vii., xviii.).

yle bears nearly as close a resemblance to Aristotle's,
uite, as the mask taken from a dead face does to the
n. But we find here and there a wrinkle or a wen un-
the original. The grand defect, however, is the absence
n the features, and the more closely they are studied,
this is felt. You come here and there upon a passage
s you up from the great "drop-down" experienced by
with the wide and deep discussions in the "Politics."
ne is chap. 9, where the bearing of the popular courts
velopment of the democracy is pointed out. But these
e rare.

y perhaps find another such in some part of chap. 19.
t is rather due to Aristotle than genuinely Aristotelian,
y to be found in the former (chaps. 2–41) of the two
ions into which the entire treatise is naturally divisible.
e successive changes, eleven in number, which led up to
tutional final settlement known to Aristotle's own expe-
e successively traced. While the latter large section
ve been written by any one familiar with the existing
k of government and routine of public service, and is
and dryly official to show any workings of a master-
ts abundance of technical terms leaves hardly any room
sm of language. But the effect of reading half a dozen
ot to leave an Aristotelian flavour on the reader's mind.
be the "Blue-book" of a reporting commission.

not strictly correct; the reference is to Aristotle and his "History"
ive." See Polyb. xii. 8 (2) (4) and 10 (4).

From the summary given in chap. 41 we know exactly what has been lost at the beginning—viz., the original constitution of the early Ionian settlers and the Thesean and Kodrid period. The commencement has the abruptness of a fragment. We find ourselves in the middle of a sentence describing the close of the revolutionary attempt of Kylon and the Alkmæonids, which, against authority hitherto received, is placed prior in time to Drako. The purification of the city by Epimenides follows; then a brief sketch of the severity of the laws for debt and the consequent depression of the labouring class leads up to an outline of the ante-Drakonian constitution (chaps. 1–4). The Solonian and Peisistratid epochs, the ultra-democratic mould in which Kleisthenes recast the State, the heroic and world-famed period of Aristeides and Themistokles, the curtailment of the Areopagitic Council by Ephialtes aided by the latter, the Periklean and demagogic periods, and the disasters which led on to Lysander's supremacy, the tyranny of the Thirty, with the many fluctuations which violently disturbed the last few years of Athens, still independent and nominally imperial, are all touched in outline more or less full; and the reconstitution, by the aid of Pausanias, effecting a reaction in Sparta against Lysander's dictatorship, is dealt with at considerable length. The whole of this earlier section closes with the statement of the gradual rise in pay for attendance at the Ekklesia from one to three obols, just as the fifth century B.C. ran out and the early years of the fourth had come in.

How a treatise with so little that is distinctive of Aristotle, as I believe this to be, established, in probably the generation next after his death, its character as "canonical," is indeed a curious problem. Aristotle's own great reputation and the literary energy of his pupils, were doubtless the two main factors in this result. The position of Aristotle, as the educator and, to some extent, counsellor of the conqueror of the East, whose empire yielded kingdoms to the dynasties founded by his generals, was absolutely unique in the world of letters and philosophy. His name threw a wide shadow everywhere, and bold assertion, with some grains of substantial truth involved in the asserted falsehood, had then a better chance of success than at any other period of the ancient literary world. The rival houses of the Ptolemies and the Attalids became munificent patrons of letters, and bid against each other for the possession of valuable MSS. By the time that the critical school of Alexandrian experts—the "schoolmen" of that ancient world—had formed itself, the credit of the treatise was already fully established. The chief efforts of those critics, for several generations, were directed to the poets; the title of the treatise to its Aristotelian character was *primâ facie* good,

and the external evidence unimpeachable. The πρῶτον ψεῦδος passed unchallenged into acceptance,* and maintained its supremacy until the treatise itself passed into the catalogue of lost treasures. Then followed the long oblivion of the ages. We sit, as it were, on the further bank of Lethe and Styx, and must perforce subject to independent criteria with Rhadamanthine impartiality the character of treasure-trove exhumed. I confess, my own opinion, open, of course, to whatever may be adduced on the other side, to be that, with a good many nuggets of true metal embedded here and there, the narrative setting appears to be rhetorical solder.

I think that whoever will take a number of samples anywhere at haphazard from this treatise, will find that the Aristotelian features of style which are undeniably caught are largely mixed with, and modified by, others borrowed from the orators. And this view is confirmed by the large number of quotations found in the "Lexicon to the Ten Orators," by Harpokration. It seems unlikely that a genuine work of Aristotle would have furnished so much matter germane to his subject. But a treatise by a rhetorical member of the Peripatetic school, covering, as it did, ground constantly traversed and reviewed by those orators, would naturally furnish a quarry of very cognate material. What is known of the condition of Aristotle's remains at his death, which, like Alexander's own, was too early for the consolidation of his conquests, rather confirms than negatives the above supposition as regards the true origin of the treatise. *Pendent opera interrupta* might, it seems, be the motto selected for a large number of those remains. The same might not inaptly serve to express the undigested state in which Alexander bequeathed the material world-empire to his successors.

Most curious is the confirmatory light thrown on the above view of the genesis of this treatise by comparing chap. 5 with "Pol." iv. 11 (15). In the former we learn, "Now Solon was in his spoken-style (ῥήσει) and reputation one of the first, but in his property and circumstances (πράγμασι) one of the middling class (τῶν μέσων); as it is both attested by others and as he himself allows in these poems of his," which the writer then proceeds to quote. The latter says: "A proof of the superiority of the middle class is that the best legislators have been of the middle condition (τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν); for example, Solon, as his own verses testify" (Jowett). Now, here we have in the

* The fact that not a few works of leading Aristotelians were placed in the catalogue of Aristotles's own works, in the Ptolemæan age, was believed, or strongly suspected, by Ammonius, who taught at Athens in the fifth century; see his work on the "Categories," fol. 3a. But no suspicion seems to have been specially directed to this treatise.

former a clear rhetorical amplification of the latter. The contrast between the "first class" qualifications and his "middle class" circumstances, is one easy and obvious for any phrase-coiner to devise. Tho "attestation of *others*" is a similar flower of rhetoric, for no such attestation is adduced, and only Solon's *own* verses follow.

But in the amplification itself there occur two words common enough in themselves, but in the sense here required most unusual. These are ῥῆσις, spoken-style, or oratory, or power of expression generally, for possibly Solon's *poems* were in the writer's mind, and πράγματα for circumstances, means, or resources. Now ῥῆσις in classical Greek means either the act of utterance, or the speech delivered, and where to find an instance of the sense required above I know not. The above sense for πράγματα occurs in Polybius * and is found in the dramatic poets, but is not Aristotelian. Again, how brief and terse is the genuine Aristotelian of the "Politics," *ubi sup.*, δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως, upon which our rhetorician has spun his two clauses. We seem, then, here to have a glimpse at his method of workmanship.

I give another sample, which I do not think Aristotle could have penned as it stands, although it may have been the honest outcome of some of his notes tacked together in their crude form. In chap. 28 are enumerated, mostly in pairs, the various opposing leaders of the popular and anti-popular parties, the last pair being Theramenes and Kleophon . . . . "who also was the first to provide the di-obol (payment out of the theoric fund); and for a while he went on distributing it, but afterwards Kallikrates superseded this, being the first to promise an additional obol. Accordingly, against both of these they passed sentence of death later; for the multitude is accustomed, even though it be misled, to hate subsequently those who induce it to do anything of what is not honourable." There is a sly ironical *naïveté* in the comment here. The notion of the civic body wounded in its nice sense of honour by the proposal of first two-obol pay and then three, pocketing the coin but not the affront, and vindicating its outraged feelings by executing the proposers, forms a point which Aristophanes might have turned to account.

We glean, however, useful light on points of earlier history. The date of Kylon's attempt on the government has been already noted as being ante-Drakonic. The early State of Athens was somewhat like that of Rome before the Decemviral laws, but even more strictly oligarchical. The land, wholly in the hands of the few rich, was let out to the poor, who had the *status* only

* πραγμάτων εἶναι κύριον ἱκανῶν, Polyb. iv. 51 (3); τόπων καὶ πραγμάτων κύριοι, *Ibid.* i. 2 (5).

of serfs (ἐδούλευον), and cultivated for a rent of one-sixth of the produce (ἑκτημόροι), which, failing to render, they, with wife and children, became actual slaves, nor had they any share in civil privilege or right. This state of things continued until Solon's time; Drako, however, intervened. Brief and cursory as is the mention of him in the "Politics" (ii. 12 (13)), it does not seem to cohere with what one learns from the treatise. Aristotle in the former work says:

> Of Drako laws are [extant], but he framed them for a polity already existing; and there is no peculiarity in them worth mentioning, except the greatness and severity of the punishments.

In the treatise, on the contrary, we have a rather complex scheme of polity ascribed to Drako as its author. 1. All were citizens who could furnish themselves with weapons. 2. All magistrates had a property qualification, higher or lower, coupled in some cases with the requirement that they should have legitimate children over ten years of age. 3. A council of four hundred and one members was chosen by lot from the whole civic body over thirty years of age. 4. Over all was the Areopagus as custodian of the laws and a general court of appeal; but the landed oligarchy and the liability to bondage continued as before.

The laws of Drako, except those relating to killing, were swept away by Solon. There is, however, a further surviving link between the two. The three well-known property classes, on which Solon founded the scheme of his polity, are expressly mentioned as recognised in Drako's code. Solon reserved to these the sum total of offices of state, to each a higher or lower office *pro rata*, while he called up the non-propertied class to civic rights in the law courts, and allowed any citizen to bring an action on behalf of any wronged. But in order to cut the knot of social embarrassment, he had to abolish all creditors' claims; and the treatise represents this as not partial or limited, but total and absolute. The appointment to offices of state was through an election by lot from among a larger number selected by vote. The council was retained four hundred strong, striking off its odd member. It is remarkable that in the constitution of Solon the treatise makes no direct mention of the Ekklesia. The notice of it in that of Drako is incidental only: where (chap. 4) the fines for non-attendance are stated, "when there is a session of the Council or the Ekklesia." Doubtless Drako included in it all who were capable of the armed equipment which was the basis of his polity. And it remains doubtful whether the poorest class was so included before the time of Kleisthenes. The singular law inflicting loss of civic rights on any citizen who in a public disturbance sought to remain neutral, was known before

from Plutarch, but is mentioned here. The attempted us
of Damasias between Solon and Peisistratus is a new f
the duration of Peisistratus' personal rule there is a sl
crepancy with the "Politics," where it is stated as lasting s
years, but here nineteen.

An account of the rising attempted by Harmodius a
togeiton against the Peisistratid tyranny, divergent and
expressly contradicting the narrative of Thucydides
important details, is here given. That historian says
was outside the gates in the Kerameikos suburb, and la
stress on the occasion of the Panathenæa being solemnis
armed procession, as giving the conspirators the hope of
fraternisation with its members thus equipped for comba
in fact, reckoned on this support against the tyrant's bo
The treatise tells us that Hippias was, on the contrar
Akropolis, and denies the "generally reported story," a
citizens appearing on the festival scene in an armed pr
which, it says, was only a later addition of ceremoni
indeed, is intended obviously as a correction of the histo
reconciliation is therefore impossible on the face of it.

We further learn that Munychia, the port of Athens
nate to Peiræus, was the intended *rendezvous* of Hippias
of Peisistratus, when at last he stood at bay against the
Sparta, now backing the domestic revolt against him.
Spartans were for once too prompt for their enemy, who
reckoned too much upon their inertness, besides being enc
with his domestic train. Again, we learn why Spart
responsive to the repeated charges of the oracle. It wa
jealousy of Argos, with which city the Peisistratids had
as well as matrimonial connection, which kindled their zea
"tyrants."

The statement of the influence recovered by the A
after the Persian invasion had been repelled (chap. 23),
already noticed. Yet more decisively, we find, in the sur
successive constitutional phases (chap. 41), "the st
(ἐπισατούσης) of the Areopagus," set down as constitu
sixth among the eleven enumerated. This is an aggran
of its powers unknown to us from previous authorities.
thing new is also learned about the "generals" (στρατη
are mentioned as forming an element in the earlier D
constitution (chap. 4), although probably not a novel
then. They reappear under Solon, chosen "one for eac
(chap. 22), whereas later practice chose them all from
of citizens (chap. 61). Plutarch attests the tribal el
having prevailed down to the time of Kimon. Under
the "demagogues" the change was effected, is not kno

whereas the general opinion has been that Plutarch was here in error, it seems fairly probable that he was correct.

It follows from what is said above, and from more that has been left unsaid, that not a few historical readjustments of incidents, characters, and dates will have to be made in case of a new edition of such a work as Grote's "Greece." The part taken by Themistokles in the movement against the Areopagus, although novel in itself, is only one more illustration of the duplicity which was the backbone of his character. He was himself threatened with prosecution on a charge of "Medism" before that tribunal, and had, no doubt, the best reasons for avoiding its scrutiny. So in order to evade the suit, he led up to the overthrow of the Court. He had already a leading ally in Ephialtes, whose movements, however, were not rapid enough for his purposes. He alarmed his more tardy colleague by a false warning that he, too, would shortly be arrested by the Court, at the same time pretending to this latter a knowledge of revolutionary plotters whom he was ready to disclose. This overture accepted, he leads a section of the Court to a spot where he knew Ephialtes was assembled with others, introduces them, and engages them in earnest talk. Ephialtes in alarm takes sanctuary. The Council of Five Hundred was, it should seem, summoned, on which the two allies denounce before it the Areopagitic Court, and repeat the process before the Ekklesia, "until they deprived it of its power." As an outline of facts this seems perfectly credible. Its paradoxical character is merely the result of our ignorance of details. How it was that Themistokles muzzled his accusers, or stifled or discredited their charges so effectually; why no explanation of his *ruse* and timely exposure of his tactics was possible; what were the charges even plausibly adducible "against the Areopagites;" and why these last were unable to organise any effective defence, are puzzling questions to which there is no answer. I do not doubt that the facts as given are derived from Aristotle's genuine jottings. But that he would have left them in this state without any hint as to influences or prejudices which might clothe their startling nakedness with verisimilitude—at least if he had ever designed to publish them—I cannot think. The "Areopagiticus" of Isokrates contained an allusion to the machinations of Themistokles against that Court, which only tantalises our curiosity the more. This is the most striking and dramatic of the incidents which the treatise records. On the other hand, it seems at first sight to extinguish one of the most striking and dramatic of the incidents recorded by Xenophon—the erasion of the name of Theramenes by Kritias from the list of protected citizens under "the Thirty Tyrants" (Xenop. "Hellen." ii. 3; Grote's "Greece," viii. p. 43).

But on closer consideration this seems not to be a necessary conclusion. The treatise (chap. 37) informs us that, after experiencing certain reverses, "the Thirty resolved to disarm the rest, and to destroy Theramenes in the following manner." They procured to be enacted two new laws, one giving summary power to themselves over all *not* on the list of the 3000 protected, the other excluding from existing citizenship (*τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας*) all who had done certain acts which Theramenes was known to have shared. Now Xenophon ("Hellen." ii. 3 (51)) is as clearly aware of the former of these laws as he is ignorant of the latter. But the treatise continues—and here one of those delicate shades of meaning, in which the Greek language is so copious, gives the sentence which follows exactly the degree of uncertainty which rescues it from clashing fatally with Xenophon's statements. Its verbs are in the *imperfect* tense, *not* the tense of completed fact. I therefore render it:* "So it *was on the point of* happening that, these (*lit.* the) laws once enacted, he (Theramenes) *becomes* outside the civic body, and the Thirty absolutely empowered to put him to death." We may suppose the first law passed, and the famous scene in the Senate House, with the speeches there ascribed by Xenophon to Kritias and Theramenes, to have occurred in the debate on the *second* of the above laws, which was so obviously aimed at Theramenes that Kritias converted his support of the measure into a personal attack upon the man. Theramenes' spirited reply carried the majority of the Senate with him, on which Kritias proceeded by more summary measures, and, fearing the second law might not pass, resolved to make the first suffice, erased the name of his victim, overawed senatorial remonstrance by armed menace, and stood at once master of the situation. Theramenes was accordingly put to death.

But next, mark how in the same chapter our cooker has blundered in the arrangement of his materials. Its last sentence is *asyndeton*, but is inserted next to that which records the increase of cruelty and atrocity on the part of "the Thirty" after Theramanes' execution. It is, "They sent envoys to the Lacedaemonians, both *accusing Theramenes*, and requesting succour for themselves." Then follows the fact of the request being granted by the despatch of Lacedaemonian troops under command of Kallibius as a garrison for the Akropolis; and here, too, all the verbs are in the same imperfect tense. Now, is it not plain that this memorandum was left *pendens* by its first hand, let us

* *ὥστε συνέβαινεν ἐπικυρωθέντων τῶν νόμων ἔξω τε γίγνεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτὸν* (Theramenes) *καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα κυρίους εἶναι θανατοῦντας*, chap. 37, p. 98, l. 24.

suppose Aristotle, and then "compiled" into the wrong place by his literary executor? The notion of sending an embassy to accuse a dead man *might* surely have struck, as a curious fact, the minds of those who were impervious to the force of the imperfect tense. Notwithstanding, the editor gravely points out, that "In this point Xenophon's account seems more probable than that of Aristotle, as it would hardly have been possible for the Thirty to have carried on their Reign of Terror without an armed force at their back" (p. 98, *note*). Of course so; but the inference is that our compiler has got his cart in front of his horse—that is all.

A more formidable difficulty opens with regard to the constitutional fiction of the "Five Thousand" select citizens, to whom, under the ruling council of "Four Hundred," the franchise was proposed by Peisander and the oligarchs to be limited. That they were a potential rather than an actual body is clear from the whole tenor of Thucydides (see viii. 65, 67, 86, 92, 97), and is indeed admitted in this treatise (chap. 32), where we read, "The Five Thousand were selected only nominally" (λόγῳ). The difficulty is that in a previous chapter (30), they are treated as exercising functions in their civic capacity which, we are later told, as above, was nominal only. But here again it is clear that the compiler confused his materials, or had no sufficient insight into the facts connected with them to enable him to harmonise them. As he by implication contradicts himself, we may leave him in contradiction with Thucydides. But here again the pertinent question is—Could such a clear mind as Aristotle's have placed such a confusion deliberately on record? Had I space for an independent essay on the subject, I think I could establish an essential harmony between the historian and the facts to be extracted from the treatise. But this is no place for such a prolusion.

More important than any details of such historical scenes or incidents are the modifications of the historic estimate of certain leading characters. Our impression of the magnanimous impartiality and self-denial of Solon is, if possible, enhanced. Plutarch derived from this very treatise the mention of his insight into the designs of Peisistratus on his demanding a bodyguard; and those judge perhaps too much by the event, who censure the lack of brake-power in the constitution which he framed, to arrest the rapid democratic development which succeeded the Persian wars. Of Kleisthenes little new is told us. The inherent duplicity of Themistokles receives, as above, one further illustration; and the date of his quitting Attic soil must be drawn further down. Aristeides "the just" appears much fuller of sympathy for the popular party than he has been hitherto regarded as being. He

is mentioned as the author of the vast increase in the number citizens who drew public pay for their services, here set down in his time twenty thousand. And although these steps w taken subsequent to his return from his period of ostracism, the general bent of his political character makes that ostrac a still graver reproach on the public policy of Athens, while its particular causes no fresh light is thrown. Perikles is so what deposed from the stately pedestal on which Thucyd places him. He is rated as the first and worthiest of the dem gogues; but his invention of the paid dikasteries, in whic several hundred citizens together administered justice at thr obols a day, is clearly exposed as a party-bid for influenc against the personally lavish liberality of Kimon which he ha no other means of counteracting. This policy is condemned i the "Politics," and its results in practice exposed. The treati tells us (chap. 27):

Perikles first introduced wage-earning dikasts, owing to whic some allege that they have become worse. Subsequently, alsc bribery set in (ἤρξατο), Anytus being the first example of it afte the expedition to (lit. "in") Pylos. For when brought to trial b certain persons for his losing Pylos, he bribed the dikastery an got off.

The impression left by this certainly is, that Anytus' ca was the first, but not the last, and that bribery became a nc uncommon practice. In "Pol." vi. 5, some strong opinions a expressed on this dikasterian machinery, stronger indeed tha Aristotle usually allows himself. Thus (3) we read:

The demagogues of our own day often get property confiscat in the law courts in order to please the people. But those who ha the welfare of the State at heart should counteract them, and m a law that the property of the condemned which goes into treasury should not be public but sacred. Thus offenders will b much afraid, for they will be punished all the same, and the pe having nothing to gain, will not be so ready to condemn accused. . . . . (4) It is the practice to indict, not members popular party, but the notables; although the citizens ought all equally attached to the State, or at any rate, should not their rulers as enemies. And further (5) the money [to p courts] must be obtained by a property-tax and confiscatio corrupt practices of the courts, things which have before no thrown many democracies; and (7) where there are reven demagogues should not be allowed to distribute the surp poor are always receiving, and always wanting more and *such help is like water poured into a leaky cask.*

Now, with these very pertinent and forcible remarks in the "Politics," it seems extraordinary in Aristotle,

it need not be so in another writer, that when directly crossing the same ground in the Πολιτεία, he should forbear all reference, and despatch so vital a subject with such dry and guarded remarks as are quoted above.

In the above extract the opening phrase, "the demagogues of our own day," makes it clear that Aristotle was speaking from personal observation, and that the "law courts" intended were, or at least included, those of Athens. The mischief generated by the party tactics of Perikles was, therefore, deplorably vivacious. It outlasted the independence of Athens herself. Whilst she flourished, great as well as free, it had been the plague-spot of her empire; when the "Politics" were written, it was still surviving as the canker of her individual civic life. But in an earlier passage from the same work, which I shall have to quote next, the fatal unsoundness of the principle involved is, perhaps, even more forcibly pointed out. It is noted in iv. 13 (5) as among

the counter-devices of democracies to pay the poor for attending the assemblies and the law courts, and inflict no penalty on the rich for non-attendance. It is obvious that he who would duly mix the two principles should combine the practice of both, and provide that the poor should be paid to attend, and the rich fined if they do not attend, for then all will take part. If there is no such combination, power will be in the hands of one party only.

This device of Perikles was therefore one-sided, and, acting in combination with events which his war policy brought about, was so fruitful in internal germs of discord and disaster as to be worth dwelling upon a little more fully.

It was the policy of Peisistratus to occupy the mass of the citizens as far as possible in those agricultural pursuits which kept them out of city life, and nursed in them a distaste for its excitements. Of course maritime ascendency and commercial development altered and even reversed the conditions which had made this possible. To Aristeides is ascribed the policy (chap. 24) of directly encouraging the concentration of the people in the capital at the expense of their rural pursuits, which must have been delegated to hirelings or slaves, and there sustaining them by public pay on a lavish scale. But when the Peloponnesian war, with its annual invasions, made all unwalled tenements the mark of devastation, Perikles consoled them by pointing to the city as their safe retreat, and deprecated their poignant regret for the loss of their rural homesteads. If the development of public service by Aristeides enticed them, the war policy of Perikles in effect drove them, to concentrate within and behind the walls. The first result, as we know, was the Great Plague. But its devastations, however tragical, were temporary; but the

moral mischief of so many thousands drawn to the city to subsist as best they could, left them hungry for the bait of the public pay in the courts, for there only was a sure, if scanty, wage to be earned. Few days probably passed without some of these courts sitting, whereas the Ekklesia met statedly some thrice a month only, although oftener in emergencies. When every needful abatement has been made for the prejudice of partisanship, and the exaggerations inherent in caricature, we have yet in "The Wasps" of Aristophanes a picture of civic degradation true in its broad outlines, fitting exactly the circumstances, and in its consequences the most permanently disastrous of any. The honey which drew "the wasps" was that pay for attendance which formed the last refuge of the needy citizen.

This institution, then, was Perikles' device, and was fostered by the state of things which his policy, once adopted, forced upon the city. It possessed a subtly mischievous power in stimulating its own growth and propagating its own bane. To keep the dikastery fund from ebbing low, especially as public disasters multiplied into private losses under the exhausting struggle of a long war, what would be the obvious resource of the professional dikasts? Obviously to levy fines and inflict confiscations wherever there was a plausible case for so doing. Thus we reach a state of things under which human selfishness, being a tolerably constant quality, would make the court the natural enemy of every wealthy defendant. Then comes before us the hateful array of hireling informers and pettifogging perjurers who acted to the court as pioneers to an army.

The tendency would always be to set the poor to prey upon the rich and prostitute the machinery of justice to the exacerbation of their mutual antipathies. With the absence of men of wealth from the court (always except at its bar as defendants), there would follow the exclusion of higher education and more cultured feeling. While, if on any occasion they took their turn as dikasts, they would find themselves little else than suspects, bereft of all influence which could leaven the mass and correct the tendency. Further, when we remember that four or five hundred sat together to decide at once on law and on fact, and on the application of the one to the other, and this without any trained expert to guide them, and all without appeal, we find that we have already reached the bounds of caricature, and that there was little left for the comedian to exaggerate.

This machine of legalised extortion in daily operation, largely worked by the vulture swarm of hireling informers who flourished and fattened on it, made the worthiest citizen a constant prey to the vilest. After all the costly sacrifices made, the men who *had* made the greatest felt that they had been made in vain.

What possibility was there of domestic peace and personal security within the walls, when each dikastery was a band of needy bravoes, each armed with his stiletto vote? Why not join hands with the Spartans outside? Such were the questions which had a disintegrating effect on Attic patriotism, and probably even yet more so on the Athenian empire. Every citizen of Samos or Byzantium was liable to be haled before such a court, where the worst weakness of popular government was a standing menace to justice. This added a constant sting of oppression to the bond of subjection, and made a festering grievance, where every dictate of sound policy would have kept the yoke from galling. And this dismal heritage it was which Athens derived from her greatest and most typical statesman, and which is denounced in the terms quoted above by her most practical, if not her greatest, philosopher. But if Plato and Aristotle divide the crown of ancient philosophy, they here agree.

Tell me yet this [says Sokrates in Plato's "Gorgias"], whether the Athenians are said through Perikles' means to have become better, or, on the contrary, to have been corrupted by him? For what I hear is that Perikles made them idle, cowardly, chatter-boxes, and covetous, by first throwing State-wages in their way.

In short, under this *régime*, of which Perikles' influence was the greatest factor, the polity had veered round completely to the extreme opposite to that which the wise measures of Solon had corrected. Before him the rich had tyrannised over the poor, now the poor tyrannised over the rich. Either extreme was baneful; but the latter was a bane which found no antidote. With Perikles, accordingly, incorrupt himself, but the corrupter of his countrymen, Aristotle's sympathies, as represented in this treatise, are scanty; with Solon, whose constitution lay in that golden mean, the temperate zone of all virtue, they are large. Nor need one doubt that the representation is correct. For Nikias the admiration expressed is limited to the political sphere and does not extend to his generalship. He is classed with Thucydides (not the historian) and Tahermenes, as

the best statesman, after those of old, whom Athens had produced. On the merits of the former two nearly all are agreed, that they were not only men of high moral tone, but in the political sphere, too, worthy citizens and good patriots. Only on Theramenes, owing to the tumultuous character of the political times on which he was cast, is there a diversity of judgment. To those, however, who judge not superficially, he appears, not, as misrepresented, a man who upset all forms of government, but who supported all, so far as they transgressed no principle, and was able to adapt himself politically to all—the characteristic, surely, of a good citizen—and

because he made no concessions to those which violated the constitution, therefore incurring hatred (chap. 28).

This vindication of an aspersed memory is one of the most remarkable passages in the whole treatise. I cannot here persuade myself that we have Aristotle's genuine judgment. As regards its matter it seems improbable, and there is not, as there is abundantly in the case of Perikles, any confirmation of it derivable from the "Politics." As regards the manner, it seems to me to savour of Plato and Demosthenes far more than of Aristotle. I incline, therefore, to ascribe it to the rhetorical compiler, or cooker, of whom we have seen not a few traces. Of all important names, that of Alkibiades is most conspicuously absent, and the whole affair of the mutilation of the Hermæ and the alleged violation of the mysteries, which, although not directly the cause of any constitutional change, had yet a profound influence on the state of parties, is left a blank. In chap. 34 a singular misstatement of facts is noticed by the editor—viz., that "the ten generals," who commanded at Arginussæ, "were condemned *all* by a single vote, although some had not even been present at it, while others were indebted to other ships for their own rescue." The two who were absent, as is well known from Xenophon, were never even tried. It seems to me very unlikely that, on a matter of fact so notorious and easily verifiable, Aristotle should have been guilty of such a slip.

I come next to what I must touch as lightly as possible—the question of verbal style and phrase. It is clear that the writer, whoever he was, had not only a large body of Aristotle's memoranda before him, but had acquired a considerable trick of his style, so that he was able to cook the morsels, as it were, in not quite their native juice, but in a very passable "mock-turtle" variation upon it. The frequency of *μὲν οὖν* as a connective is quite Aristotelian. Opening the "Politics" at haphazard, I come upon this five times in six pages of Goëttling's text. Less frequent in the philosopher's usage is *μετὰ ταῦτα*, and this phrase is by the Peripatetic cooker slightly overdone. He has also in many passages fairly caught the careless, jotting style, which makes the philosopher's genuine (as accepted) writings often resemble an auctioneer's catalogue. His weak side is shown when his rhetorical tastes lead him to diverge, and he drops the dry "ditto, ditto," manner in order to affect variations. As examples take chap. 19, where, in the space of seven lines, we have the same people spoken of as "Laconians," then as "Lacedaemonians," then as "Spartans," then as "Lacedaemonians" again. Still more generously in chap. 28, he gives us for the same party, the anti-popular, the term *ἐπιεικεῖς*, then *εὐγενεῖς* with *γνώριμοι*,

again γνώριμοι alone, next εὔποροι, then vaguely ἕτεροι, then ἐπιφανεῖς, and lastly ἕτεροι again. This is the same chapter which contains the relishing *morceau* on the democratic sense of wounded honour avenged by the execution of those who proposed payment for legislation.

The cooker, again, gives us mostly, although not always, the term Ἀρεοπαγῖται (or εἰ), whereas in the "Politics," and I think elsewhere too, Aristotle's phrase is ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή, or the like.* The persistent use in the treatise of διοικεῖν and διοίκησις for the ordinary terms meaning "manage" or "govern," is largely in excess of Aristotelian proportion, and is probably a result of familiarity with the orators. In chap. 2, ἀγώγιμοι for "reduced to slavery" is Demosthenic rather than Aristotelian. The use of ἐπίθετα twice for what we call "prerogatives" (chaps. 3 and 25) is startling, and cannot, I think, be Aristotle's, who uses the word in the "Rhetoric" for the "adjectives" of grammar. πρυσεκεκόσμηντο for "were reckoned (arrayed) amongst" is equally strange; so is φύσει for "by birth." συνιστήσαντο τὸν πόλεμον for "engaged in war" is a phrase of Polybius, but suspicious here; ὑποφερομένη, "being overborne," used of an institution or constitution (chaps. 25 and 36), is hardly less so. δεκάζειν (chap. 27 *bis*) for "to bribe," is oratorical again, and probably began as a slang word—"to *tip*" a man. παρέργως ἀποφαινομένοις (chap. 28), "judging superficially, or inattentively," is from the same stock. A more glaring phrase still is οὐχ οἷον . . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ, for "not only . . . . but also" (chap. 40). It occurs Polyb. i. 20 (12), and probably was a vulgarism adopted by the rhetorical writers. On page 111, we find ὁσημέραι as printed, but are told ὅσαι ἡμέραι is the MS. text, neither, I think, Aristotelian, for "every-day." ἱερὸν ἐχομένους (chap. 50), if correct, for the -ένους is editorial supplement, seems suspicious. We should expect ἔχοντας, but perhaps ἐκπροχουμένους should be read. ὅσαπερ ἐὰν "whatever," or "what number soever" (chap. 63) has a late flavour.

Finally, ἐμπηγνύτης (p. 162 *bis*) is base and late. Hesychius is quoted for ἐμπήκτης "a notice-poster." I have above only noticed words or phrases which seem to bear on the question of genuineness. The MS. seems full of corrupt readings, and will require a vast deal of scholarly sifting before its text is acquiesced in. It gives one by this an interesting standard for the facility and rapidity of corruption. Found in Egypt, and presumably at no great distance from Alexandria, it was easily corrigible by the aid of the greatest library and most skilful experts of the ancient world. In that library what passed for

* See "Pol." ii. 12 (2) (4), v. 4 (8), 12 (2).

the archetype was probably treasured. If, with these advantages, it is so full of errors, what must we not allow for others less fortunately circumstanced?

Nothing trustworthy can be extracted from the Arab diggers as to its site. But the same papyrus contains "on the *recto* side accounts of receipts and expenditure," dated in Greek as "of the eleventh year of Vespasian" (A.D. 78). It is reasonably inferred that the use of the *verso* for copying a MS. would be at no very long time later, since the papyrus is not likely to have continued unused and undestroyed for very many years after the accounts had ceased to be of interest. The MS. may therefore be reasonably dated within the first century A.D., or at latest very early in the second ("Introduction," pp. xiii., xiv.).

The learned world is indebted to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for a lucid and most readable apparatus of introduction and notes done apparently under great pressure of public impatience. Of course there are slips here and there which a more deliberate recension would have avoided. Thus θυρίδας, "windows" (chap. 50), is annotated to mean "doors" (θύρας).

Nor does his acquaintance with the recent researches of foreign scholars concerning various officers of state at Athens seem up to date. But, although experts in Athenian archæology may find much in his views to challenge, the average student is greatly indebted to him for valuable assistance given.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

Art. VIII.—THE ANGLICAN CLAIM TO HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY.

The Throne of the Fisherman. By T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates.

BISHOP OVERALL, the Coryphæus, in his day, of High Anglicans, and author of part of the Catechism in the Anglican Prayer-book, gives us, in his celebrated 'Convocation Book,' his ideal of the government of the Christian Church, viz., Christians of particular congregations to be directed by their immediate pastors; pastors to be ruled by their bishops; bishops to be advised by their archbishops, with all the rest, both clergy and laity, to be ruled and governed by their godly king and sovereign princes. The constitution of particular or national Churches being thus defined, they are all said to belong to the Catholic Church by virtue of being under Christ Himself; *not through belonging to the Papacy, or any Patriarchate* (Book ii. 7).

Tract XC., vindicated by Dr. Pusey, held that "each Church "is independent of all the rest, and is to act on the principle of "what may be called 'episcopal independence,' except, indeed, so "far as the civil power unites any number of them together."

Bishop Stubbs justifies the present position of the Church of England on historical grounds, on the theory of "the independence of national Churches."*

This is, indeed, the only theory that could clear the Church of England from the guilt of schism, supposing that it possessed a valid Episcopate.

And this is supposed to be *historical Christianity.* History asserted to be the strong point of the Anglican position.

"History is our best ally," says an organ of the High Church party. Canon Carter speaks of the "tendency to search into history, to test the present by the past, rather than trust to the mere dicta of authority," as the guiding principle of the so-called Reformation.† Mr. Gore considers that his own party in the Church of England, however much it lack, at any rate enjoys a monopoly of history.‡

But especially is this claim made with regard to the history of the primitive Church. Here Anglicans have thought them-

* "Eastern Church Association Papers," No. 1.
† "The Roman Question," p. 166, 2nd edition.
‡ "Roman Catholic Claims," ch. vii., *passim*, compared with the last

selves on the surest possible ground; and one might almost that they have added to the notes of the Church tha 'Primitivity.'

We propose, therefore, to consider, in a short sketch, the c set up on the part of Anglicans to represent historical Christi on this particular point, viz., episcopal independence, testi by the first four centuries. But it is important to bear in that the value of what is called historical proof can never the place in the mind of a Catholic that it does in that o Anglican. The Catholic has a divine faith in a living autho viz., the Catholic and Roman Church. He is sure tha Church, by divine instinct, knows her own past, and can contradict that past. She is 'a moral person,'* full of the Ghost, secure of divine assistance in the promulgation o faith. Hence, speaking of all human histories, a Catholic always say, when the decision of the Church clashes with *th that man's* history (and it always comes to that), "so the worse for history"—not, of course, for history as know the Divine Wisdom, but for history as written by merely h authors, even though the author be one who could plead i favour (as Dr. Döllinger did) his "scientific culture of mi It is important also to bear in mind that (as Cardinal Ma has said in his exquisite treatise on "The Temporal Missi the Holy Ghost") "human histories can afford no ade "motive of divine certainty." And again, "The reaso "private judgment of individuals exercised critically upon his "philosophy, theology, Scripture, and revelation, inasmuch as "the most human, is also the most fallible and uncertai "all principles of faith, and cannot in truth be rightly desc "to be such. Yet this is ultimately all that remains to t "who reject the infallibility of the living Church."‡

But true and important as this principle is, no one more vincingly showed that the history of Honorius had been mis- by Père Gratry, than did the Cardinal himself. For it is pa the Church's merciful errand to clear away difficulties that the entrance, or impede the progress, of the light of faith.

This has been done, with regard to the polity of the Chri Church, as seen in the first five centuries of the Christian er the volume in Mr. Allies' series on the Formation of Christend which we have placed at the head of this article. 'The Th of the Fisherman' is, in our judgment, the finest of all writer's volumes, except, perhaps, his last, recently issued, on "Rock of Peter, and Mohammed's Flood."

* See "Religio Viatoris," by Cardinal Manning, ch. iv.
† See Döllinger's letter to Dr. Nevin, in the *Times*, Jan. 18, 1870.
‡ "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," pp. 97, 98.

Which, then, of these rightly interprets history—the Church of England up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, or that which has gone by the name of the Church of England since that time? Both cannot be right. It is absolutely impossible, having regard to the ordinary laws of logic, to reconcile, for instance, Archbishop Peckham in the thirteenth century, and Archbishop Benson in the nineteenth.

Here is Archbishop Peckham's* exposition of his faith in a letter which he wrote to King Edward I. He says that, "from "old time a bitter strife has gone on between the Kings and "nobles of England on the one side, and the Archbishops, and "Bishops, and Clergy of the same Kingdom on the other side, "for the oppression of the Church, contrary to the decrees of the "Sovereign Pontiffs, contrary to the statutes of Councils, contrary "to the sanctions of the orthodox fathers," &c.—and he says that an end will be put to this contention only if his Highness the King will bend before those three authorities, as did Catholic Emperors before him. He continues: "The Sovereign Lord of "all gave authority to the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs, "when He said to Peter in the Gospel of Matthew, 'Whatsoever "'thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven;'" and then he deals with what he supposes "an Enemy of the Church" to say, viz., that it does not belong to the Sovereign Pontiff to impose the yoke of laws and canons of this kind on a secular Prince, and forthwith he points out the deadly sin of disobeying the decrees of the Pontiff.

Now, between this (which was the belief of every Archbishop of Canterbury until the line came to an end with Cranmer's apostasy) and Bishop Overall's theory of national independence, there is a chasm so vast, that even if the present Church of England held the same doctrine on all other points as the old Church of England (which, of course, it does not), the continuity between the two would be snapped, and irrevocably lost.

The question, then, before us is, Which is historical Christianity—that which Archbishop Peckham taught, or that which Bishop Overall and Dr. Pusey taught, and which Bishop Stubbs and Bishop King teach now, on the subject of Episcopal independence?

With the help of Mr. Allies' magnificent volume, although using our own mode of presenting the subject, we shall endeavour to show in short compass that the Anglican theory of Church government has no standing point whatever in the historical Christianity of the first three centuries and a half, which will carry us to the Nicene Council.

* The importance of this Archbishop's teaching is considerable, since he is quoted by the Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts as a kind of father of the statutes of the "National Church."

The Church is both a kingdom and a household. In her aspect as a kingdom, her government is monarchical; as a household, she is ordered by a chief steward, who is to arrange and dispense, in his Master's name, the food of salutary doctrine and sacramental life. "Whilst the world belongs to God, the Church is "His house, of which the Ruler at this time is Damasus," says St. Basil.* Both of these aspects are contained in our Lord's commission to St. Peter after his resurrection—"Feed My sheep" (βόσκε), and again, "Shepherd My sheep" (ποίμαινε). And in both of these aspects the See of St. Peter appears in the history of the first four centuries of the Christian era.

In the very first writings of the Christian Church, the Church of Rome, that is, the Bishop with Council (or the strings of the harp, to use St. Ignatius's *simile*) emerges in this twofold aspect. The occupant of that See comes before us within the lifetime of the Apostle St. John, and settles a disturbance in a region that, on the Anglican theory, would belong to the jurisdiction of that Apostle. He appears in the possession of a living tradition of Divine truth, and as its exponent with respect to the worship and government of the whole Church.† Here at the very outset the nature of the Church's jurisdiction arises. Jurisdiction is defined to be "the cognition of causes belonging to the magis- "trate by right of his office."‡ Where was the magistracy in the Christian Church under whose cognisance such an important matter would come as the deposition of clergy in a city not far from Ephesus? It was in Rome.

The circumstances were as follows: The Church in Corinth had for some time been torn by dissensions, and had caused the utmost scandal on all sides. A few fiery spirits, with a considerable following, had succeeded in extruding at least their Bishop and some Presbyters, if not, indeed, one or more Bishop in the neighbourhood, from their sacred office (ἐπισκοπῆς), who had, nevertheless, in the judgment of St. Clement executed their liturgical duties without reproach, and had done nothing in any way to merit censure. The Church of Rome intervened, whether on appeal as many think, or *proprio motu*, as Bishop Lightfoot thinks, it is difficult to say.§ The persecutions (under Nero and

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* Damasus was then Pope.

† Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers," Part i., vol. ii. § xl. *et seq.*, and Constant, Ep. Rom. Pont., col. 28.

‡ "Bianchi," 3, 474, quoted by Allies in "Church and State," p. 306.

§ Bishop Lightfoot is doubtless right in pointing out that it is not παρ' ὑμῶν, but παρ' ὑμῖν, and that therefore the opening paragraph does not oblige us to see an appeal. But that being so, the exercise of authority is still more striking, if Rome takes the initiative. It seems more likely, however, *to have* been a case of appeal.

Domitian) had alone precluded the Church of Rome from intervening in the affairs of the Church at Corinth sooner.* But as soon as was possible, St. Clement wrote a letter, which Dr. Lightfoot characterises as 'almost imperious,' and which St. Irenæus spoke of as 'most powerful' or 'most adequate.' In this letter St. Clement speaks of the tradition they had received in Rome from the Apostles themselves as to the government and teaching of the Church. Speaking of the government of the Church, he produces its type in the old Covenant, with its High Priest, Priests, and Levites. He says that the Apostles, by way of rendering their work permanent, everywhere ordained Bishops and Deacons. He magisterially reproves the ring-leaders of the disturbances in Corinth, and says with regard to the clergy whom they had extruded, that it "will be a sin in us" to depose them from their Episcopal office (ἐπισκοπῆς). He says that "we" speak with the authority of God, and warns the Corinthian Christians against disobeying the injunctions now given them. The whole letter is a magnificent combination of high-souled expostulation and tender desire for the welfare of the Church in Corinth.

Such was the first recorded act of the Church of Rome. And it is spoken of in terms of enthusiasm by St. Irenæus, from whom we gather that the Corinthians amended their ways, and peace was restored. It is alluded to also with commendation by St. Ignatius on his way to his martyrdom.

Bishop Lightfoot endeavours to parry the incidence of all this upon the Anglican position by maintaining that (1) it is the Church and not the Bishop of Rome that thus acts, and (2) that the Church of Rome owed her ascendency, which enabled her thus to act, to her moral majesty and to her natural position. As regards the contention that it was the Church and not the Bishop of Rome that thus exercises supremacy at the very beginning, he lays the greatest stress on the fact that St. Clement's name does not appear in the letter, and that he constantly uses the pronoun "we." He admits, however, that the letter was written by St. Clement, and calls it an "incident in his administration" of the Church. He thinks that St. Clement "suppressed" his name, as not being in such a position of authority as is implied in our word Bishop. He considers that his "personality was absorbed" in the Church, of which he was the leading member. And he holds that the Corinthians had not yet arrived at the Episcopal form of government, and that no argument can be derived from St. Clement's letter in favour of episcopacy having been already developed in those regions. Part of this theory really rests on Dr. Lightfoot's

* Clem. Epist., § i.

well-known interpretation of the word 'Bishop' in the New Testament. He contends that 'bishops and deacons' in Phil. i. 1, can only mean 'presbyters,' because there would only be one bishop at Philippi; and that as St. Clement speaks of the Apostles having gone about instituting 'bishops and deacons,' he, too, can only mean 'presbyters and deacons.' It is, however, theologically certain that when St. Paul speaks of the 'presbyters of the Church' at Miletus, he is speaking of what we now call bishops, as the following words imply;* and again, when the Apostle says to Titus that he has left him in Crete to ordain 'presbyters' in each city, he is also, as the following words show, speaking of presbyter-bishops, in other words, of bishops. The word presbyter does not exclude that rank which combines the episcopal office with the priesthood. And the Christian ministry might very well be started with a presbyter-bishop and the diaconate. All the functions of the ministry can be performed by the two, seeing that the bishop contains the priest within himself. And the Epistle which the Apostle addressed to the Philippians was probably an Encyclical to the Churches of Macedonia, which included many bishops, just as the presbyters who assembled at Miletus were clearly not from Ephesus alone, but from the whole province, so to speak. So that this theory, brought from an erroneous interpretation of Holy Scripture, and applied to St. Clement's letter, may be dismissed. Nothing in that letter prevents us supposing that the Bishop of Corinth was amongst those who were being thrust out of their places. Indeed, St. Irenæus uses the very words, in combination, of the appointment of St. Linus to the episcopate (λειτουργίαν ἐπισκοπῆς), which St. Clement uses in two successive paragraphs, of those who had been extruded. St. Clement, as we have said, actually gives a sketch, in type, of the Christian ministry, and it consists of three orders. We cannot, therefore, reasonably suppose that the Church in Corinth, after so many years, would be without what St. Clement lays down as part of the Divine tradition as to the government of the Church. It is, indeed, not impossible that St. Clement alludes to the successive degradation of more than one bishop, using, as he does, the plural; or he may, with equal probability, be considered to allude to the simultaneous extrusion of more than one bishop in the neighbourhood. And this supposition finds support from the opening sentence of the letter, in which he uses the expression παροικοῦσαν of the Church to which he writes. This, no doubt, as Dr. Lightfoot points out, implies the idea of their being 'sojourners' as Christians: but as παροικία certainly afterwards denoted the aggregate of Christian communities

* Cf. Council of Trent, sess. 23, chap. iv.

within a large district, each with their own bishop, it may well have in this instance an anticipation of its future meaning; and Corinth, like Ephesus,* may have been the nucleus of several surrounding centres of Christian life, each with its own episcopal supervision. St. Clement's words concerning the Corinthian Church are certainly sufficiently strong to cover the case of a general state of disturbance which had spread through the neighbouring regions, whose main feature was rebellion against constituted authority, and authority consisting, as the government of the Jewish Church did, of a triple ministry.

And it would be still more unreasonable to suppose that St. Clement, whilst using the name of the whole Church at Rome, does not speak with the authority of an official position. Popes do not now act without their "Congregations." And in early times they were in the constant habit of making use of a Council of the surrounding bishops. St. Julius, in his celebrated letter to the Eusebians, speaks rather of the Church in Rome than of himself; yet no one doubts that he, at least, was speaking of the Petrine prerogative attaching to his See. Popes acted upon the principle which St. Cyprian laid down for himself in commencing the work of his diocese. He determined to do nothing without concerted action, not by way of putting his episcopal authority into commission, but in the exercise of a holy ἐπιείκεια. The idea which most Anglicans entertain of the infallibility of the Pope is altogether misleading, through ignoring this feature of Papal government. The exercise of Papal infallibility, and the decision of a Council, are invariably supposed by such writers to be two separate things, in the sense that two speeches uttered by two different persons are separate. But they are really but as two sentences uttered by the same person, with all the unity which a single sound mind, expressing itself consecutively, but with unity of purpose, gives to an emphatic utterance. They are the 'Amen, Amen' of the Divine Head. The promulgation of a dogmatic decision such as St. Leo's tome, was complete in authority, as it came from the See of St. Peter; it was completed in its *impressive power* by the sentence of the Council. The agreement of the Council was to the eye of faith the Church. A real difference between the Pope and a Council of the Church, though theoretically conceivable, and therefore capable of being discussed in words, is practically impossible. Infallibility is an attribute of the Church; unity is one of her notes. The members of the Council by yielding themselves up to the power of the truth which has been announced by the Pope declare their membership in the Church. Their judgment

* See this drawn out by Franzelin, "De Ecclesiâ," p. 291.

is a free act, and an act of authority, but it could not (by reason of our Lord's promise to be with the Church) be opposed to the judgment of the Holy See. The head and the body cannot be severed. As a Synod of Rheims in 1699 expresses the matter: "The consent of the Bishops to the judgment of the Holy See is "at once an act of obedience to the first See, and an act of "authority and judgment under the principal authority of that "same See." The Episcopate is not thus reduced to a nonentity: its judgment and consent are part of the life of the Church, but in the case of an Ecumenical Council, their consent could not but follow, for a broken unity must involve the loss of infallibility, and the Church would have then ceased to be. The gates of hell would have prevailed against her. But this could not be, for He who promised the contrary was God Himself, one with the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost. The judgment, therefore, of a Council manifests the unity of the Church; and it corresponds to the emphasis which voice, gesture, and the movement of the entire body lend to the utterance of a man's lips. Bishop Lightfoot's argument, that St. Clement's letter being called the letter of the Church of Rome was not an exercise of Papal authority, proceeds, therefore, upon a mistaken notion of how that authority speaks. It was the Church, he insists, not the Episcopate. Our reply is that you cannot separate the two. It was, as St. Jerome says, written by St. Clement '*ex persond ecclesiæ*' as all Papal decisions are. And the wide distinction that Bishop Lightfoot draws between St. Clement's letter and St. Victor's subsequent action rests on no facts that have as yet been produced. He admits, on the one hand, that St. Clement of Alexandria on more than one occasion speaks of the letter in question as that of St. Clement (of Rome), and he must have admitted, on the other hand, that we have no sufficient data for asserting that St. Victor did not act in concert with a Council at Rome, or that he never used the expression "we." Yet this is the *pièce de résistance* in Bishop Lightfoot's argument. In St. Victor's case, he maintains, the Episcopate steps on to the scene, and all is changed; in St. Clement's, it is the Church not the Episcopate. The case is, of course, desperate for an Anglican, if it be true that history opens with an authoritative letter from the Bishop of Rome, claiming to speak with the authority of God, as this letter does—and a letter praised by St. Irenæus and St. Ignatius, and read in the Church of Corinth, side by side with Holy Scripture itself. And the only course open to a scholar like the late Bishop Lightfoot was to argue from the use of the plural. Its authoritative tone no one who has read the letter through could ever deny. Its claim to be in possession of a *living* tradition as to the scheme of Redemption, apart from Holy

Scripture, and as to the government of the Church, is in exact accordance with the Papal claim of the nineteenth century; its consciousness of a right to intervene in the disturbances of another Church, whether spontaneously or on appeal, underlies every sentence of its majestic utterances; and its simple assertion that in what it says, it is secure of Divine assistance, sounds like the 'Pastor Æternus' of Pius IX. more than anything else in the history of the Church. Show then that it is the Church, and *not* the Pope, and the edge of its witness against the Anglican position is supposed to be turned. But for the Catholic contention it is sufficient that the letter was that of the Church *and* the Pope, of which there can be no doubt. For the further question then remains, What is the informing power of the infallibility of the Church? Where is its seat? That question naturally is not answered directly in St. Clement's letter, though it is indirectly suggested. St. Clement's heading to his letter, which claims infallibility, with the name of the Church of Rome, suggests it; for no one supposes that the local Church of Rome was itself infallible. The infallibility of the Pope consists in Divine "assistance;" and there is nothing to prevent the "assistance," which secures him from error under certain conditions, being given to his use of ordinary means, such as the co-operation of a Council. A Council of some sort there must have been at Rome, unless St. Clement wrote without conferring with any one, for no one supposes that each inhabitant of the Suburra had his say. St. Clement therefore writes his letter with Divine assistance, and tells the Corinthians so; he associates with himself the rest of the Church, as St. Paul writing to the Galatians associates with himself "all the brethren who are with me," though the inspiration was all his own.

Bishop Lightfoot, moreover, attributes the position assumed by the Church of Rome in this matter to her position at the centre of the world's empire, and to her superior goodness. We might ask, could the Church of Rome already have shown such superior charity as to justify her in taking up a position of authority over other Churches;* and how could the prestige of the Imperial centre communicate itself to a religious body living for the most part in the wretched haunts of the Suburra, and consisting mostly of converted Jews and Greeks of low origin? For the Christian Church was not 'established' in Rome; it could not partake of the prestige of the city in that way. But we prefer to point out and to insist, that the terms used in St.

* He understands St. Ignatius' expression προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης of superiority in 'practical goodness.' But the genitive case implies rather that 'the love' was that *over* which the Church of Rome presided, 'the love' being a synonym for the 'Covenant of love,' i.e., the Church.

Clement's letter are wholly inconsistent with either one or the other of these two grounds. They would be altogether unbecoming in people who had simply acquired a great position through 'practical goodness,' as Bishop Lightfoot expresses it. They would be simply preposterous, were their authoritative tone due to a position acquired through the geographical position of the Church in Rome. If any one will take the trouble to read this grand letter through in the original with this question in his mind: Is it a person speaking with the authority of an official position, or is it only a community delivering its own traditions, and advice, and warnings, and recommending them as certainly the voice of the Holy Ghost? (as the newly discovered portion of this letter does), we can have little doubt that he will rise from the perusal with the feeling that it is a person, *and* the community; but a person with authority, speaking with his community, that thus simply and majestically rolls off his sentences of dogmatic deliverance, tender appeal, and solemn warning.

Bishop Lightfoot calls this the "only recorded incident in St. Clement's administration of the Church," and says that it is "undoubtedly" "the first step towards Papal domination." And it is allowed on all hands that there was no protest against "this first step" in the very lifetime of the Apostle St. John. On the contrary, St. Irenæus and St. Ignatius praise it, and Corinth treasures the letter to read at Divine service on the Lord's Day for years to come. Here then, in 'historical Christianity' in its first appearance in the records that we have of the first century, there is, at least, no trace of Anglicanism. On the contrary, it is in exact accord with the Catholic and Roman position. The first letter in Christian history dwells with tremendous power on the evils of schism; speaks of the possession at Rome of a living tradition received from the Apostles; requires accord with the form of government contained in that tradition; deals with the deposition of clergy in a distant Province, refusing to sanction it; majestically and pathetically insists on the duty of repentance in those who have so acted, claims to be the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost—it emanates from Rome, it concludes with speaking of the Legates it has sent, and it is read for years after in the course of public service side by side with the Epistles of St. Paul. This at its very commencement is 'historical Christianity.'

Compare with this first disclosure of the spirit of the Christian Church, a letter from St. Leo to the Patriarch of Alexandria, in the fifth century. The Pope there says that it would be impious to believe that the holy disciple of St. Peter (viz. St. Mark, first Bishop of Alexandria) formed his decrees which he handed down to his successors, on any other rules than those which he derived *from his* master the Apostle. The original tradition of

Alexandria on the point in question must therefore (St. Leo argues) have been the same as that which St. Peter lodged in the Church of Rome. St. Leo therefore tells the Patriarch, "We do not allow that confessing ourselves to be of one body "and faith, we should have any discrepancy, and that the insti- "tutions of the master (St. Peter) should be one, and those of "the disciple (St. Mark) different." Accordingly he says he will send the presbyter Posidonius, who had often been present at the ordinations in Rome, to communicate to the Patriarch exactly how the ordinations should be conducted at Alexandria. Here, too, as in the statement of St. Clement, is the consciousness of possessing a living tradition, dating from St. Peter, which St. Leo calls the "paternal" tradition, concerning the government and practice of the Church, and which St. Clement calls a tradition, "fixed by the supreme will," *i.e.* the will of God. It is the same tone in St. Leo, the same idea, the same consciousness of possessing the one tradition of the Church's doctrine *and Government*, as appears in St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians four or five years before the close of the first century.

Now, contrast this first jet of history with the ideal of Bishop Overall, Bishop Stubbs, and the usual Anglican contention. Unity is supposed to have been secured at the 'Reformation' by the supremacy of the nation's will, according to Bishop Stubbs; by a certain hierarchical subordination under godly kings, according to Bishop Overall; by public consent, as the phrase is on the lips of so many. There is nothing of all this in the early history of the Church. It may be replied that it would be ludicrous to expect it. There was no such Christian king as Henry VIII. in the time of St. Clement. Corinth applied to Rome, as the only means then in existence for securing unity; or Rome intervened in Corinthian affairs, as was natural, when Corinth was torn to pieces. But even so, what does this mean but that there is no positive "primitive" basis for the Anglican position? What does it mean but that by the disposition of Divine Providence the Christian Church was to develop her resources for unity, without the possibility of reference to any civil power, and indeed, for the most part, under persecution? What but that the mainstay of unity, as a matter of fact, was in the beginning of her history, the Church of Rome? And Rome never, from her first utterance onwards, speaks as though she were merely a *dernier ressort* failing the existence of other apparatus in the future. St. Clement strikes the key-note of the whole future, and uses words which forbid the idea that the See was simply a natural centre owing to the position of the city. His language would be altogether unbecoming on this supposition. He speaks, as we have seen, as secure, in his judgment, of a

Divine assistance, and of their obligation to recognise the decision of the Church of Rome as the voice of the Holy Spirit. His contention is the same as appears in Tertullian's assertion in the second century, who distinguished the See of Rome from others, as that into which the Apostles Peter and Paul had "poured all their doctrine;" that is to say, it had a peculiar inheritance of Apostolical tradition, just as it claimed, according to the same witness, an inheritance of government. Its Pontiff corresponded in men's minds, according to Tertullian, to the Pontifex Maximus of the heathen religion.

Within, therefore, the first century of the Christian era unity was restored at Corinth by the action of Rome, writing a most powerful letter, and sending legates to the scene of disturbance; and, according to St. Ignatius, with special allusion (it is thought) to this letter, Rome was the teacher of others (ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε, Ign. Ep. ad. Rom. § 3), words which, Bishop Lightfoot remarks, "the newly recovered ending of St. Clement's letter enables us to appreciate more fully." And St. Clement does not come before us as acting through ambition, but as discharging a responsibility. He is not, according to St. Irenæus, grasping at power, but gloriously establishing peace. Indeed, the idea of the Popes having determinedly grasped at power, which is the Anglican explanation of Rome's position, is ludicrously inconsistent with the whole history of the early Church. People write as though they imagined that the Popes were in earliest days great magnates in the centre of the Roman Empire, compassing the subjection of the Christian world. In point of fact, apart from the recognition of their office as supreme Pastors on the part of the faithful throughout the world, they were doomed to simple insignificance. They governed a handful of converts, living, as we have said, mostly in the wretched haunts of the Suburra, the most degraded part of the city—Jews and Greeks by origin. Here and there they had a disciple in court; but they were living under emperors like Diocletian, and had to keep their conversion a secret. And yet from the first the Popes speak like St. Clement and St. Victor, to their fellow-Christians, as burdened with world-wide responsibilities, and responsibilities such could not accrue to them from a merely natural position. Victor's attitude would have been impossible on this supposition and St. Clement's language would have been turgid and bombastic indeed arrogant and presumptuous. And the actual extent resort to Rome would have been morally impossible, if it had been merely a matter of utility to consult it. Christians were not kind of people that could travel to Rome as people 'come' to London. Yet they came, or sent, to Rome. They had recourse to in spite of circumstances which were naturally prohibitive.

wherever a Christian community existed, it existed in the presence of a watchful foe. Centralisation was not natural under such circumstances, but rather (had there been no other reason than mutual self-defence) a prudent abstinence from manifesting their polity as a kingdom. In point of fact, a large measure of autonomy was a necessity of the case, and must have developed into general 'episcopal independence,' but for a counteracting principle, which lay at the root of the Christian polity. The provinces of Christendom (so to call them by anticipation) were not only separated by distance and the difficulties of travel, but were watched by the sleepless jealousy of a hostile world. And the implacable antagonism of the Empire bore with special weight on the Bishop of Rome himself. The continuance of that See at all is a miracle of persistency. Its perpetual watchfulness from the earliest times over the interests, spiritual and temporal, of outlying nations is another miracle. And the continual resort to the Holy See under the tremendous hatred that dogged its action is a third miracle, *unless* we take into account the words of our Lord to St. Peter, and the ineradicable conviction of the faithful that it was set by Divine appointment as the centre of their religion. This perpetual recourse to Rome is only to be rationally explained by the Catholic interpretation of St. Irenæus's language on the subject. From his words we see that Christians would not simply repair to Rome as a matter of accident, as to the world's great centre and mart, though that was doubtless a reason in the Providence of God for selecting Rome as the metropolis of the Kingdom of Christ. St. Irenæus gives another reason. "It is necessary," he says, "that all *Churches* should agree with this *Church*" of Rome. And the reason of this necessity is given distinctly; it is "by reason of the more powerful supremacy" of the Church (not of the city) of Rome. This is the way in which, according to St. Irenæus, the faithful can be the most assured of the correctness of their belief. The context of St. Irenæus's words absolutely precludes the interpretation of the Protestant writer Langen, adopted by Mr. Gore,* that the preservation of the faith at Rome was due to the concourse of faithful who gravitated thither from all parts. St. Irenæus is dealing with the security to the faith that arises from the Apostolic succession, *i.e.*, from Churches being able to trace themselves up to an Apostle. Wherever a Church could thus trace itself to an Apostle, and could be sure that it was maintaining the tradition given by that Apostle (the Apostles being each of them infallible in their tradition of the deposit), it might rest assured that it had the true faith. But the palmary instance

* "Roman Catholic Claims," p. 92, *note*.

of this security is, says St. Irenæus, afforded by Rome, which supplies the form to all Churches, with which all other *Churches must agree*, and why? Because, as Mr. Gore says, there was in Rome such ample opportunity of comparing traditions, and eliminating what was purely local? No; St. Irenæus gives the reason, and it is not what Mr. Gore, following Dr. Langen, assigns. St. Irenæus says the necessity arises from Rome's relation of supremacy—*ob potentiorem principalitem*—a word used elsewhere by the Saint of the dominion of God. And the Church of Rome is that Church, "in communion with which (as the expression '*in quâ*' is best interpreted) the tradition from the Apostles has been always preserved by men from all parts." Mr. Gore's interpretation is simply an inversion of the Saint's teaching as to the relation of Rome to the rest of Christendom. The ground of the "commanding supremacy" of the Church of Rome is not given by St. Ignatius; that was sufficiently known to instructed Christians. It was not, however, the concourse of the faithful thither, and the consequent comparison of traditions, for these were secure "in communion with her" (*in quâ*), not an element of security to her.

The idea, then, of the successive occupants of the Holy See setting themselves to develop a programme of usurpation under the circumstances, or of their uniformly catching the infection of ambitious schemes from their mere occupancy of the See, is preposterously unphilosophical. Yet they are, one and all, possessed from the hour of their consecration with the consciousness that they are the guardians of the Apostolic deposit for the whole Christian body. Their "*potentior principalitas*" with its onerous duties, is never absent from their minds, and is the most salient feature in their letters and actions. Each occupant brings with him into the sacred office this uniform sense of responsibility, as attaching to his See, and alludes to it as part of the universal consciousness of Christendom; and from the moment they sit upon the Fisherman's Throne, they act without hesitation, as entrusted with the care of all the Churches. It is said that the first words after election of one of the few Popes who disgraced the *tiara*, were, "I am the Vicar of Christ." This was certainly the burden of the thoughts of the long line of Saints and Martyrs who occupied the Fisherman's Throne.

They were seldom sure of life from month to month; but they never ceased to govern, and to govern on that understanding.

St. Clement's letter was written in the first breathing time that the Church enjoyed in the persecutions under Domitian. Whilst St. Stephen was insisting, now on the gate of remission being open to post-baptismal sin, and now on the reality of Baptism when administered even by heretics (involving even a

contest with the great Cyprian), he was in continual danger of his life, and ended with winning the martyr's crown. Throughout those centuries the Popes exercised their jurisdiction mostly at the risk, often at the cost, of their lives; but they did not cease to exercise it. They could not have exercised it over an unwilling people. Think of their position. The heathen State proscribed Christian worship, doctrine, manner of life, and stigmatised as un-Roman their withdrawal from secular employments. But that they should have one to whom they looked up as their chief Bishop could not but be a matter of intense dislike to the civil power. St. Cyprian tells us how Decius said that he would rather have a rival Emperor in Rome than another Bishop. Fabian, the last Bishop, had ordained Bishops for seven provinces in Gaul, increased the number of Presbyters in Rome, and, in the exercise of discipline, issued a letter against a criminal Bishop, which was his final offence. He was executed by the Emperor's order, and for eighteen months the See remained vacant. At the end of that time, Cornelius, from one of the noblest families in Rome, was elected to what St. Cyprian calls "the place of Peter," and shortly afterwards was banished by the Emperor, and martyred. The next Pope, within five months, shared his fate. Nevertheless they continued to exercise their jurisdiction. The next Pope, Stephen, whom we have already mentioned, maintained, according to his contemporary, St. Dionysius of Alexandria, the ancient renown of his chair in providing for the spiritual and temporal wants of the furthest Churches. At the instance of St. Cyprian, he brought back peace to the Church of Arles, by deposing the schismatical Bishop Marcian. Appealing (as we know from his opponent Firmilian) to his descent from Peter—holding (as Firmilian notes) "the first place"—he maintained the Roman tradition as to baptism against the resistance of the Bishops in Asia Minor and Africa. After four years he, too, died a martyr in 257. On the 6th of August his successor, Xystus II., followed him to his reward.* A troop of heathen soldiers seized him as he was offering the holy sacrifice in the catacomb of Prætextatus, and beheaded him in his Episcopal chair. This series of martyrdoms fills a single decade only in the Church's life. There can be no question here of grasping at power. These martyrs, one and all, evinced a profound consciousness of possessing an heirloom of tradition, for the maintenance of which they knew themselves to be responsible at the bar of God, and which supplied the basis of the whole Church's faith and discipline. How could they pose in those days of fiery persecution, as inheritors of a Divine tradition,

* See "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 83.

liarly theirs to guard for the whole Church, without making
mselves ludicrous and contemptible, unless their claim were
ected in the general consciousness of the Church? Yet the
urch crowned them with the aureole of a martyr's privileges,
fered the Holy Sacrifice on their tomb, and sought their inter-
ession at the Throne of Grace. The idea of usurpation, we
epeat, is preposterously incompatible with the surroundings in
which it is supposed to occur.

Xystus II. was followed by St. Dionysius, whose charity, a
well as his vigilance, extended over the whole Christian world.
There is an incident in the life of St. Dionysius which give
us such an important glimpse into the life of the Church in th
third century, that it will be worth our while to enter into
somewhat in detail.

It shows us in what the government of St. Peter's See over t
East consisted at that time. No one supposes that the Ho
See intervened, or could, in the nature of things, have oft
intervened directly at such a time in the affairs of the various p
vinces throughout the world. We know from St. Jerome later
that it acted, by *occasional* intervention, well-nigh through-
out the known world. But considering the nature of inter-
communication in those times this could be *only* occasional.
What actually happened was this. The 'keys' were originally
given to St. Peter, but the College of Apostles was associated
with him, each of them with immediate universal jurisdiction
from our Lord, and each of them secure of Divine assistance in
promulgating the faith. They went out into the wide world and
founded Sees, without occupying them themselves, excepting St.
Peter and St. James. Being, each of them, confirmed in grace
and infallible, the position of subordination which they occupied
in regard to St. Peter was never emphasised as is the case where
there is opposition or rebellion. They left to the Church which
they founded the deposit of truth which they bore with them
from Jerusalem. They had no successors in their Apostolate
The Apostolate, which, nevertheless, was of the essence of th
government of the Church, remained with one See, whose fir
Bishop was himself the Prince of the Apostles. This soon ca
to be called *the* Apostolic See, in a unique sense. It was suc
St. Augustine, and, as such, its dogmatic decisions on matte
faith were to a true Christian conclusive. That this wa
Augustine's belief is capable of rigorous proof.

Whilst, therefore, the Apostles, as a rule, left no succes
their infallibility and universal jurisdiction, there was one
tion. It was not St. James, whose See occupied at the
of Nice quite a subordinate position. It was St. Pete
Apostles left Bishops to succeed them in some respects

hand on the deposit of truth, which they bequeathed to the various Churches they founded. These Bishops, scattered through the world, enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, not, however, on principle, but of necessity. It was reluctantly on their part that they were in any measure externally separated, and not from any idea of the value of 'Episcopal independence.' Africa, for instance, was in constant communication with Rome, and in a state of constant appeal, even at the time when some of the Bishops were pleading for a court of first instance which would diminish their attendance at Rome. And throughout the world, however autonomous from the stress of circumstances distant provinces remained, intercommunication was kept up by *Epistolæ formatæ*, or letters of communion, between all parts of the Christian world. Not to be within the circle of Christian life embraced by these *literæ formatæ*, was equivalent to being no longer within the Christian Church. But when through the withdrawal of the χάρισμα of infallibility which the Apostles each enjoyed, any doubt arose as to whether a Bishop was handing on with accurate fidelity the deposit of truth communicated by the Apostolic founder of a Church, or cluster of Churches, then St. Irenæus's rule came into force. The natural thing was at once to compare the tradition being promulgated with that of the nearest Apostolic Church, and finally, if need arose (or at once, if opportunity occurred, or the occasion called for it) with the Church of Rome, with which it was necessary to agree, says St. Irenæus: *ob potentiorem principalitatem*, because of her powerful supremacy as compared with all the rest. And as the lapse of time separated men from the days of the Apostles, they looked more and more to the permanent Apostle of the Christian Church, the one predestined seat of infallibility and universal jurisdiction. St. Clement of Alexandria calls St. Clement of Rome, "The Apostle Clement." And such the occupant of the See of Rome was to St. Augustine—not as confirmed in grace, nor possessing inspiration, but as secured from error by special Divine assistance. The amount, therefore, of the intervention of the Holy See in the affairs of the Church might be expected to increase with the growth of the Church. Nothing in the history of the Church up to this hour has gone beyond the principle involved in St. Clement's letter to the Church at Corinth. Only the principle has expanded itself with the expansion of the Church. And the measure of autonomy forced upon the scattered communities of the early Church during the days of persecution would naturally give way to increasing centralisation, as the possibilities of exhibiting her law of unity increased. Meanwhile that external unity, which is a note of the Church, was being matured in the circles of Christian communities which

were nearer to the centre of unity. The Bishop of Rome, and his Council of Bishops, formed the first and central knot. But from the first there was a wider circle embracing a large portion of the East, distinctly gathered round this centre of unity. Three great Sees appear in the early Church, each of them placing St. Peter at the head of their catalogue of Bishops. Each of them was a See of St. Peter. Their history is given by St. Boniface, St. Leo, and St. Gregory. St. Peter himself resided temporarily at Antioch, and sent his disciple, St. Mark, to Alexandria, and lived and died at Rome. These two Sees, therefore, occupied quite a unique position in Christian history. They were, with the See of Rome, the three measures of meal which the woman took and leavened the whole, as St. Gregory says. They appear at Nice, with their prerogatives already in full exercise, and these prerogatives, left untouched, are called by the Council of Nice 'ancient.' Clearly, therefore, the idea of episcopal independence was no portion of the teaching of the Primitive Church, unless we can show that those two commanding Sees of Antioch and Alexandria, with their immense provinces of subordinate Sees, were independent of Rome. *But* precisely the contrary can be shown. They did not place St. Peter at the head of their Episcopal succession in a spirit of rivalry with Rome. On the contrary, it was a link of unity. And the incident in the life of St. Dionysius, which we have prefaced with these remarks, shows that the unity was that of subordination—equality of honour in the possession of the *sacerdotium*, but subordination in the matter of guidance and rule.

And when Antioch separates from Rome, and Alexandria is occupied by a bishop not in communion with Rome, the one is under the baneful influence of a Court, and each are tainted with deadly heresy. The account of the incident to which we have referred in connection with St. Dionysius is given by St. Athanasius, himself Patriarch of Alexandria. The case was as follows:

In the latter half of the third century the Sabellian heresy had sprung up in the region of Pentapolis, which, as we know from the sixth Nicene Canon in the next century, belonged to the "Greater Metropolitanate" (or, as it was afterwards called, 'the Patriarchate') of Alexandria. The Patriarch bearing the same name as the Pope, viz., Dionysius, at once wrote to the Pope to inform him of the fact that this heresy had emerged under his rule.* And at the same time he wrote letters to two of the Egyptian bishops. In his letters to these bishops he laid great stress on the reality of our Lord's humanity. The

* On a previous occasion St. Dionysius wrote to Pope Xystus, giving his reason for writing, "that I may not err." *Cf.* Eus. Eccl. Hist. L

used some of his Presbyters to suspect him of leaning towards e Arian heresy. And afterwards the Arians quoted him on eir side. St. Athanasius, in a graphic account of the whole tter, indignantly repudiates the accusation thus levelled against saintly predecessor. He tells them, in a magnificent letter, actly what happened. The Alexandrian Presbyters, in their l for orthodoxy, reported their Patriarch to the Bishop of me, who at once wrote a letter on the subject of Sabellianism l Arianism, adjusting the balance of truth which these opposite esies variously disturbed. He also wrote to the Patriarch of xandria for him to explain what exactly it was for which he s accused, as the Presbyters not having explained it, he was the dark. St. Dionysius at once sent on a letter to the Pope, h another to follow, that the Pope might not think him tory in clearing himself from the accusation, however vague. s reply was sufficient. And St. Athanasius tells the Arians t they have only succeeded in forging a weapon against emselves in quoting St. Dionysius of Alexandria in their vour. "For [he says] they had brought two things into ominence: first, that St. Dionysius of Alexandria having eared himself, they have him against them; and secondly, at the fact of St. Dionysius the Pope having written, as he id, against those who say that the Son of God is a crea- re, shows that not now (in St. Athanasius's time) for the first ne, but long ago (ἔκπαλαι) their heresy had been "anathe- tised by all." Here, then, is the principle of appeal at work n a Patriarch to the Bishop of Rome; here is an instance of unvarying orthodoxy of the occupants of the Holy See; and nstance of how they governed the Church on the subject of Homoousion long years before the Council of Nice.

ow, all this is incompatible with the Anglican theory of liction and ecclesiastical unity, even upon the theory of opment. Admit development, and it *may be said* that ian nationalities had not yet arisen, and *therefore* the home various centres of jurisdiction had not yet been fixed— he idea of national independent Churches could not be ated as yet. But this is the renunciation of the most ental point of the Anglican contention, viz., that what is mitive is not Catholic—and primitive not after the manner erm, which exhibits as it grows unexpected integrations (to language of evolution) out of successive differentiations— itive in the sense of being posited in actual reality in the days, so that the true form of ecclesiastical unity must be and realistically mirrored in the first four centuries of the Church. If once the Anglican betakes himself to the development, he has broken with the principle on which

he has of late years opposed the Catholic Church. But even on any rational theory of development the position is untenable, in view of what we have already seen in the history of the early Church. The Catholic is there, *at least* in germ; the Anglican is not there at all. Yet no assertion has been more vigorously pressed of late years than the supposed unprimitive character of the Catholic claims. "You are not primitive; it is enough for me. We can "do without what the Primitive Church lacked. She had no "Pope to guide her; we, too, need no Pope." Such is the continual cry of the Anglican, who calls himself a Catholic. It is as well, therefore, to point out that anyhow the Anglican cannot build his own theory on the ground of Primitivity. He cannot occupy the ground himself. And unless he can do so, his theory halts. He cannot oppose us, as being himself primitive. This is what results plainly from the glimpses of the Church's life which we catch in ante-Nicene times. They none of them smile on the Anglican position. Whatever else they suggest as possible in a continuous and developing future, they do not suggest, they cannot be made to square with, that—supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Anglican Episcopate can make good its claim to valid orders. St. Clement's attitude towards Corinth, St. Victor's practical assertion that to be within the "common unity" of which he speaks, you must be in communion with Rome; St. Stephen's claim to act as the successor of St. Peter, St. Dionysius calling upon the Patriarch of Alexandria to explain the accusation brought against him—these are historical incidents within the first three centuries which imply an idea of government which it was not left to St. Leo in the fifth century, nor St. Gregory the sixth, to initiate. The Papal form of unity is already there, with resources to be developed according to the growing needs of the Church.

All these facts are bound to put the Anglican on his defence. And what is his reply? It is always the same in substance, and it is twofold:—(1) that on each recorded occasion of the exercise of Papal authority, some resistance is offered to the claim, and that such resistance invalidates the claim; and (2) that so far as the claim was conceded, it was on the ground of Rome's natural position.

But we remark (1) that in each case there was at least eventual submission. In each case, too, the particular exercise of authority was alone questioned, if questioned at all, and not the authority itself. Corinth submits to Rome; St. Irenæus does not question St. Victor's authority in itself. St. Cyprian (according to St. Augustine) submits to St. Stephen; St. Dionysius of Alexandria submits his explanation to St. Dionysius of Rome.

Again (2) it is not, as a matter of fact, the natural position of

Rome that comes to the front. Rome, in St. Clement's letter, claims Corinth's submission on the ground of a certain infallibility attaching to her judgment; it is, she says, the voice of the Holy Spirit. Tertullian witnesses that already, in his day, Rome and St. Peter were connected in men's minds. St. Cyprian calls the place of Fabian the place of Peter. St. Stephen speaks of himself as the successor of Peter.

The Papal claim, therefore, is in possession in those first three centuries; and it requires more to dislodge it than an occasional ineffectual murmur; and is it conceivable that St. Athanasius, having before him all that Julius had said by that time of his relation to St. Peter, should have spoken as he did of St. Dionysius's dealing with the Patriarch of Alexandria, had he possessed in his mind the tiniest germ of the Anglican theory, as to Rome's Primacy being due simply to the greatness of the city? The authority of the Bishop of Rome had at least by this time been definitely connected with the name of St. Peter, and the claim was now precise to an heirloom of tradition, unique, priceless, capable of pouring out its treasures according to need, and secure of Divine assistance in its enunciations of the principles of order, and the original deposit of truth. Yet St. Athanasius has no word of protest, but only praises St. Dionysius and St. Julius, and he signs the canons of the Sardican Council.

The name of St. Athanasius brings us to the Council of Nicæa.

But before passing on to that Council, we would insist upon the importance of the fact that in each recorded instance of intervention on the part of the Holy See in the affairs of the Church, the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff has received, sooner or later, the adhesion of the entire Church. Pope St. Clement's Epistle to Corinth was read in churches side by side with Holy Scripture. St. Victor did his best to prevent any growing tendency to a lasting difference (and who can say what would have been the loss to the Church had the difference increased?) as to the time of celebrating the Queen of Festivals; and after having shown first his desire to obtain uniformity on so important a matter (though not a matter of faith), and then his willingness in deference to St. Irenæus's intercession, to bide his time, and humour the attachment to local customs as urged by St. Polycarp, his judgment received the adhesion of the entire body of Bishops at the Council of Nice. The martyrs of Lyons from their dungeons appeal to Pope Eleutherus to oppose the authority of his office to the progress of Montanism, and Tertullian (himself involved in the heresy) records bitterly: "I hear that an "edict has been published, and indeed a peremptory one, namely, "the Bishop of Bishops, which is equivalent to the 'Sovereign "Pontiff,'" proclaims, "I pardon sins . . . . to such as have

"performed penance. This is read in the Church, and pro-"claimed in the Church." No need to say that the Church adhered to the "Sovereign Pontiff," and not to Tertullian.

Again, the whole future action of the Church towards heretics was endangered by the determined effort on the part of St. Cyprian and Firmilian and others, backed by the decisions of large Provincial Councils, to rebaptise heretics unconditionally. Nothing but the firm opposition of competent authority could have stemmed the stream which was setting in against the real Apostolical tradition. But the Pope was at the helm, and in spite of the tremendous waves of opposition he held his own, and interpreted the Apostolical tradition, which had been wrongly rendered by St. Cyprian and the Asiatic provinces.

Hear St. Vincent of Lerins on the matter, "Pope Stephen, of "blessed memory, who at that time was prelate of the Apostolic "See, resisted, in conjunction indeed with his colleagues, yet more "than his colleagues, thinking it fit, as I suppose, that he should "surpass all others in the devotedness of his faith, as much as "he excelled them by the authority of his station." And the sentence of the Pope is the teaching of the Church at this hour.

The Donatists appealed to the Emperor to settle their dispute, making the Crown a Court of Appeal. The Emperor, not yet Arianised and Erastianised by Eusebius, referred them to the Pope. The Pope (St. Melchiades) associates with himself a number of Italian Bishops in conjunction with three of the African Bishops (thereby exhibiting the same spirit as St. Cyprian did in the management of the Diocese in conjunction with the Presbyters), and delivers a sentence for which he is justly praised by St. Augustine. "How admirable," exclaims the Saint in after years, "was the final sentence of Melchiades!" (Ep. xliii.). The sentence was further emphasised and promoted by a Council of Bishops,* in which the Papal Legates sat, not as in a Court of Appeal, for Judges appealed against do not sit in the appeal, but by way of enforcing what St. Augustine calls the final sentence of the Pope, and the decrees of the Council were sent to the Pope for him to communicate "to all men;" the centre of unity to the circumference of the Church's dominion.

This brings us within ten years of the Council of Nice. What kind of witness is borne by the history of that Council to the relation of the Pope to the Church? How does it bear on the Anglican claim to represent historical Christianity?

The Council's doctrinal decision had been anticipated by Pope Dionysius in the previous century, as St. Athanasius triumph-

* "Not (says St. Augustine) because this was necessary, but as a concession to their perversity, and wishing to use every means for restraining their shamelessness." Ep. 43, n. 20.

antly insists against the Arians; and the contrary heresy had, as he pointed out in his letter concerning Dionysius of Alexandria, been "long ago" anathematised by Rome, and so, "by all." What, therefore, was needed was an echo of the Papal judgment, a repetition in the most emphatic mode of utterance, a declaration that Arius and his followers did not belong to the Church, and that the world of Bishops held with the teaching which had been ever maintained at Rome, of which the foremost champion at this moment was Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, with whose diocese Arius was himself connected.

With Constantine the one thought, doubtless, was unity at whatever price. With St. Sylvester, as he sent his Legates charged with instructions, and commissioned Hosius with them to represent himself, the one thought would be that the true teaching, upheld by himself and Alexander, should obtain world-wide recognition, and the Church would be bound together in that truth, as she extruded from her pale the leader of the opposite heresy. The Council would perform the function of witnessing to the dogmatic truth thus long previously enforced by the Pope and championed now at Alexandria. It would add the solemn circumstance of the assembled Church uttering the same judgment as its head had long ago pronounced—manifesting and securing unity by the imposing spectacle of a vast array of Eastern Bishops passing judgment in accordance with the uniform teaching of the Holy See, as to the very foundation-truth of the Church's teaching. We say an array of Eastern Bishops —for the Western Bishops could be counted on a man's hand. The Nicene Council, in spite of Eusebius' glowing description (which, from his semi-Arian propensities, he substitutes for the narrative of facts that he might have given us), was not a representative assembly in the sense of containing bishops from all parts of the world. Five Western Bishops out of the 318 could hardly be called a representation, except on the supposition that there was something peculiar in the Sees represented. A diocese in Spain could not represent even the province from which its bishop came, unless by special arrangement. But Bishop Hosius did not sign, like the rest of the bishops, as representing even the Spanish province from which he came. Anglicans quite fail to give its due importance to this fact, that the Council of Nice, apart from its confirmation by the Pope, was mainly Eastern. The only reasonable explanation of its ecumenicity lies in the Papal confirmation.

The official records have perished; but what remains bears most significantly upon the nature of the Church's government. What most strikes one at once about the Nicene Council is the witness it bears to the irrepressible vigour with which the Church

had developed her form of unity. She there emerges fro
throes, after three centuries of outlawry and persecution,
an organisation, world-wide in its extension, and unquest
in its main principle, although lately questioned in one part
application of that principle. The principle is, that her
copate is her teaching body, and that rank and subordi
amongst bishops is part of the Church's order. In other
the Church appears before us as the waters of perse
suddenly abate, with a government already formed, a g
ment not merely by bishops, but by a *hierarchy* of bi
The Council originates nothing in this respect. It simply
in its adhesion to a principle already in working order.
only sets its seal on the principle, but proclaims its subm
to the particular application of the principle then in questi
to the Egyptian Sees, as a matter of *ancient rule*. "Le
ancient customs hold their place" is the opening of its
on this subject. The Council does not place itself above
ancient customs, but is governed by them. Three See
mentioned as already in authority, in that important
Canon. They are, as a matter of fact, the three Sees of
In the jurisdiction of one of these Petrine Sees a quarre
recently arisen, and Meletius, an Egyptian Bishop, wh
been deposed by the Bishop of Alexandria and formed a sc
is practically condemned; and the Bishops of the Council a
to the jurisdictional extent of the See of Alexandria, as it
been mapped out *in the past* with the cognisance of the B
of Rome. The Church, therefore, suddenly comes before us
the stamp of a regulated visible unity. The Church, as se
Nicæa, is one kingdom, one single body, numerically and v
one. She is not, as Bishop Overall conceived the matt
number of national units, bound together by no nece
external signs of amity. She is not, as Dr. Pusey ima
(carrying on Bishop Overall's theory), a number of indepe
Provinces, united through their own isolated union, wit
Divine Head. The Church at Nicæa is already a compact
bound together by certain ties of hierarchical interdepende
ties formed by ecclesiastical arrangement, but still such th
break away from them, when duly rivetted, is, as in the c

"at its commencement, derived its origin from the dignity of the "blessed Peter, in whom its rule and management abide" (Ep. xiv.). And so, as we shall see, the Fathers of Nicæa say in respect to this government of the Church, "Let the ancient customs keep their place." The various provinces of the Church had already lived in active intercommunion, bound together by an hierarchical order, the main feature of which was the position occupied by the Petrine Sees, a kind of Triumvirate in the government of the Church. What with the frequent Synods within the area of each province, and the constant interchange of *literæ formatæ*, or letters of communion, between the members of the various Provinces, and the occasional communication between the rulers of the greater Sees, all centering in Rome, as a matter of fact, and again, the emergence of St. Peter's name in special connection with that See—the picture of the Church's visible unity may be said to have been already drawn by the records which have come down to us from those times. Direct and indirect notices, longer and plainer records, scraps and fragments which have survived the frequent shipwrecks of historical treasures, all combine to produce one harmonious picture. What we have is sufficient for our purpose, and it is of one jet.

The Anglican idea that the Council commended itself to the mind of the Church diffusive, and so secured its authority, an idea which is prominent in 'Janus,' is absolutely devoid of foundation in fact. This theory supposes that the Council was never "received" *on authority*, but only in virtue of individual confirmation. It is difficult indeed to see how, on the Anglican idea of the ecumenicity of a Council, there could be any authoritative teaching in the Church at all. Not even a Council, confirmed by the Pope, comes before the world as an infallible statement of truth; it must wait, on this theory, for its authentication by the body of the faithful at large, who thus become the ultimate authority in the teaching of the Church.

Certainly this is not what history evidences as to the estimate of the Council of Nice in the fourth century. There was resistance to it, and in abundance; sufficient indeed, if we were to accept the principle which Mr. Gore and others adopt, in reference to the validity of the Papal claims, to invalidate the claim of the Nicene faith to be the teaching of the Church. For the rest of the century the Pope is mainly occupied in enforcing the authoritative sentence of the Council on recalcitrant Bishops. But he does not plead the reception of the Conciliar utterance by the faithful, but the authority attaching to its utterance itself, which was not a separate thing from his own judgment, but one decision.

But why, it may be asked, not simply plead the authority of

the Holy See? To which the answer is plain, that the Arians had already repudiated that, as they were prepared presently to repudiate also the authority of the Council. Hosius' mission to Alexandria had failed. But for Constantine, and for others, no more effective weapon could be handled than the demonstration that the head and the body were one. The decree of the head, to the instructed faithful, would be amply sufficient. Arius had been already held as a heretic; but the decision of the head in conjunction with the "conjudication" of the associated teaching body, viz., the Episcopate, was a stronger argument still to any one who was inclined to resistance. It was more imposing, required less faith, and was more suited for Constantine's purpose than the issue of a decree on the part of the Apostolic See. So that the object of the Holy See in advising a Council was to manifest the faith of the entire Church; to exhibit her real unity. These considerations are mentioned merely as showing that nothing in the mere fact of holding a Council at this crisis militates against the infallibility of the Holy See. Those who are afterwards known as the Eusebians were not prepared to accept the judgment of Holy See or Sacred Council; but Constantine was prepared to enforce the judgment of the two, *i.e.*, of the whole Church. It would have been perfectly absurd to expect him to issue an edict at that crisis, such as the three Emperors afterwards imposed on the Empire, saying, "It is our will that all the peoples who "are governed by our clemency hold the religion which is proved "to have been delivered to the Romans by the Divine Apostle "Peter." The East was overrun with Arianism, and the all-important point from the Imperial view was to exhibit the great body of the Episcopate in unison on whichever side. The Emperor recognised in the Church a single Kingdom with a complete organisation of its own, and was prepared to enforce the teaching of that Kingdom on all who professed the Christian name. The Bishops had met in Synods, and the Church, diffusive in conjunction with her head, infallible in her teaching in diffusion, though not in separation, had taught the doctrine of her Lord's Divinity. Rome and Alexandria had imposed the very term Homoousion on the faithful. It was now to be seen in the face of day that there was no place in the Church for any who taught the contrary. The Bishops in the exercise of their peculiar prerogative, by the grace of their consecration, were now to proclaim before the world their universal adherence to what as a matter of fact had been the teaching of the Holy See, and of such Bishops as Alexander of Alexandria. They did not come to decide an open question, but to let the Emperor know that there was but one teaching in East and West, in the head

and body alike, and that that teaching assigned proper Divinity to the Invisible Head of the Church.

The Western Bishops did not attend the Council, with the exception of five. There was no need for them to do so. It was enough for them that the Legates of the Holy See were there. A Council confirmed by the Primate of the Universal Church, who was the informing power of the Church's inerrancy, would be a sufficient authority for any who held the Christian Faith, and their own presence could add nothing to its infallibility. It is not possible to prove the ecumenical character of the Council of Nicæa on any other supposition. For its decrees, as we have said, did not acquire their binding value by reason of their subsequent reception by the Church, which is the Anglican theory, but, on the contrary, they were received by the Church at large, because of their binding character from the first. Constantine enforced them as such at once.

The Council was convoked by the Emperor in concert with the Pope, by the advice of the latter. This is expressly stated by the sixth General Council, which was composed entirely of Eastern Bishops. With this agrees the statement of Rufinus, who says that the Council was called "*ex sacerdotum sententia*"—in consequence of the opinion of the Bishops, as 'sacerdotes' generally meant in early writings. That it would not have been the suggestion of Eusebius and the rest of the Arianising Bishops who surrounded the Emperor, is evident. They would have been the last to suggest or look favourably upon it. But we know that letters were just then passing between Rome and Alexandria on the general crisis; and we may fairly assume that the subject of a Council would be amongst their topics. But the words of the Papal Legate at Chalcedon, forbidding Dioscorus to sit in the Council, prove that St. Sylvester gave his authoritative sanction, if he did not, as is likely, originate the idea of a Council. Dioscorus was condemned for having "dared to hold a Synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, which has never been lawful, and has never been done;" words which, considering their reception by the Easterns, exhibit the general conviction as to the authority by which the great Council of Nicæa had been held.

The Council thus convoked was considered to be under the direction of the Holy See, which presided over it by its Legates.

It is explicitly stated in the same century by Damasus and a Synod of 90 bishops that the 318 bishops of Nicæa were "directed "from the city of the most holy Bishop of Rome" in their work of the Council. The Pope presided by his Legates, consisting of a Bishop and two Priests. The two Priests, who had no right

to a place in the Council, except in their capacity as Legates, state the fact in their subscription, and Bishop Hosius signs, not in the place of his Province, as the rest, but first. He clearly signed, not as representing any Province, but as Legate. These three sign before even the Bishop of Alexandria. There is, however, another singular witness to the fact that St. Sylvester, the Pope, was universally considered to have presided over the Council—a witness that must be considered altogether unimpeachable by the most suspicious Anglican—viz., the Græco-Russian Liturgy. In the office of St. Sylvester occurs the following text in allusion to the Council of Nicæa: "Thou hast "shown thyself the supreme one of the Sacred Council, O "initiator into the sacred mysteries, and hast illustrated the "throne of the supreme one of the disciples." Here is the Presidency of the Council attributed, as an established fact, to St. Sylvester; and it is connected with the traditional belief as to the supremacy of St. Peter among the Apostles. There is, too, no reason for pouring scorn on Gelasius, as Mr. Gore* does, in his witness to the same effect. He is, in this instance, however he he may fail in accuracy in some cases, evidently drawing his information from trustworthy sources, which he mentions,† and from which it appears that Hosius and the two Roman priests were bracketed as Legates of the Holy See, and presidents of the Council. Eusebius speaks of the Presidents in the plural number; and Photius, before his fall, joins Hosius and the priests together as the Papal Legation, following Gelasius.

The Papal confirmation of the Decree is expressly stated by the Council of Rome in A.D. 485, which says that the 318 bishops assembled at Nice "referred the confirmation of things and the "authority to the Holy Roman Church" (Hard. ii. p. 856).

The sixth Canon of the Council, moreover, points to the shape which the hierarchy of the Church had long ago assumed. In this Canon, the most marked distinction is drawn between the position of Rome, on the one hand, and the great See of Alexandria and Antioch, the lesser Petrine Sees, on the other. Rome's cognisance, or Rome's example, whichever be the true interpretation, is quoted as determining the question of Alexandria's rights of jurisdiction. If the expression which the Nicene Fathers use in this sixth canon, in deciding in favour of the authority of Alexandria over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis—viz., "Since this is customary also with the Bishop of Rome"—if this means that such exercise of authority over other bishops was the custom also with the Bishop of Rome, then Rome's

* "Roman Catholic Claims," p. 96. 1st ed.
† See Jungmann, "Diss. in Hist. Eccl." D.V.

patriarchal sway is held up as the norm, and sufficient justification, of a similar authority on the part of the Bishop of Alexandria. The Council does not touch upon the ground of Rome's exercise of authority. That did not come within its purview. It spoke of her patriarchal sway as settled, and as settling their own question. It must be remembered that Rome has to this day both the title of patriarch and the duties of a patriarch towards a certain area of the Church (including England), as she has purely episcopal duties towards a still more limited area. Over and above these patriarchal and episcopal rights and duties, is her sway over the entire Church, which does not obliterate these special relations to the West as Patriarch, and to Rome as Bishop. The words of the Nicene Canon, then, if they refer to the patriarchal rights of Rome, show that the Nicene Fathers give in their adhesion to the long-established arrangement of a special jurisdiction over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, as residing in the See of Alexandria, *on the ground* (ἐπειδή) that Rome had thus organised her own minor* jurisdiction; and *Rome's action, it is assumed, is the true norm of the ecclesiastical government.* The Council does not confirm anything, but follows suit; it deals with Antioch and Alexandria, but only to declare the law which Rome had given by her action in her own neighbourhood. The Primatial relations of Rome are something quite distinct, implied, indeed, by quoting her action as deciding the form of ecclesiastical government, but not touched upon directly in this Canon.

This interpretation, however, of the sixth Canon is not the only one that the words will bear. The Canon does not say anything about a *similar* exercise of jurisdiction as customary to the Bishop of Rome, so far as the letter of the Greek is concerned. It says "since *this* is customary to the Bishop of Rome." What is '*this*'? Taking the words simply as they stand, the Canon asserts that the subjection of the Egyptian Bishop and others to Alexandria is customary with the Bishop of Rome. Does not this mean that the jurisdiction of Alexandria over these same bishops had been the arrangement with respect to them, recognised and acted upon by the Bishop of Rome, and that consequently things should remain as they are? "Let the ancient customs hold their place." The arrangement concerning the jurisdiction of Alexandria had been made in ancient times with the cognisance of the Bishop of Rome. We can hardly doubt that the Pope had instructed his Legates on this question. The Bishops of Rome, they knew, had long ago originated, or allowed, or arranged the question of Alexandria's jurisdiction,

* Minor, as compared with her jurisdiction over the whole Church.

and the present Pope had doubtless instructed his Legates bring this fact before the Council. We have, then (reply t Council), nothing more to do. "Let the ancient customs ho their sway." Let these Bishops remain under the See Alexandria, since this arrangement is of long standing, it bei customary with the Bishop of Rome to act upon it, as h actually happened in the case of St. Dionysius the Pope, a some Bishops of Upper Nubia.

This interpretation, which is that of Baronius and Bellarmi would be greatly strengthened if we accept the heading to t Canon which was read by the Roman Legates at the Council Chalcedon, viz., "the Church of Rome always held the Primacy Aetius, the Archdeacon of Constantinople, is supposed to hav read out a copy of the Canon without this heading. But ther is no suggestion that this was in opposition to the Legate' version. Canon Carter, indeed, informs us ("Roman Question," p. 17) that the Legate's version was objected to by the Fathers, as at variance with the genuine text. But this is pure invention on the Canon's part. And when he goes on to say that "the original text was in consequence referred to," and then that "the Roman version was seen to be spurious," he is simply indulging in fable. There is nothing of the sort to be found in the acts of the Council—not a word. Canon Bright also indulges his imagination when he says that the Roman version "was pleaded and rejected as spurious." There is, in fact, no record of any remarks of the Bishops on the matter. It is, indeed, open to serious question whether these words ascribed to Aetius are not an interpolation, as the Ballerini and Hefele give good reasons for supposing. But it is anyhow far more likely that the Legate's copy taken from the archives of Rome was the correct one. It seems pretty certain that it was accepted by the Council as such, considering the declaration of the *gloriosi principes* at the conclusion of the discussion. They said that from all that had taken place, they gathered "that all primacy and the principal honour "*according to the Canons* belong to the Archbishop of ancient "Rome, most beloved of God" (Hard. ii. p. 642).

Whether, then, we understand the Canon as expressing the adhesion of the Nicene Fathers to the long-established usage of patriarchal sway on the part of Alexandria, on the ground of Rome being the model, or on the ground of her being the source of patriarchal power (the former not excluding the latter), which she undoubtedly was to Alexandria, the witness borne by the Canon to an already developed hierarchy in the Episcopate is decisive. It cannot, according to the Nicene Fathers, be tampered with, even by themselves alone. It is not for them to disturb the ancient customs. Rome's action settles the question.

The Council of Nicæa is alluded to by St. Nicolas in his letter to the Emperor Michael; and he draws the same conclusion. He speaks of its being plain to those who "diligently inspect" the history of the Council; and he quotes St. Boniface's letter to the Bishops of Thessaly, in which that Pope reminds them that the Nicene Fathers did not venture to lay down anything affecting the dignity of the See of St. Peter, since they knew that "that was bestowed by the word of the Lord," a quotation which completely disposes of another pivot of the Anglican theory, viz., that St. Nicolas relied on the Forged Decretals for the principles on which he acted. Bishop Creighton, in his "History of the Papacy" (Introd. chapter) informs his readers that Nicolas "made haste to use" those Decretals. Dean Milman, followed by Canon Liddon in his Bampton Lectures (Lect. viii.), tells us that St. Nicolas "eagerly seized upon them." As a matter of fact, there is no one instance of his having quoted from them. Deciding that not all Decretals which are lacking from the Roman archives are necessarily false, is not quoting them; but that is all that St. Nicolas did. His quotations are from other sources, and are accurate, and amongst them is this from St. Boniface concerning the Council of Nicæa, which would render unnecessary any resort to pseudo-Decretals, so far as the fundamental principle of his teaching is concerned.

So far, then, as the historical Christianity of the first three and a half centuries is concerned, it cannot be said that "Episcopal independence" is a primitive principle. The Church, according to the Anglican theory, is an entirely different thing from the Church as it appears in those first centuries. In them she is a body numerically one, linked together not merely by a hidden unity, but by external union. Her polity is already articulate, uniform, hierarchical. At the summit stands the See of St. Peter. But according to the Anglican theory, she is capable of being a torn, rent body—a number of national units, a heap of sand, instead of a compact organisation co-extensive with her existence. A province, according to that theory, may tear itself away, under an Elizabeth, and after altering all its standards, and its liturgy, may call itself an independent National Church. There is nothing in the primitive Church to countenance this.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

APOSTOLIC LETTER OF LEO XIII. ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ANGLO-BENEDICTINE CONGREGATION.

Litterae Apostolicae de Regimine et Disciplina Congregationis Anglo-Benedictinae Novanda.

LEO EPISCOPVS,

Servvs Servorvm Dei ad Perpetvam Rei Memoriam.

RELIGIOSUS Ordo Benedicti Patris de rationibus Ecclesiae reique publicae quum praeclare apud multas gentes sit meritus, tum apud Anglos meritus est praeclarissime.—Alumnos eius, extremo saeculo sexto, illuc miserat S. Gregorius Magnus, Angliae merito vocatus apostolus, ut gentem Evangelii ignoratione miserrimam erudirent et rite adiungerent Christo. Quod illi quidem constantiâ laborum, copiâ doctrinae, splendore virtutum, optime, Deo adiuvante, fecerunt; iidemque instituta et artes verae solidaeque humanitatis in eas regiones feliciter invexerunt.—Huiusmodi beneficia gens anglica quanti par erat aestimans, Ordinem Benedictinum summo semper obsequio et benevola gratia prosecuta est: quo mirabiliter factum, ut in dies et ille sedes suas viresque latius protulerit, et haec laetioribus aucta sit fructibus urbanitatis omnis maximeque religionis, a qua commemorabilem etiam sanctitatis laudem in Ecclesiae fastis obtinuit.

At vero, saeculo sexto decimo, propter acerbissimum illud et perquam calamitosum a catholica fide dissidium, communia religiosorum domicilia depopulata et eversa sunt, monachi vel necati vel dispersi; ut sub initium saeculi consequentis vix unus, Sigibertus Buckley, de ingenti Benedictinorum numero fuerit reliquus. Qui vehementer dolens suorum vicem rerumque maximarum ruinam, reputare animo coepit, si quo modo opem aliquam et religioni et patriae et suis posset afferre. Ipse igitur nonnullis aliunde monachis sibi consociatis, adlectisque et sacra veste ornatis adolescentibus nonnullis anglis, initia posuit Sodalitatis seu Congregationis, quae etiamnum viget, Anglo-Benedictinae: cuius praecipue laboribus referenda quae apud eam nobilissimam nationem Ecclesia catholica subinde potuit reparare.—Susceptum a Sigiberto consilium inceptumque opus vix dicere attinet quam gratum et acceptum extiterit Pontificibus romanis, qui tamquam, singlare Dei providentis subsidium in ipso inesse agnoscentes, curas omnes contulerunt, ut excitata Soldalitas in spem magnam saluberrimae virtutis Angliae laboranti floresceret. Eam litteris *Cum sicut accepimus*, datis die XXIV decembris anno MDCXII, Paulus V collaudavit, rectoque eiusdem ordini prospexit, novem iussis *definitoribus*, qui et incerta quaedam Sodalitatis negotia transigerent, et accommodatas ipsi Constitutiones scriberent, legum instar habendas; scriptas autem,

auctoritate ipsa apostolica, litteris *Ex incumbenti*, die XXIII agusti anno MDCXIX, probavit et gravissime sanxit.—Quae decessoris acta Urbanus VIII, Constitutione *Plantata*, die XII iulii anno MDCXXXIII, ample confirmavit; multa Sodalitati privilegia concessit, certamque regiminis formam praescripsit, ad ea quoque munera, quae *Missiones* nominant, rite obeunda.—Deinde Benedictus XIV, Constitutione *Apostolicum ministerium*, die XXX maii anno MDCCLIII, ea ipsa privilegia rata firmaque habuit, atque etiam officia definivit quae monachis missionariis intercederent cum Vicariis apostolicis, rei sacrae in insula ante illud tempus praefectis.—Tum Pius IX f. r. anno MDCCCLVIII curavit effecitque ut ex conventus seu capituli generalis consulto integra communis vitae disciplina in Sodalitatem universam induceretur; die autem XX maii anno MDCCCLX statuit, unam eamdemque domum initialibus omnibus probandis esse debere.

Familiae Anglo-Benedictinae curam haud mediocrem Nos item gessimus; et meminisse placet, quum anno MDCCCLXXXI inspectorem sive, ut vocant, visitatorem legavimus dilectum filium Bonifacium Krug, sodalem benedictinum, qui nomine Nostro cognosceret in rem praesentem quemadmodum ipsius rationes sese haberent, quidque a Nobis curationis forte postularent, et plene ad Nos referret. Relata ab illo ut summa cum diligentia prudentiaque expenderentur, singulare quoddam Consilium delegimus S. R. E. Cardinalium; qui viderent praeterea et censerent quaenam toti Sodalitati et apostolico missionum muneri, cui sese alumni magnam partem dedunt, possent aptius prodesse: ad ipsorum vero consultationes, die VI iulii anno MDCCCLXXXIII, comprobando rescripsimus.—Iam nunc optantes eo amplius testificari, et qua Nos Sodalitatem ipsam voluntate complectimur, et quanto studio dignitatis eius tenemur, rati sumus tempestive et optime factum, si per Nos difficultates quaedam radicitus evellerentur quibus illa constringitur se pleno gradu ad propositum suum contendat.—Quarum causa difficultatem quia residet in forma nunc valente regiminis eius, hanc visum est prudenti temperatione novari oportere, ut et temporum conveniat naturae, et propria Ordinis instituta retineat. Formam enim regiminis, quae in praesentia valet, ideo Urbanus VIII Constitutione *Plantata* dixit, quod nullum in Anglia per illa tempora erat monasterium, neque per conditiones rei sacrae et civilis esse licebat: quapropter decrevit, ut *Congregatio Anglicana sic stabilita regeretur ab uno Superiore, vocato Praeside, qui extra Angliam resideret durante schismate, et a duobus Provincialibus immediate sub dicto Praeside in Anglia; parique modo a Prioribus Residentiarum seu Conventuum extra Angliam; et deinde certo etiam numero Definitorum.* Hoc modo iurisdictio in missiones et in monachos eis deditos adempta est Monasteriis, a quibus ipsi excepti, quibusque tum etiam cum missionale munus exercerent erant devincti, atque binis Provincialibus ibidem considentibus tota est transmissa: quod sane fuit pro rebus locisque sapienter constitutum, atque adeo necessarium, ne Missiones inopiâ gubernationis laborarent, neque minus ut missionariis communis esset sedes ac veluti centrum quo se in rebus omnibus veterent.—Ubi vero, conversis per Angliam temporibus, aliquot ibi coenobia restitui coepta sunt suisque praepositis regi, fieri certe

debebat, id quod brevi est factum, ut, ea manente disciplina, incommoda non pauca neque levia occurrerent, totius videlicet Congregationis rectio, duplicata quasi potestate, funditus misceretur. Hisce maxime temporibus res eo venit, ut ipsa periclitetur Sodalitatis concordia: sunt enim qui haec in quaestionem adducant, Congregatio ne Anglo-Benedictina per se et naturâ sua monastica sit an missionalis; itemque, utrum ad Monasteria summa potestatis pertineat, ob eamque causam debeant illis Missiones parere, an vero sit Missionibus integrum suis propriis legibus facere, omni solutis erga illa obsequio.—Iamvero apertissime patet Congregationem Anglo-Benedictinam suapte natura monasticam esse; eatenus autem missionalem, quia et aliis munerum sacrorum officiis et missionibus pariter dare operam consuevit: ex quo aeque patet debere Missiones Monasteriis, nequaquam haec illis, parere. Id quippe omnino exposcit ipsius ratio et causa Congregationis, concinente palam historia teste. Et ipsa enim, ut alius quivis religiosorum Ordo, duo quaedam, alterum ab altero distinctum tamquam fines, spectat et sequitur: primum, ut alumnos ad omnem animi sanctimoniam consiliorum evangelicorum ductu erudiat, operibus iis fungendis quae sibi ex suis legibus propria sunt et praecipua; proximum, ut alia accuret et peragat opera ad quae actuosam suorum virtutem porrigere possit et velit. In eo igitur primo quum vis et natura Ordinis posita sit, inde profecto normae et leges, quibus ipse dirigatur, petendae: eisdem vero legibus cetera, quaecumque in proximo continentur, necesse est obsequantur et serviant, nequaquam contra, quod praeposterе fuerit.—Itaque Anglo-Benedictinae Congregationis vis et natura, quam esse usquequaque monasticam et regulae ipsae et constitutiones et annales declarant, hoc suo vult iure, ut qui monasteriis plena cum potestate praesint, iidem ipsam omnibus partibus, sive intra coenobiorum septa, sive extra, in varia munerum functione, pari cum potestate regant et moderentur.—Neque secus decursu temporum actum. Etenim anno DLXXXXVI S. Augustinus una cum sociis monachis ad quadraginta, iussu S. Gregorii Magni, in Angliam perrexit *ut gentes illas ad Christum converteret;* ubi voluntati Pontificis religiosissime obtemperans, *non alios ministros instituit esse quam monachos.** Hac de causa primum aggressus est ad monasterium Cantuariae, in urbe principe, aedificandum, a quo omnis deinde pendebat rectio non solum de custodia legitimae disciplinae, verum etiam de officiis ad animorum salutem explendis. Sic enimvero statueret S. Gregorius, alumnos Benedictinos simul apostolos simul monachos agere, ut monasteria tanquam sedes quasdam apostolatus haberent; abbates autem procurationem omnem gerere ecclesiarum quas monachi (neque enim alii per eas regiones erant clerici) pro fidelium accessionibus essent condituri.—Ex eo fiebat, ut quamquam monachi per omnia sacerdotii munia studiosissime versarentur; tamen rerum omnium summa et gubernatio in monasteriis penes abbates consisteret. Erant in insula, octavo saeculo ineunte, monasteria eaque ampla octo: inde quaerebantur episcopi, qui quidem apud ipsa convenienter habitant, sed integra in

* Mabillon, Annal. benedict. an. 601.

monachos missionarios abbatibus manebat auctoritas.* Tali disciplinae ratione Congregatio magis deinceps magisque floruit, ut saeculo quinto decimo *abbatias* quadraginta duas, *prioratus* duo et viginti obtineret: atque uno perpetuoque tenore ad excidium usque postero saeculo illatum perseveravit.—Iamvero quae ibidem nunc est Sodalitas, eadem omnino habenda est atque illa, quippe quae a monacho veterum superstite sit instaurata, eodemque intendat, ad christianam Anglorum institutionem: siquidem quod veteres in eos facere, ab ethnica ignominia et superstitione deducendo, hoc novi facere insistunt, ad catholicam fidem reducendo.

Hac in causa decessores Nostri, fautores eiusdem Sodalitatis amplissimi, nihil sane ullo tempore decreverunt quo in ipsam alium naturâ modum gubernationis velle viderentur inducere: atque immo ex ipsa Constitutione *Plantata*, qui recte penitusque inquisiverit, contrarium quiddam non obscure apparebit.—Quod enim, interdictis per ea tempora monasteriis in Anglia, neque praepositi quidem monachorum poterant ibi esse, quorum vigilantia consillisque Benedictini missionarii, ut oportebat, regerentur, idcirco ab Urbano cautum est, ut bini in eam curam designati provinciales incumberent. Id autem, non ad perpetuitatem fuisse factum sed per exceptionem dilatoriam, tandiu vide licet mansurum et valiturum quoad rebus temporibusque cedendum, non uno ex loco eiusdem Constitutionis pernosse licet: ubi edictum ut *Praeses resideret extra Angliam, durante schismate;* ubi etiam datum posse Congregationem *a Prioribus Residentiarum seu Conventuum extra Angliam* regi: quae sane de facultate intelligenda sunt et venia temporaria, nimirum usque dum finibus ditionis suae essent illi prohibiti. Accedit quod ipse Pontifex salva esse decrevit *privilegia, gratias, indulta, facultates, praerogativas Ordinis et Congregationis Nigrorum nuncupatorum S. Benedicti ac illius Monasteriorum in Anglia*,† in hisque ecclesiarum novem iura cathedralia: quo decreto, tacite is quidem, sed valde affirmavit, curiarum omnium ecclesiarumque administrationem quarum utilitatibus Benedictini servirent, ad eorumdem monasteria, si quando essent in integrum restituta, nihil secus quam, ante schisma pertinere: tantum igitur abest ut ea Constitutione potestati monasticae Urbanus sit refragatus.—Accedit etiam quod ita fert universe consuetudo Ordinis Benedictini: namque et apud alias eiusdem Ordinis familias, quidquid potestatis est in missiones et in alumnos missionarios, id alii defertur nemini quam coenobiorum praepostis: neque vero quisquam ignorat abbatias esse, quae non modo sibimetipsae consulant, sed ecclesiis externis curiisque haud ita paucis ius dicant easque undique administrent.—Talis autem sociandae temperandaeque potestatis modus, ut Monasteriis Missiones pareant, etiam propter praeclaras opportunitates quae utramquae in partem redundare possunt, optandus maxime est. Quod enim Monasteria, ut inter omnes constat, se minus prospere a legitima disciplina studiisque maioribus nunc habent, eius rei causa non in alumnos, quorum voluntas vel opera desideretur, at vero in rerum hominumque inopiam,

* Mabillon, Annal. benedict. an. 731–734. † Const. *Plantata*.

et in laborum, quae inde consequitur, immoderationem procul dubio debet conferri: quibus incommodis remedium optimum suppetet, si ex eodem capite aequabilis providentiae ratio in commune manarit.—Similia adiumenta et fortasse maiora ad Missiones erunt profectura. Ut enim benevertant et fructus proferant vere salutares, opus est illis non ministerio tantum monachorum, sed multo magis exemplis eorum sanctissimis, quae mirifice possunt ad veritatem persuadendam, ad virtutem commendandam: et licet cultores tales evangelicae vineae, industrii probabilesque, non desint, eo tamen plures numerabuntur et plus auctoritate valebunt quo Monasteriis praesidia institutionis accreverint, et lux domesticae perfectionis praestiterit.—Edendis insuper scriptis quum campus Missionibus pateat copiae multiplicis, in quo Ordo Benedictinus per aetates omnes tanta cum gloria elaboravit, in eo ipso Familia Anglica, coniunctis animis et laboribus, doctrinarum studiis excitatis atque in melius provectis, honeste poterit utiliterque certare: scripta enim eruditionis plena et litteratae gravitatis admodum in Anglia proficiunt, ubi intelligentis iudicii viris quaesita probantur, scriptoribus catholicis gratiam conciliant, reverentiam eliciunt erga Ecclesiam romanam, ad eamque, quod fit persaepe, devios invitant.—Illa quoque laboriosa et magni momenti opera, quam imbuendae edocendaeque iuventuti in ludis litterariis et in ephebeis missionarii impendunt, ex arctiore cum Monasteriis necessitudine futurum profecto erit, ut perfectius quiddam contingat, proptereaque fiat et in existimatione amplior et civitati multis modis uberior.

Huc nimirum ut una ex Monasteriis ac Missionibus communio evaderet, sic ut coenobiorum praepositis, tamquam potestatis munere antecedentibus, monachi missionarii subessent et obedirent, responsa spectaverunt, a delectis Cardinalibus data et auctoritate Nostra firmata. Etsi vero ad caput quaestionis primum: "Derogandum ne et quonam modo de Urbaniana Constitutione *Plantata* pro Congregatione Anglo-Benedictina?" responsum est: "Non videri de ea derogandum:" non tamen id factum perinde quasi ea rectionis ratio nullâ visa sit emandatione aut immutatione egere, et verius quia spes erat fore ut eiusmodi rogatio a monachis ipsis proficisceretur, saepius antea professis, huius Apostolicae Sedis optatis nihilo minus quam monitis praeceptisque omni se velle et demissione obsequi et diligentia satisfacere: quo nullum quidem exhibuissent testimonium aut per se praeclarius aut acceptius Nobis pietatis studiique sui erga ipsam Apostolicam Sedem atque erga parentem Congregationem.—Sed enim mens et voluntas Nostra cognita satis declarataque erat ex subiectis ad cetera capita quaestionum responsis. Scilicet ad caput secundum hoc modo positum: "Utrum consulendum et quonam pacto Missionibus et rationi studiorum, eiusque rei gratiâ retinenda ne disciplina de uno eodemque tirocinii domicilio?" responsum est: "Placere ita consulendum, ut ne aliae postea suscipiantur missiones, nisi de Apostolicae Sedis venia, delectisque ad id opus monachis doctrina et exemplo probatis; ut praeses, definitores, provinciales in monasteriis habeant sedes; ut cursus et ratio studiorum ad normam Constitutionum (cap. xvii.) exigantur, hoc praeterea suaso, ut alumni optima spe praelucente,

Romam Doctrinarum cognitione plenius perfectiusque imbuendi mittantur: ut unica omnibus sit ponendi tirocinii domus; ut conventus seu capitulum generale ex iis dumtaxat titularibus fiat qui iurisdictione potiantur." Quae consulta, et voluntatis Nostrae significationes, ad id quod Nobis tantopere erat et est in votis, concordiam nempe et profectum universae Sodalitatis, rectissime singula conducebant.—Primo enim, ne Monasteriis onera adderentur ad ea quibus fatigata et paene opressa languescunt, provisum, nullas postea missiones, nisi concedente Apostolica Sede, suscipiendas. Tum ne iuniore aetate monachi, quum non satis vel scientia instructi vel legitima disciplina essent conformati, missionali muneri addicerentur, neve in coenobiis ob sodalium paucitatem communia officia iacerent, praescriptum, ut id muneris monachis imponeretur doctrinae laude et integritate exempli probatis.—Item, ad excitanda studia sapientiae et ad pristinum decus revehenda, praescriptum, ut eorum ratio ad optimas normas Constitutionum, exigeretur, alumnis autem praestantioribus maior quaedam petenda esset Romae perfectio. Sic etiam, coniunctionis causâ monachos inter conventuales et missionarios, utque Missionum totiusque Congregationis rectio in Monasteriis adstricta consisteret, iussi praeses definitores, provinciales degere in coenobiis atque ex regula vivere; quo simul persuasum haberent, utramque vitae rationem, monasticam et missionalem, apposite inter se cohaerere.—Praeterea, ut commune sibi esse propositum, etsi per diversa officia assequendum, alumni omnes mature tenerent, praescriptio confirmata de unico tironibus probandis exercendisque domicilio. Postremo, ne in capitulis generalibus, superante missionariorum numero, conventuales decederent, adhibita cautio ut, sublata consuetudine qua ius ad ea conveniendi suffragiique ferendi titularibus, ut loquuntur, vel potestatis expertibus permittebatur, illis proprie attribueretur qui cum iurisdictione praeessent.—Ob eandem causam illi ipsi delecti Cardinales, ad quaestionem quintam: "Reformandae ne et quibusnam modis constitutiones Anglo-Benedictinae?" responderunt: "Censere se reformandas, hac mente, ut ex ipsa Congregatione quinqueviri designentur, scilicet Praeses generalis et quatuor sub eo monachi in consilium vocati; quorum sit Constitutiones recognoscere, et referre quae, salvâ earumdem re, novanda videantur; qua in opera suus etiam sit locus et responsis datis ad superiora quaestionum capita, et decretis recentibus *Super statu Regularium* de novitiorum cooptatione ac professione, et immutatis in Anglia rei sacrae civilisque conditionibus; ita demum ut Sodalitas, integro quidem instituto Missionum, de religione tamen et studio monasticae legis, a S. Benedicto traditae, nihil admodum remittat, quin immo acrius ea quotidie intendat." Ex quo omnino sequebatur, quaevis praescripta, cum sancta Patris legiferi disciplina minus congruentia, quae necessitas quaedam per impedita tempora a diecisset, ea deinde, conversis compositisque rebus, de Constitutionibus demi atque abrogari oportere.

Istis Nos causis permoti, ad tuitionem et incrementa Familiae Anglo-Benedictinae, quo voluntatum inter alumnos consensione studiorumque conspiratione felicius vigeat; quo possit ad priscae Sodalitatis, unde

continuata existit, amplitudinem gloriae enixius procedere: quo ipsius ius opera ni colendis missionibus uberiore cum fructu succedat, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica haec decernimus et praecipimus:

I. Derogantes Urbani VIII. Constitutioni *Plantata*, ex qua pars parte regimen attingit Congregationis Benedictinae et missionariorum in Anglia, munera provincialium pariterque binas missionales provincias delemus ac deletas edicimus.

II. Missiones quae ibi nunc sunt, et quotquot, concessu huius Apostolicae Sedis, a Congregationis alumnis sint ibidem constituendae, coniungantur omnes cum Monasteriis, ab eorumque Praepositis gubernentur, quorum iurisdictioni, tum in sacris tum in externis rebus, missiones et missionarios subiicimus: iura vero sint salva Episcopis aliisque Ordinariis per sacros canones constitutionesque apostolicas reservata.

III. Facultates et privilegia Provincialium vel Definitorum propria, quatenus curam spectant missionum et missionariorum, quocumque illis modo, sive ab Apostolica Sede, sive ex capitulis generalibus vel constitutionibus, tributa, ea omnia ad Praepositos monasteriorum transferimus, adeo ut ipsi eorumque consiliarii facultatibus et privilegiis fruantur omnibus quibus illi antehac fruebantur.

IV. Iidem vero Praepositi, in iis quoque rebus quae sunt ad missiones et missionarios, Praesidi generali consilioque eius sint dicto audientes; neque, nisi scientibus illis et consentientibus, monachum ullum missionibus destinent.

V. Praeses generalis, et consilium eius dent operam, ut adolescentes alumni ad doctrinas et monasticas virtutes ratione gravissima instituantur: neque committant, ut quisquam addicatur missionibus, cui non exploratam habuerint ad id munus indolem et facultatem: quod si alumni desint idonei, per vicarios e clero externo curent supplendum.

VI. Praeses generalis, collatis consiliis cum coenobiorum Praepositis, provideat quemadmodum missionarii quotannis possint in sua quisque monasteria secedere, ibique aliqandiu, nec mense minus, esse, ut sanctioris disciplinae usu statoque piarum exercitationum curriculo animos reficiant et excolant.

VII. Ad haec iubemus, certum consilium quamprimum cogi, ex Praeside generali, tamquam moderatore, ex Praepositis qui nunc sunt coenobiorum, tribusque Monachis prudentia imprimis et doctrina spectatis, quos ipse legerit Praeses ex iis qui missionibus vacant.—Huius consilii haec sint mandata: primum, ut iam constitutas missiones assignet inter monasteria; facta ipsi potestate, nova etiam pro communi missionum bono constituendi: alterum, ut capita pecuniae, quae apud Provinciales in missionum procurationem deposita sunt, excipiat et aequas in partes tribuat monasteriis, a quibus in posterum, secundum Constitutionem Nostram *Romanos Pontifices*, editam die VIII maii anno MDCCCLXXXI administrentur: tertium, ut novum Constitutionum ordinem conficiat, in quo digerendo adhaereat praesentis Constitutionis decretis, diligenterque respiciat ad ea quae sunt antehac sancita de integra legitimaque communis vitae disciplina observanda, de unius tirocinii domo habenda, de sede Praesidis generalis consilique eius in coenobiis tenenda, de vocandis ad capitula generalia, neque prae-

mittat recentia decreta *super statu Regularium* de novitiorum cooptatione ac professione. Mandatis primo et alteri, intra sex menses ab hac edita Constitutione, tertio autem intra annum, ab ipso consilio sit satisfactum.

Igitur quaecumque his litteris decreta ac declarata et sancita sunt, ab omnibus ad quos pertinet servari volumus ac mandamus, nec ea notari, infringi et in controversiam vocari posse, ex quavis, licet privilegiata causa, colore et nomine; sed plenarios et integros effectus suos habere, non obstantibus praemissis et, quatenus opus sit, Nostrae et Cancellariae Apostolicae regulis, Urbani VIII. aliisque Apostolicis, etiam in generalibus ac provincialibus conciliis editis, constitutionibus, nec non quibusvis etiam confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis statutis, consuetudinibus ac praescriptionibus; quibus omnibus, perinde ac si de verbo ad verbum hisce litteris inserta essent, ad praemissorum effectum, specialiter et expresse derogamus et derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo Octingentesimo Nonagesimo, Pridie Idus Novembris Pontificatus Nostri anno XIII.

A CARD. BIANCHI PRO-DAT.—M. CARD. LEDOCHÓWSKI.

VISA

DE CVRIA I. DE AQVILA E VICECOMITIBVS.

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CVGNONIVS.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

VENERABILIS FRATER.

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

CATHOLICAE Ecclesiae, quae omnes homines materna caritate complectitur, nihil fere antiquius fuit inde ab initio, ceu nosti, Venerabilis Frater, quam ut servitutem, quae misero iugo premebat mortalium quamplurimos, sublatam cerneret penitusque deletam. Sedula enim custos doctrinae Conditoris sui, qui per se Ipse et Apostolorum voce docuerat homines fraternam necessitudinem quae iungit universos, utpote eadem origine cretos, eodem pretio redemptos, ad eamdem vocatos beatitatem aeternam, suscepit neglectam servorum causam ac strenua vindex libertatis extitit, etsi, prout res et tempora ferebant, sensim rem gereret ac temperate. Scilicet id praestitit prudentia et consilio constanter postulans quod intendebat religionis, iustitiae et humanitatis nomine; quo facto de nationem prosperitate cultuque civili meruit optime.—Neque aetatis decursu hoc Ecclesiae studium adserendi mancipia in libertatem clanguit; imo quo fructuosius erat in dies, eo flagrabat impensius. Quod certissima testantur monumenta historiae, quae eo nomine plures commendavit posteritati Decessores Nostros, quos inter praestant S. Gregorius Magnus. Hadrianus I., Alexander III., Innocentius III., Gregorius IX., Pius II., Leo X., Paulus III., Urbanus VIII., Benedictus XIV., Pius VII., Gregorius XVI., qui omnem curam et operam contulere, ut servitutis institutio, ubi vigebat, exciderit, et caveretur ne unde exsecta fuerat, ibi eius germina reviviscerent.

Tantae laudis hereditas a Praedecessoribus tradita repudiari a Nobis non poterat: quare nulla praetermissa a Nobis occasio est, improbandi palam damnandique tetricam hanc servitutis pestem; ac data opera de ea re in litteris egimus, quas III. Nonas Maias anno MDCCCLXXXVIII. ad Episcopos Bresilae dedimus, quibus gratulati sumus de iis, quae pro mancipiorum libertate in ea regione gesta fuerant laudabili exemplo privatim et publice, simulque ostendimus quantopere servitus religioni et humanae dignitati adversetur. Equidem cum ea scriberemus, vehementer commovebamur eorum conditione qui dominio subduntur alieno; at multo acerbius affecti sumus narratione aerumnarum, quibus, conflictantur incolae universi regionum quarumdam Africae interioris. Miserum sane et horrendum memoratu est, quod certis nunciis accepimus, fere quadringenta Afrorum millia, nullo aetatis ac sexus discrimine quotannis abripi per vim e rusticis pagis, unde catenis vincti ac caesi verberibus longo itinere trahuntur ad fora, ubi pecudum instar promercalium exhibentur ac veneunt.—Quae cum testata essent ab iis

qui viderunt, et a recentibus exploratoribus Africae aequinoctialis confirmata, desiderio incensi sumus opitulandi pro viribus miseris illis, levandique eorum calamitatem. Propterea, nulla, interiecta mora, dilecto Filio Nostro Cardinali Carolo Martiali Lavigerie, cuius perspecta Nobis est alacritas ac zelus Apostolicus, curam demandavimus obeundi praecipuas Europae civitates, ut mercatus huius turpissimi ignominiam ostenderet, et Principum civiumque animos ad opem ferendam, aerumnosae genti inclinaret.—Quam ob rem gratiae Nobis habendae sunt Christo Domino, gentium omnium Redemptori amantissimo, qui pro benignitate sua passus non est curas Nostras in irritum cedere, sed voluit esse quasi semen feraci creditum humo quod laetem segetem pollicetur. Namque et Rectores populorum et Catholici ex toto terrarum orbe, omnes demum, quibus sancta sunt gentium et naturae iura, certarunt inquirere, qua potissimum ratione et ope conniti praestet, ut inhumanum illud commercium evallatur radicitus. Solemnis Conventus non ita pridem Bruxellis actus, quo Legati Principum Europae congressi sunt, ac recentior coetus privatorum virorum, qui eodem spectantes magno animo Lutetiam convenere, manifesto portendunt tanta vi et constantia Nigritarum causam defensum iri, quanta est ea qua premuntur aerumnarum moles. Quare oblatam iterum occasionem nolumus omittere, ut meritas agamus laudes et gratias Europae Principibus ceterisque bonae voluntatis hominibus, atque a summo Deo precamur enixe, ut eorum consiliis et orsis tanti operis prosperos dare velit eventus.

At vero praeter tuendae libertatis curam, gravior alia pressius attingit apostolicum ministerium Nostrum quod Nos curare iubet, ut in Africae regionibus propagetur Evangelii doctrina, quae illarum incolas sedentes in tenebris, a caeca superstitione offusis, illustret divinae veritatis luce, per quam nobiscum fiant participes hereditatis Regni Dei. Id autem eo curamus enixius, quod illi, hac luce recepta, etiam humanae servitutis ab se iugum excutient. Ubi enim christiani mores legesque vigent, ubi religio sic homines instituit, ut iustitiam servent atque in honore habeant humanam dignitatem, ubi late spiritus manavit fraternae caritatis, quam Christus nos docuit, ibi neque nec feritas, neque barbaria extare potest; sed floret morum suavitas, et civili ornato cultu christiana libertas.—Plures iam Apostolici viri, quasi Christi milites antesignani adiere regiones illas, ibique ad fratrum salutem non sudorem modo sed vitam ipsam profuderunt. Sed *messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci:* quare opus est, ut alii quamplures eodem acti spiritu Dei, nulla verentes discrimina, incommoda et labores ad eas regiones pergant, ubi probrosum illud commercium exercetur, allaturi illarum incolis doctrinam Christi verae libertati coniunctam.—Verum tanti operis aggressio copias flagitat eius amplitudini pares. Non enim sine ingenti sumptu prospici potest Missionariorum institutioni, longis itineribus, parandis aedibus, templis excitandis et instruendis, aliisque id genus necessariis, quae quidem impendia per aliquot annos sustinenda erunt, donec in iis locis ubi consederint evangelii praecones, suis se sumptibus tueri possint. Utinam Nobis vires suppeterent quibus possemus hoc onus suscipere. At quum

votis Nostris obsistant graves, in quibus versamur, rerum augustiae, te, Venerabilis Frater, aliosque sacrorum Antistites et Catholicos omnes paterna voce compellamus, et Vestrae eorumque caritati commendamus opus tam sanctum et salutare. Omnes enim participes eius optamus fieri, exigua licet collata stipe, ut dispartitum in plures onus levius cuique toleratu sit, atque ut in omnes effundatur gratia Christi, de cuius regni propugnatione agitur, eaque cunctis pacem, veniam peccatorum, et lectissima quaeque munera impertiat.

Propterea constituimus, ut quotannis, qua die in quibusque locis Epiphaniae Domini celebrantur mysteria, in subsidium memorati operis pecunia stipis instar corrogetur. Hanc autem solemnem diem prae ceteris elegimus quia, uti probe intelligis Venerabilis Frater, ea die Filius Dei primitus sese gentibus revelavit dum Magis videndum se praebuit, qui ideo a S. Leone Magno decessore Nostro scite dicti sunt *vocationis nostrae fideique primitiae.* Itaque bona spe nitimur fore, ut Christus Dominus permotus caritate et precibus filiorum, qui veritatis lucem acceperunt, revelatione divinitatis suae etiam miserrimam illam humani generis partem illustret, eamque a superstitionis coena et aerumnosa conditione, in qua tamdiu abiecta et neglecta iacet, eripiat.

Placet autem Nobis, ut pecunia, praedicta die, collecta in ecclesiis et sacellis subiectis iurisdictioni tuae, Romam mittatur ad Sacrum Consilium Christiano nomini propagando. Huius porro munus erit partiendi eam pecuniam inter Missiones quae *ad delendam potissimum servitutem* in Africae regionibus extant aut instituentur: cuius partitionis hic modus erit, ut pecunia profecta ex nationibus, quae suas habent catholicas missiones ad vindicandos in libertatem servos, ut memoravimus, istis missionibus sustentandis iuvandisque addicatur. Reliquam vero stipem idem Sacrum Consilium, cui earumdem missionum necessitates compertae sunt, inter egentiores, prudenti iudicio partietur.

Equidem non ambigimus, quin vota Nostra pro infelicibus Afris concepta, benigne excipiat dives in misericordia Deus, ac tu Venerabilis Frater, ultro collaturus sis, studium operamque tuam, ut ea expleantur cumulate.—Confidimus insuper, per hoc temporarium ac peculiare subsidium, quod fideles conferent ad inhumani commercii labem abolendam et sustentandos evangelii nuncios in locis ubi illud viget, nihil imminutum iri de liberalitate qua Catholicas missiones adiuvare solent collata stipe in Institutum quod Lugduni conditum *a propagatione fidei* nomen accepit. Salutare hoc opus, quod fidelium studiis pridem commendavimus, hac nunc opportunitate oblata novo ornamus laudis testimonio, optantes ut late porrigat beneficientam suam et laeta floreat prosperitate. Interim Tibi, Venerabilis Frater, Clero et fidelibus pastorali vigilantiae tua commissis, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xx. Novembris anno MDCCCXC., ontificatus Nostri decimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The Recent Great Frost.—The Dry Period.—According to the statistics that Mr. C. Harding has collected, the recent spell of cold was more prolonged in the neighbourhood of London than in any previous great frost during a period extending a little over a century, although the absolute minimum was not so low as on some of the other occasions. In 1788–9 the frost lasted forty-nine days, from November 26 to January 13; the mean of maximum and minimum was 29°.4; the absolute minimum 17°.5. In 1794–5 the duration was fifty-two days, from December 18 to February 7. The mean maximum and minimum was 28°.0, the absolute minimum 7°. In 1813–14 the duration was forty-two days. The mean of maximum and minimum was 27°.3. The absolute minimum 8°. In 1838 the duration was fifty days, from January 5 to February 23. The mean of maximum and minimum was 28°.9, the absolute minimum – 4°.0. This is the lowest absolute minimum recorded during the period extending a little over 100 years. In 1855 the duration was forty-seven days, from January 10 to February 25. The mean of maximum and minimum was 29°.7, the absolute 11°.1. In 1860–1 the duration was thirty-six days, from December 15 to January 19. The mean of maximum and minimum was 29°.9, the absolute minimum 8°. In 1879 the duration was forty-four days, from November 14 to December 27. The mean of maximum and minimum was 31°.0 the absolute minimum 13°.7. In 1881 the duration was twenty days. The mean of maximum and minimum was 27°.0, the absolute minimum 12°.7. In 1890–91 the duration was fifty-nine days, from November 25 to January 22, being seven days longer than the next longest spell, in 1794–5. The mean of maximum and minimum was 29°.3, the absolute minimum 12°.0.

The portion of the British Isles most severely visited by the frost was the south-east of England, the mean temperature for the fifty-nine days being more than 2° below the freezing-point, while at seaside places on the coast of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire the mean was only 32°. A notable feature of the recent frost was its presence in places where genial conditions are generally found in the winter months, and which are the habitual resort of invalids, and its comparative absence in places that have the character of being more exposed to such conditions. At Biarritz frost occurred on thirty-one nights, whilst in the Shetlands there were only nine nights with frost. In the extreme north of Scotland the mean was 10° warmer than in the south-east of England, and less than 1° below the average. In the north of England the mean temperature was only 5° below the average. The lowest authentic reading on

the screen was 0°.6 at Stokesay in Shropshire, and very nearly equally low temperatures occurred at other periods of the frost. At many places in the south and south-west of England, and in parts of Scotland and Ireland, the greatest cold was at the end of November. At Wadden, in Surrey, the thermometer in the screen fell to 1°, a reading which Mr. Harding says is quite unprecedented at that time of year. At Addington Hills, near Croydon, the shade thermometer was below the freezing-point every night, with one exception. There were only two exceptions, at Cambridge and Reading. In many parts of England the frost was continuous night and day for twenty-five days. At coast stations in the north of Scotland it in no case lasted throughout the twenty-four hours.

On the coast of Sussex the temperature of the sea was 14° warmer than the air during December, but on the Yorkshire coast it was only 6° warmer, and in the Shetlands and on parts of the Irish coast it was only 3° warmer. The Thames water off Deptford, at 2 feet below the surface, was continuously below 34° from December 23 to January 23, and the river was blocked with ice during the greater part of the time. In Regent's Park, where the ice attained a thickness of over 9 inches, skating continued without interruption for forty-three days. The frost did not penetrate to the depth of 2 feet below the surface of the ground in any part of England; but in many places the ground was frozen for several days at a depth of 1 foot, and at 6 inches it was frozen for upwards of a month.

It has been noticed that extraordinary cold periods are generally followed by periods of dryness. The recent frost has proved no exception in this respect. The month of February proved quite phenomenal in its dryness. According to Mr. S. J. Symonds, who has made continuous observations in the neighbourhood of London for some thirty-three years, the next driest February was in 1863, when 0·31 inch of rain fell. In February, 1891, only 0·01 inch fell, less than 1-13th of the rainfall in February 1863. In examining all the other months of the thirty-three years, Mr. Symonds finds that the driest was May 1885, when 0·36 inch fell. Therefore February 1891 has beaten the record for dryness of any month of the year during thirty-three years.

Steam Lifeboats.—It has been said by those of experience in the "invention" market that there is no class of invention which offers so little chance of remuneration as one which has for its object the saving of human life. This statement seems borne out by the fact that some seventy years of practical steam navigation has been allowed to pass before that power has been successfully applied to a lifeboat. The National Lifeboat Association has for some time past been alive to the desideratum of possessing lifeboats worked by mechanical means. In 1886 a sub-committee was formed to examine the question, and the members visited the Liverpool Exhibition to ascertain whether any of the specimens there exhibited would fulfil the conditions requisite, but none of these satisfied them. In the following year the Institution endeavoured to stimulate inventive

genius by offering gold and silver medals to competition all over the world for models or drawings of mechanically propelled lifeboats, and experts were appointed as judges of the many models and drawings sent in, but they were all rejected as unsuitable for lifeboat work.

The difficult problem has at last been solved, as far as harbour lifeboats are concerned, by the joint endeavours of the National Lifeboat Institution and one of the oldest shipbuilding firms in this country, and the steam lifeboat lately completed, and now stationed at Harwich, has already proved of great efficiency in an emergency. In the construction of such a vessel one of the chief difficulties has been to obtain a minimum of weight. The first idea seems to have been to use electricity as the means of propulsion, but the weight of the storage batteries was considered excessive for the purpose. In the boat that is now completed the weight has been actually reduced to ¾ cwt. per horse. This light weight is accomplished by the use of "forced draught," which gives great power just when required. The great perfection now arrived at in the manufacture of light steel is also an important factor in the success of the undertaking. The vessel is propelled by the hydraulic system —the "water-jet propeller." A paddle vessel would be quite unfit for such a purpose, as a paddle-wheel is easily disabled, and a screw, although in smooth water it is the most efficient means of absorbing the power, in such a service is open to many objections; it would be continually out of the water, and useless, besides which the "racing" of the propeller is liable to damage the machinery, and consequently the lifeboat might be completely disabled. The screw might also become fouled with wreckage, or broken when taking the ground, and the sailing power of the vessel is reduced by the dragging of the screw through the water. With hydraulic propulsion there is instantaneous propelling power, which is as efficient in rough seas as in smooth water. There is no racing or damaging of machinery, however much the vessel rolls or pitches. There is a simplicity of machinery, as the engine only runs in one direction, and there is no time lost in stopping and reversing for going astern. The vessel is easily managed by an officer on deck, who by working two handles can control the jets without any communication with the engine-room. A special feature to ensure strength is the rivetting, which is one-third more than is usual in a torpedo vessel. There is not a single rivetted seam throughout the whole boat. The length of the boat is only 50 feet, but it contains 72,000 rivets; placed end to end these rivets would extend three-quarters of a mile. The seaworthiness of the boat is amplified by fifteen water-tight compartments.

The extreme speed of the vessel is about 9·175 knots an hour; her extreme draught 3 ft. 6 in. The indicated horse-power is 170; steam 130 lbs. The consumption of coal, even under forced draught, is only 2 cwts. per hour, making it possible for the vessel to steam out to a wreck with thirty hours coal, giving her a radius of action of 254 knots,

at a speed of 8½ knots. The boat is fitted with a lug sail and jib. Before the lifeboat was allowed to take her present position she was subjected to some rigid tests. One of these was to test her stability. The vessel was fully weighted, and a heavy parbuckle placed round her. This was fastened to a steam crane, and the boat was inclined until she laid on her beam ends. In such a position any deficiency in her power of stability would have caused her to turn over, but she stood the test perfectly well, showing by the experiment that she possessed righting powers of over 100°.

On October 7 the lifeboat crew had their first call to embark in answer to signals of distress. The call was at 12·20 A.M. The men were under weigh, and ready for full speed at 12·48. The distressed vessel was on the Cork sands. The lifeboat arrived at the scene of disaster at 2 A.M. On this occasion the vessel seems to have fully realised the expectations that had been formed concerning her handiness for the work. She was able to round the ship, go alongside, and take the crew out with the greatest ease in shallow water, and with a heavy sea running.

Such a vessel as has been described is, however, only suitable for harbour stations. Harbour lifeboats are by no means the largest class of such vessels. The largest class are those which are launched from transporting carriages, on which they are taken to the most advantageous spot on the coast. In this class weight must be reduced to the extreme minimum, and such a vessel as has been described would be quite impracticable for this class, but as Mr. Corbett, who has studied the subject for some time past, has suggested, why should not an engine of very small dimensions be developed that would be more efficient than ten oars? The advantages of extending the steam lifeboat service are obvious. An especial advantage is the following. An ordinary lifeboat crew arrives at the scene of disaster, exhausted with the fatigue of battling with the waves, but those who are conveyed by mechanical means are comparatively fresh and vigorous.

The Relation of Ground Water to Disease.—The health of the world is so regulated by climatic conditions, that the side-by-side registers now in process of keeping, of diseases various, and meteorological conditions, must result in fuller knowledge of requisite sanitary requirements. Amongst such luminous registers is the late address to the Royal Meteorological Society of its new president, Mr. Baldwin Latham, on "The Relation of Ground Water to Disease." Most persons know that excessive dampness in the soil is favourable to phthisis and rheumatism, but few of the public are aware of the very intimate relations of life and death generally, with the condition of the surface soil, with its ground water and its ground air. In tabulating the influences of ground water, various other influences have to be allowed for and eliminated, such as heat, cold, the temperature of the ground, darkness—this latter a very unhealthy factor, and one that, in the consideration of many diseases, presents a parallelism with the percolation period—for the greatest

amount of percolation of water through the soil takes place during the period of greatest darkness, and many diseases have been found to increase with percolation, and decrease as percolation ceased. All these difficulties in the way of attaining reliable data of the effects of ground water seem to have been realised and met by Mr. Latham. His calculations extend over a sufficient number of years, and, taken mainly at Croydon, they allow duly for the fact of Croydon habitations extending over unpolluted and maiden soil, and for the protective influences of the various epidemics to which Croydon has been subject. He has considered mainly, in connection with ground water, zymotic diseases, the general death-rate, and the mortality of children under five years of age.

Ground water produced by percolation from rainfall, condensation, and in dry countries infiltration from rivers, is held in some stratas entirely by capillarity; in others, by both capillarity and as free water; and this free ground water may be increased without rain, in rapid falls of the barometer, by water held by capillarity passing from the superincumbent strata. Free ground water seems a very active agent, and when polluted could directly spread diseases to unlimited distances; in this connection Mr. Latham points out, "As a rule it is only in those places in which there has been a considerable amount of impurity stored up in the soil that diseases become manifest, and the most common mode by which diseases are disseminated is by means of the water supplies drawn from the ground, or by the introduction of contaminated ground air into the habitations of the people. It will also be found that the periods of low and high ground water mark, those epochs when certain organic changes take place in the impurities stored in the earth, and which ultimately become the cause, and lead to the spread of disease."

The charts of free ground water show that it rises and falls every year, and when plotted as a curve it forms a wavelike profile with a rise more sudden than its fall. It moves always in directions of natural outlets, such as seas, rivers, and, as might be expected, the fluctuations are greater at the greatest distance from the point of discharge, and less, close to same. The fluctuations have in some districts considerable amplitude, the water-line in their wells varying as much as 100 feet in the space of a few months: near the sea the fluctuations are much less. No great variation in the vertical rise and fall of subsoil water is the healthier condition, and in the various health resorts on the seaside a small rise and fall is almost always the rule.

Mr. Latham points out that the diseases of underground pollution are disseminated not only by the water but also by the underground air. The ground always contains air, and in addition, when the ground water diminishes, air is drawn in to occupy its place. The rainfall to enter this space must expel the air, and as the falling rain seals the earth where exposed, the air escapes in dry places, such as our houses. The fact of this air escaping at the first fall of the rain after a dry summer, from polluted soil, in whose impu-

rities organic changes are taking place, throws light on the observation that dry summers invariably mark unhealthy years; and the danger of the first repletion of the wells after low water is further emphasised by the occurrence of typhoid fever in the autumn rains.

An artificial lowering of the ground water by drainage works, by bringing about the same conditions, has the same effects on disease; such drainage works have often been followed by an outbreak of typhoid fever; and the frequent occurrence, in our old towns, of typhoid fever at the time of drainage is often ignorantly attributed by the inhabitants to the new system of sewerage.

All low water years seem unhealthy, and as dangerous to cattle as to men, while wet summers usually mark our healthiest periods. Mr. Latham tells us, "All the great epidemics of typhoid fever have occurred in years when the ground water was especially low," and all the outbreaks of typhoid fever which have been investigated in this country have occurred after a slight rise in the ground water.

With regard to the Croydon outbreaks, it is worth noting that the universal testimony of its inhabitants prove that women, children, and teetotalers suffered the most. In the last Croydon epidemic it appears that part of the town supplied with water from the river suffered far less in proportion than the divisions supplied from the ground. On the other hand, there are diseases more prevalent at times of high water. But Mr. Latham points out that such high water periods have sometimes followed immediately on markedly low water periods. One gathers from the statistics of observation this main fact, that the first passage of water through the ground is an unhealthy period.

With regard to the death-rate of children under five, it presents in the Croydon records an exact parallelism with the state of the ground water. In the general death rate the regulation by conditions of ground water is evident, but less marked.

The Action of Light on Selenium—Photo-Electricity.—The action of light on selenium has for some years past been attracting the attention and ingenuity of physicists. Professor Minchin has recently been experimenting with selenium cells, with a view of obtaining an electro-motive force in them under the action of light. The results of his investigations have been decidedly successful, and he has lately exhibited a seleno-aluminium battery, which, when illuminated by a taper, deflected an electrometer needle which actuated a relay and set an electric bell ringing. In these researches the best results have been obtained by means of aluminium electrodes, one of which is coated on one side with selenium. The so-called cells which, as Professor Minchin points out, might be more aptly named "selenium conductors," or "selenium resistances" are extremely sensitive to light from all parts of the spectrum, the greatest effect being produced in the yellow bordering on the green. These experiments may lead to the construction of a new

thorough photo-meter, a laboratory instrument that is much wanted. Each light subjected to the test would be spread out into a spectrum, and the intensities of the different portions compared by their action on the selenium cell, the intensities of the different portions being proportional to the squares of the volts. It is suggested that the principle of Newton's chromatic circle would be applied to determine the resultant intensity of the light. Besides the possibilities of more accurate photometry suggested by these experiments, Professor Minchin thinks they may contribute to the solution of more ambitious problems. One of these is photography at a distance, an object which originated this new branch of physics, which is to be designated "Photo-electricity." The Professor, however, owns that he does not yet see his way to utilising the results of his work for obtaining a photograph at a distance. Another problem is the direct transformation of radiant solar energy into useful work.

In the opinion of some other scientists, these researches may throw light on other problems of physics which have been hitherto obscure; for instance, they may help to clear up the mystery of the changes that occur in the retina of the eye. Some time ago, Dr. Burton suggested that the action of light on the retina was a photo-chemical one. Until these researches were undertaken it was difficult to find substances that were sensitive to any but the most refrangible visible rays of the spectrum, viz., the blue and violet; and the eye was most sensitive to the green and yellow. It seems at present uncertain whether in the photo-electric batteries the electric current is directly started by the action of light, or through the medium of some chemical change in the cell produced by the light.

While Professor Minchin has been converting light into electricity by selenium cells, Mr. Shelford Bidwell has been performing some very striking experiments which will revive interest in another physical quality of selenium—viz., the variation in its electrical resistance under the action of light. In one of these experiments, Mr. Bidwell connected up a selenium cell with an electric bell and relay, in such a manner that the reduced resistance of the cell on exposure to light diminished the current throughout the relay, and stopped the bell from ringing. Mr. Bidwell then interposed various plates of glass between the cell and the source of light, which was a gas-burner, and found that red, orange, and yellow glasses produced no ringing of the bell, but when a green glass was employed the bell was set in action. Two shades of blue glass were then tried, one light, the other dark. The light blue stopped the bell, whereas dark blue had no effect. These latter experiments, in Mr. Bidwell's opinion, have only an illustrative value, but the fact that darkness may be used to start an electric current may, he thinks, turn out to be of practical use. He suggests that an accidental extinction of a ship's light, or of a railway signal, might be instantly revealed by such an apparatus as this. Mr. Bidwell has already devised what with the modesty of a savant he calls "a pretty scientific toy," in which an electric lamp is automatically lit when daylight falls below

certain point. In the hands of the inventor and patentee this toy" should become a perfection in practical electric lighting. The function of the lamplighter is already becoming less and less in requisition, owing to the progress of electrical industry, when a switch under the control of one individual can light thousands of lamps over a large area; but when the twilight hour can itself turn the switch then his services will be dispensed with altogether.

Solar Disturbances.—There seems now little doubt that the minimum of sun-spots was reached in November 1889, after a decline from the preceding maximum occupying five years and ten months. This might have been more prolonged but for the retardation of the last crisis from 1882, when it was due, until January 1884, the delay obtaining partial compensation, as might have been anticipated, through curtailment of the ensuing cycle. Thus the year 1890 was marked by an outbreak of fresh disturbances, separated from earlier ones partly by the intervention of a period of dead calm lasting eight weeks, partly by the locality of their appearance. The surest sign that the solar tide has turned is found in the development of spots in high latitudes subsequently to the extinction of a series closing down on either side towards the equator. And this was unmistakably the case near the epoch of the late minimum. Equatorial commotions died out at the beginning of 1889; some months later, high-latitude spots became visible; by 1890, the zones of conspicuous disturbance had definitively shifted some twenty degrees poleward; while the northern hemisphere simultaneously took over from the southern its long-maintained superiority in macular productiveness.

The course of these vicissitudes was traced in duplicate, as it were, in the varying development of prominences. Father Jules Fenyi, S.J., Director of Cardinal Haynald's observatory at Kalocsa, in Hungary, observed spectroscopically at the edge of the sun, in 1890, eighteen of these marvellous appendages to attain a height of over 100″ (equivalent to 45,000 English miles) as against six in 1889, their mean latitude increasing like that of the contemporaneous spots, with their frequency and size. A few were of prodigious dimensions. On August 15, 1890, a glowing structure, composed of hydrogen, helium, and calcium, mounted up to 145,000 miles above the sun's western limb; intensely luminous at the base, it expaled above, and toppled over, as if through the action of a powerful drift of coronal materials towards the equator. The rate at which its summit was carried forward implied that it had fallen under the sway of a solar storm-breeze sweeping onward with a speed of about seventy miles an hour—a velocity rarely attained in the spires of the Atlantic cyclones that visit these shores, though usually far surpassed in American tornadoes and West Indian hurricanes. After three days, a successor to this monster flame was perceived in the shape of a broken group, 27,500 miles high, and vividly crimson, surmounted, up to at least 185,000 miles, by dispersed and completely detached fragments, some of these strangely luminous, others

—the topmost—fading out in a pink flush. This remarkable spectacle evidently resulted from a transient but violent eruption, the products of which expanded and dissolved in the rarer medium encountered in their compulsory ascent. A portion of them, too, was found to be travelling towards the earth with a velocity estimated at nearly 100 miles a second, although the remaining strata of incandescent gas were devoid of movement in the line of sight, the whole of their speed being expended in a perpendicular uprush. In a third prominence, observed October 6, this speed, as determined by the towering elevation of 145,000 miles to which it sprang in half an hour, was at the extraordinary rate of 170 miles a second! During the next four or five years similar phenomena may be expected frequently to recur, and their details cannot be too diligently recorded. For the behaviour of substances, whether solid, liquid, or gaseous, moving with great rapidity in the sun's neighbourhood, is fraught with instruction on many points of crucial importance as regards solar and stellar constitution, and the experiments bearing upon them, performed by nature for our benefit, should be, since they cannot be commanded, all the more diligently studied. Now spotted area always augments faster than it diminishes; the solar trouble comes to a head promptly, and is smoothed down by slower degrees. Hence, the next spot and prominence maximum may be looked for in 1893 or 1894, when the usual accompaniments of electrical disturbances—magnetic storms, auroræ in low latitudes, possibly conspicuous comets—will presumably manifest terrestrial and cosmical sympathy with the agitation of our ruling orb.

Meanwhile, an important series of observations on the spectra of sun-spots, carried on at Stonyhurst from 1882 to 1889, have been presented to the Royal Astronomical Society. Begun under Father Perry's direction, they have been continued on the lines laid down by him, and are now published by Father Cortie. Their general upshot is to afford partial confirmation to Mr. Lockyer's inference of cyclical changes in the spectra of sun-spots, corresponding to the well-watched cyclical changes in the energy of their development. These spectral vicissitudes are of an extremely intricate nature, and admit as yet of no confident interpretation. The view insisted upon by the South Kensington Professor, that they depend upon the progressive dissociation, through a presumed accession of solar heat at maximum, of known chemical "elements," and the substitution for them of their unknown constituents, does not account for all the facts, although it chimes in seductively with some of them. Further inquiries are urgently needed, and they will, in future, be prosecuted, at least in part, by the fruitful chemical method. With the object of rendering it fully applicable to this branch of research (already, in some degree, promoted by Mr. Lockyer), experiments are in progress at Stonyhurst; "and there is good reason to hope," Father Cortie adds, "that before very long we shall be in possession of a number of photographs of the spectra of sun-spots which will aid not a little to the solution of some pressing problems in solar physics."

To one interesting query in solar spectroscopy, Father Cortie finds himself in a position to return a decided negative. The presence in the Fraunhofer spectrum of a *dark* line matching the *bright* line of helium invariably derived from the solar chromosphere and prominences, has sometimes been affirmed, but as often denied. We are now made acquainted with what seems to be the indisputable fact of its non-existence. The fine, dusky lines near its place are air-lines—the production of our own atmosphere. Theoretically, the absorptive effects of this enigmatical substance *ought* to be visible; their absence is an unaccountable anomaly. But anomalies are often suggestive; and they, at any rate, serve the useful purpose of setting over-bold generalisations at naught.

The Milky Way.—The first practical attempt to investigate the nature of the stupendous starry collection girdling the celestial sphere with filmy light was made by Sir William Herschel. His method of "star-gauging" was a process for sounding space by counting the stars in successive equal areas of the sky, and thence inferring the comparative depth of the strata pierced by the line of sight. And, just as the contour of the sea-bottom can be determined from the graduated lengths of line needed to reach different parts of it, so the shape of the grand galactic aggregation was delineated from data furnished by operations for visually fathoming it. The result, however, could be admitted as valid only if a certain supposition upon which it was based corresponded with facts. At the outset of his career—for he subsequently abandoned the idea—Herschel considered the appearance of crowding in the Milky Way to be due to the immense lateral extent of the system, the stars composing which were on the whole, he thought, pretty equably distributed in space. If this were not so, the principle of star-gauging broke down, as it has undeniably broken down. The more closely the Milky Way is studied, the more irresistible becomes the conviction that it does *not* represent mere optical condensation through the vast range outward of its constituent strata, but that physical swarming can alone explain its peculiarities. It is, in fact, a great compound cluster, of approximately annular form, though fringed on all sides with branching appendages.

A compound cluster—that is to say, one made up of innumerable minor groups, themselves often, if not always, multiple. For in the Milky Way may be found cloud-like accumulations of many thousands of brilliant, if inconceivably remote, suns; while on closer scrutiny the cumuli frequently resolve themselves into wisps, rings, and sprays of stars, the outcome, doubtless, of special dynamical relations, which even the imagination is powerless to explore. The application, however, of photography to the study of internal galactic structure offers a boundless prospect of advance; and the initiative in this direction of Mr. Barnard has been ably seconded by Mr. Russell, at the Sydney Observatory, in New South Wales. Some of his pictures have been reproduced in the March number of *Knowledge*, and merit detailed examination. One, portraying a great star-drift in Sagittarius,

shows—as Mr. Ranyard has pointed out—some curious differences of illumination as compared with the Lick representation of the same bit of Milky Way scenery; but real variations on the requisite prodigious scale cannot be thought of as possible prior to actual demonstration of their having occurred. The unique peculiarities of arrangement exhibited in it as prevailing among the individual stars are described by Mr. Russell as follows: "It seems," he remarks, "as if one were looking at curve after curve found farther and farther back in the infinity beyond, like eddies in an infinitely complex vortex, till they end in faint nebulous points of light, which can only just make themselves known after four hours of steady impact on the sensitive film." To have obtained a permanent record of these marvels of creation is no small achievement; to speculate upon them would be premature.

Mr. Russell's photograph of the southern "coal-sack" differs materially from its effect to the eye. Instead of a large vacuity sharply and suddenly perforating the dense part of the Milky Way near the Cross, it comes out as an open sack, across the southern side of which a flood of minute stars has been poured, leaving only the northern corner blank and obscure. The chemical retina has also detected an extension of the tunnelling tendency in a partial clearing, in continuation, as it seems, of the coal-sack, terminated near β Centauri by a curved space about two degrees long and half a degree broad, absolutely destitute of stars. Another singularity of the Sydney pictures is the inconspicuousness in them of the "great rift," dividing the Milky Way into a double stream all the way from Cygnus to the Centaur. The almost total *visual* deficiency of light throughout this interval is obliterated on the sensitive plate. Only by counting the stars can it be ascertained that it contains fewer per square degree than the bright branches on either side.

The interest of these experiments, however, culminates in two photographs of the Magellanic Clouds, obtained one with seven, the other with eight, hours of exposure. Since Sir John Herschel's time next to nothing had been done towards the investigation of these mixed systems of stars and nebulæ—subordinate universes, as they might almost be termed, relegated to an otherwise desert region of space, yet not wholly cut off from the majestic general plan of nebular distribution. Now they unexpectedly disclose themselves in the guise of prodigious cosmical vortices. Their contents are marshalled along stream-lines, winding in closer and closer folds inward. The greater cloud appears to be of double organisation; it possesses two centres, each the starting-point of a wreathed luminous structure; moreover, it is guarded on either side by a pair of oval clusters showing the same description of convoluted interior arrangement. Their obvious dependence upon the great adjacent aggregation invites the conjecture that the radiant and beautiful globular cluster known as "47 Toucani," situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the lesser Cloud, may likewise be related to it in some sort of satellite capacity.

More and more widely, with every fresh development of photographic power, a spiral conformation is found to prevail among cosmical bodies. The "maëlstrom nebula" (as it might be called) in Canes Venatici, has proved to be not merely the examplar of a class, but the index to a law of far-reaching, perhaps universal, validity. Now, so far as we can interpret its workings, they seem characteristic of a state of transition. Convoluted systems cannot have attained to a state of equilibrium. They must include unbalanced movements; and unbalanced movements imply instability. The alternative presented is of continuous, though very gradual, descent towards, or of recession, similarly conducted, from a centre: the appearances would, in one or the other case, be the same. It is only certain that the ultimate form of such systems has not been reached; the creative thought working in them awaits a long future for its complete unfolding. Is the Milky Way itself in this condition? It is impossible to say. Efforts to expound its characteristics as those belonging to a "spiral stream of small stars" have met with scant success. A spiral should have a nucleus. Structure of the kind postulated presupposes strong central influence. It cannot be conceived of as suspended inanely in space without a *point d'appui*. But there is none visible in the Milky Way. The interior of the ring formed by it is comparatively empty. No massive nucleus, fit to be the origin of stupendous wreaths of stars, is to be met within its circuit. There are other objections to the theory, recently discussed by Mr. Sutton with much good sense and ability (*Knowledge*, March 1891) in an essay which will repay perusal.

The Ring Nebula in Lyra.—A faintly lucent ring, nearly twice as broad as the disc of Jupiter in opposition, may be seen, with a moderately good telescope, in the neighbourhood of the brilliant star Vega, or, to describe its situation more accurately, about midway between β and γ Lyræ. Discovered by Darquier at Toulouse in 1779, it revealed its true shape a few years later to Sir William Herschel. It might be described as a "hoop of light"; only the hoop is not round, but oval, and the sky seen through it is not quite dark. The hoop, as Sir John Herschel remarked, seems to have gauze stretched over it. Moreover, this interior *gauziness* makes at certain times more show than at others; which is as much as to say that the filmy stuff within the ring *perhaps* varies in brightness. There is a good deal of evidence that a minute central star does so vary. Its disappearance, as that of a previously familiar object, was noted in 1800 by Graf von Hahn, who had mounted, in 1794, at his family seat in Mecklenburg, one of Herschel's twelve-inch mirrors, and used it not ineffectively. No glimmer of "Hahn's star" was again caught until the great light power of the Rosse reflector was brought to bear upon it; but Father Secchi saw it at Rome in 1855 with a twelve-inch refractor, and Hermann Schultz, with considerably less optical assistance, at Upsala in 1867. Nevertheless, it evaded recognition with the Washington twenty-six inch achromatic in 1877, as well as with the still larger Vienna telescope

in 1885-6, although obvious, a year later, to the same observer (Dr. Spitaler) using the same instrument. The view, then, is at any rate plausible, that its withdrawals and re-emergences depend upon intrinsic fluctuations, and not merely upon alterations of transparency in our atmosphere. A photographic impression displayed it at Herény in September 1886, in the shape rather of a tiny circular nebula than of a true star; and this nuclear character was accentuated by the strength and distension of its image on a plate exposed twice for three hours last autumn at Algiers. Beyond question, accordingly, it is an integral part of the nebula enclosing it, perhaps the very foundation-stone of the whole structure, and its possible variations may find an analogy in the curious changes of aspect photographically demonstrated by Mr. Roberts in the nucleus of the great elliptic nebula in Andromeda.

The luminous ring in Lyra, although of purely gaseous constitution, is not of uniform brightness. Maxima and minima of illumination mark the extremities respectively of its minor and major axes. This peculiarity is shared, in some degree, by other members of the same class. It is neither accidental nor individual; and hence teaches all the more forcibly the lesson that the oval shape of the nebula, emphasised as it is by physical diversity, is a genuine reality. The ring is not a circle thrown into perspective, but is constructed and exists in space in elliptical form. At the elongated ends, besides, where the light is faintest, singular effusions of nebulous matter have been both seen and photographed. An escape of stuff, which the central power is inadequate to hold, is plainly in progress. And the escape, still more remarkably, takes very nearly the course which it should take if it occurred through the influence of attractive masses situated in the direction of the major axis. The conjecture is irresistible that the nebula is oval *because* of its vicinity to such masses. Nor need we despair of the verification of this conjecture. Sidereal astronomy has only just begun to develop its resources; and it commands the boundless zeal of a little army of votaries in all parts of the world.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Growth of Sea-borne British Commerce.—Sir J. Colomb, in the debate on the Navy Estimates on March 2, gave some interesting figures of the growth of the maritime trade of the United Kingdom during the present century. The position of the country is revolutionised by the bare fact that its food supply is now mainly drawn from oversea, while the area of danger to commerce, formerly confined

practically to the Atlantic and European waters, is now co-extensive with the globe. The commerce to be protected in our last great war was wholly and solely that of the United Kingdom, and the naval estimates were then £22,000,000, although we had asserted the supremacy of the seas ten years before, and had then only the germs of an outlying empire to defend. This year, with an immense empire, and the greatest sea-trade the world has ever known, the estimate was only £14,000,000. In 1837, again, the revenue of the United Kingdom was £56,000,000, and the sea commerce only about £155,000,000. Now the revenue is £89,000,000, and the sea commerce £744,000,000. The aggregate revenue of the outlying portion of the empire, which was then only £23,000,000, is now £105,000,000, and the sea trade then £23,000,000 is now £460,000,000; so while the revenue of the United Kingdom has, during the present reign, increased only one and a half times, that of the out-lying empire has increased fivefold, and while the sea-trade of the former has increased only five times, that of the latter has increased twentyfold. He then showed that the sea commerce of the Northern States of America when the *Alabama* began her operations, was less by many millions than that of the three great self-governing colonies of Great Britain, while the sea-trade of the other dependencies of the empire is not far short of double that of the Northern States at that period, exceeded by the present commerce of Australia alone.

Relative Trade of the Mother Country and the Colonies.—He went on to divide the colonial trade into two parts: that with the United Kingdom, and that with foreign countries. The amount of the former is only £187,000,000 a year, as compared to £273,000,000 for the latter. Comparing this figure—that of the independent trade of the colonies with the sea-borne trade of the Great Powers—he found that it was about four times that of Russia, equal to that of Germany, three-fourths of that of France, about two and a half times that of Italy, and nearly one and a half that of the United States. This foreign colonial trade is increasing every year, and the period is approaching when it will exceed that of the mother country. He pointed out that though it is all carried on under the British flag, the total contribution of the outlying empire towards the cost of protecting its enormous trade is only £381,546, while the naval expenditure of the United Kingdom is £14,215,100. India contributes for troopships and harbours £170,576, but for a sea-going force only £84,200, her total outlay to protect a trade greater than that of Russia is consequently but £254,776. Australia, it appears by the Estimates, has contributed £126,000, Jamaica £520 for a fresh water supply, and Ascension £250 for pier dues, while Ceylon, which contributed last year £4500, has this year disappeared from the accounts. Out of every pound spent for the naval protection of the empire in 1891–92, the outlying empire will spend but 6½*d.*, the United Kingdom furnishing the balance. Comparing the aggregate revenue of the colonial empire with that of maritime Powers maintaining fleets for the defence of smaller commerce, he found its total

of £105,000,000 was one and one-eighth times more than that of Russia, two and a half times that of Germany, more than three-quarters that of France, about four and a half times that of Italy, and about one and a half times that of the United States. Yet while these countries expend from 3 to 8 per cent. of revenue on naval forces, the percentage of revenue paid by the colonial empire is practically *nil*.

Manica.—The name of this district, about which so much has been heard in connection with the new British Company in South Africa, is used in very different senses. On a Portuguese map of 1889 it appears as a district of the province of Mozambique, with boundaries extending along the Zambesi from Shupanga to near Tete, thence south-west and south along the Mazae and Sabi river to the junction of the latter with the Odzi, then east along the Musapa and Busi to the mouth of the Pungwe. The district of Manica proper covers a much smaller area, consisting of a small triangle east of the Upper Sabi and west of the Upper Aruangua, with an altitude of from 4000 to 6000 feet. Umzila, who claimed to be paramount chief of this territory, received a Portuguese envoy, and possibly made a treaty with him in 1884–5, but if so, his action has been repudiated by his successor, Gungunhana, who has allied himself with the English. His vassal, Mutassa, the king or chief of Manica proper, inhabits a town consisting of a group of huts, surrounded by a four-fold wall with an outside ditch and narrow gateways. An English company in Barberton had, in 1888, purchased extensive rights in Manica from the Portuguese Mozambique Company, but the mines there are, according to the latest accounts, not very promising.

British Bechuanaland.—A Colonial Office Report states that enormous strides have been made in opening up and developing this country since the operations of the Chartered Company have made it the high road to the goldfields of Mashonaland. The railway already completed to Vryburg has been surveyed for immediate extension to Mafeking, and the telegraph has been carried on iron poles to the Makloutsi and the Tati, while waggon trains laden with merchandise and stores continually pass through the country to the new Eldorado beyond. Under these circumstances, and in view of the great interests at stake, the Report advocates a further annexation of that portion of the Protectorate lying south of Khame's land.

Germany in South-West Africa.—The colonial ambition of the Germans does not lead them to embark their capital in enterprises seemingly adapted for its gratification, and the Imperial treasury has had to come to the aid of two of the most notable, in order to save them from utter collapse. The State has thus charged itself with the defence of East Africa, and similar assistance has been invoked for the German colony in the south-west of that continent. This consists of Damaraland and Namaqualand, including Angra Pequeña of brief notoriety. The opponents of the vote declared, in addition to discouraging statements about the record of failure presented by the history of

German colonisation in general, that the greater part of the capital spent in this particular undertaking had already been lost, and that future success was very doubtful where there were "no roads, no paths, no coal, no industry." The Reichstag finally voted a few thousand pounds with the understanding that no addition should be made to the forty or fifty police required to assert German authority within a circumscribed area, and that even these should be withdrawn at the end of a year, if the new German Company now to be formed should fail to show some more hopeful results. As there is, it seems, no money to be had for its formation in Germany, the capital of the original Company being gone, the idea is that British speculation may come to the rescue, and adventure into the mining and agricultural industries it is desired to promote. To the establishment of these former, there is, however, a formidable obstacle in the concessions of mineral and other rights already held by British companies in Cape Town, Kimberley, and elsewhere. There is, moreover, a standing dispute with regard to the rights of Mr. Robert Lewis, a British colonist, who has lived in Damaraland for thirty years, and holds a general concession of all mineral and railway privileges from the paramount chief and his headmen. His expulsion from Damaraland furnished just cause of complaint against the German Government, on whom the question of his restoration is now being pressed.

The Siberian Railway.—The Commission of Engineers, which has been studying the question of the future Siberian Railway for some time back, has, according to a correspondent in the *Times* of February 14, arrived at a definite conclusion. The line practically decided on will run from Miask in the Urals by Nishni-Oodinsk, in the region of Lake Baikal, to Vladivostock on the Pacific, a total length of 4785 miles, nearly twice that of the Canadian Pacific. The total estimated cost, including rolling stock, rails, and all plant and material, is £36,765,000. It will be divided into six main sections, the longest of which is over 1500 miles in length, and these again into sub-sections. Its construction will be spread over many years, and General Annenkoff's proposal to complete it in three has been rejected, as calculated to impose too heavy a financial burden on the country. The engineering difficulties to be surmounted are few, the greatest being those caused by the spring floods of the Obi and its tributaries, but labour may be difficult to obtain in some of the almost uninhabited regions through which it will pass. Part of the country traversed is, however, that of the *Chernee Zem*, or fertile black soil, on which grain is already grown in vast quantities, and which affords pasturage to countless herds of cattle. The question of employing the Siberian convicts on the construction of the railway has been mooted, but is scarcely feasible, owing to the numbers of troops which would be required to guard them, and the extensive barrack accommodation that would have to be provided in consequence. The water system of the Amoor and its tributaries, the Shelka and Ussuri, covering a distance of 2413

iles, forms at present the principal means of communication be-ween Eastern and Central Siberia. It is navigated by forty-two eamers, fifteen of which belong to the Amoor Steamship Company, nd the remainder to private individuals. In winter, of course, all avigation ceases, and sledges then furnish the sole means of trans-ort or locomotion throughout the whole of this vast region.

Death of M. Camille Douls.—The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* ives a sketch of the career of M. Camille Douls, the young French xplorer of the Western Sahara, treacherously assassinated while aking his way across the desert to Timbuktu. Born at Bordes, in he department of Aveyron, in 1864, and educated at the Lyceum of odez, its capital, he early became a traveller, as he visited the ntilles and Central America in 1881, and four years later Morocco, here he studied the language and habits of the Arabs during a pro-nged stay. Having there conceived the bold idea of exploring he unknown western regions of the Sahara, he crossed over to the anary Islands, and engaged some fishermen to land him on the esert coast near Cape Garnet. Thence, in the disguise of a Mus-lman, he proceeded inland, and, shortly afterwards, falling in ith some roving bands, he adopted their manners and reli-ion in order to save his life, being subsequently treated as a ember of the tribe. With these nomads he roamed over great art of the western desert as far as the tropic of Cancer, eventually aking his escape over the Atlas to Morocco. Here, however, fresh angers awaited him, as he was imprisoned by order of the Sultan, nd only released on the representations of the British Minister. He ame to London in 1887, when he spoke at a meeting of the Royal eographical Society, and published a narrative of his wanderings n the *Times*. He began soon after to prepare for another journey, nd left Paris in June 1888. Some time after, news reached France hat a traveller, disguised as a Mussulman, had been murdered by is guides in the Sahara, between the oases of Alouef and Aklabi, bout 560 miles south of Oran. There can be little doubt that this nfortunate explorer was M. Douls, who would appear to have eached this point by way of Tangier and Tafilet. His great ambi-ion had been to emulate the exploits of René Caillé, who seventy ears before had made himself famous by his exploration of the same esert.

The South African Company.—A correspondent, writing in e *Times* of December 27, 1890, points out that the great distances be traversed from the Cape to the new stations in Mashonaland ust tend to check for the present the development of the latter. ort Salisbury, within seven miles of Mount Hampden, is 1677 miles om Cape Town, 900 from Vryburg, the point to which the railway now complete, and 800 from Mafeking, its ultimate objective, aggon transport being alone available for the remaining distance. he only condition which would, under the circumstances, deter-ine a large influx of population would be the discovery of alluvial ld in large quantities. For working the reefs near Fort Salis-

bury, a five stamp battery is on its way, and good results are expected, but the cost of transport will heavily handicap attempts at working them. The fact that Lo Bengula's concessions convey only mining rights and no title to land, bars, for the present, any agricultural settlement.

Thus the prospects of the Company would seem gloomy, were it not for a discovery that promises to open a cheaper route to the scene of its operations. The Pungwe river from the port of Byra, 380 miles from Mount Hampden, is found to be navigable for 120 miles of that distance for steamers of light draught, while a low-water depth of 8 feet at its mouth renders it accessible to vessels of considerable size. Merchandise can thus be sent to Fort Salisbury by this route at a lower cost than to Mafeking, the future terminus of the railway. The Cape colonists, however, who were induced to construct the Bechuanaland railway on the plea that it was to carry the traffic of the colonies beyond, look with no friendly eye on the prominence of Pungwe Bay as a rival to Table Bay and Port Elizabeth. Hence difficulties may arise between the conflicting claims of the British shareholders and the South African colonists. The Company has already spent nearly half a million sterling, and is consequently burdened with a debt of £25,000 per annum.

The Kashmir Railway.—The construction of the railway from the frontier of British India to the head of the valley of Kashmir has now been practically decided on, and only the protraction of the negotiations with reference to the guarantee delays its commencement. The line of route will be, according to a correspondent in the *Times* of February 11, from Rawul Pindi, with the largest garrison in India, 10,000 strong, to Srinagar, a distance of 210 miles, of which 78 will be in British, and 132 in Kashmirian territory. The amount of capital required will be from 250 to 300 lakhs of rupees, or from about 2¼ to 2½ millions sterling, to be jointly guaranteed by the Governments of India and Kashmir, the Imperial credit being practically pledged for the latter as a feudatory State under special direction. A cart road, recently completed, runs along the greater part of the proposed line, the track of which the State Government wish to utilise for it. To this, however, the Indian authorities, looking to the inconvenience of its being closed during the period of construction, and the advantage of having an alternative line of communication, are strongly opposed. As a strategical route the railway will have an important bearing on the all-important question of frontier defence, as it will be available for the concentration of troops at the foot of a series of practicable passes leading from Central Asia. As a commercial line it will turn the flank of the route through Afghanistan, where crushing duties are imposed by the Amir, and will enable British goods to reach the heart of Asia duty free. Kashmir, a great land-locked region of 80,000 square miles, surrounded by snow mountains from 20,000 to 25,000 feet high, has hitherto been accessible only by mule tracks over the Himalayas; and the immediate result of the opening of the railway

ill doubtless be to throw it open to tourists and holiday-makers, endering it thus an Asiatic Switzerland. Hitherto the only accom-nodation for visitors consisted of bungalows lent by the Maharaja o the few English families who resorted here in summer.

The Congo Free State.—The visit of the King of the Belgians o this country in March was known to have reference to the affairs f the Congo State, and the position in which it has been placed by he General Act of the Conference at Brussels, the ratifications of hich are to be exchanged on July 2. The tariffs to be imposed are ormulated in the *Bulletin Officiel* of the Free State for February, nd are as follows: 10 per cent. export duty on ivory if bought on he banks of the Congo, or 25 per cent. if purchased at a distance rom the main stream; 10 per cent. on export of india-rubber; an mpost of from 25 centimes to 1½ francs on every square mètre of uilding ground, each story to be reckoned a separate house; 10 to 0 francs per head on servants, and 50 to 1000 francs on vessels avigating the river. The effect of the announcement has been movement on the part of the Dutch and other traders to transfer heir establishments to the Portuguese side of the river, while the overnment of the United States has threatened to withdraw alto-ether from the Convention which sanctions these restrictions. The *Times* of March 20, in commenting on the subject, refers also to the ggressive action of the Free State authorities in sending a formid-ble expedition on a secret mission by way of the Mobangi or Welle, ith the object, it is asserted on authority, of reaching the Bahr-el-hazal and annexing the Nile Valley in the king's name. As this ould bring the Free State into collision with England on the one and by invading her sphere of influence, and with France on the other a violation of the agreement with her, limiting its territory to four grees north of the Equator, it is not likely it will be persevered The expedition, which started early in 1891, consists of 300 diers, including a company recruited in Egypt; two captains, six utenants, a surgeon, and several non-commissioned officers, under command of Captain Van Kerkhove, and its baggage forms 0 loads, necessitating as many carriers.

Exploration of the Congo Affluents.—Important additions been made to the results of M. Delcommune's exploration of the ami by the subsequent journey of M. Hodesteter, of the Upper o Company. This river, which falls into the Congo from the below Stanley Falls, he explored, with a party of natives from ala, as far as the rapids, which bar navigation, and found it to by numerous tributaries on both sides. The banks were y peopled, and the natives friendly, so that there was no diffi-n landing at their villages. The lower part of the river, with h of from 1000 to 1300 feet, is crowded with sandbanks and , and the upper reaches are so obstructed by rocks and rapids ffer few facilities for navigation. From the station of Bena , ascertained by him to be in 2° 50′ S., he went overland to e on the Lualaba (Upper Congo), and thence up that river

to Kassongo, Tippo Tib's headquarters, whence he retraced his way to the Lomami, returning to Bangala on October 13 without having fired a shot or lost a man. The banks of the river are thickly covered with forest, which, however, gives place to open undulating country in the regions between the rivers. The town of Kassongo has a population of 20,000, and round this and other populous Arab settlements he found extensive plantations of rice, maize, beans, and other crops.

To the north of the Congo again, Captain Van Gèle believes he has been able to fill the gap between the Mobangi and the Welle, thus conclusively proving the two rivers to be one. He reached the zeriba of Abdallah, visited by Schweinfurth in 1883, and his journey completes the exploration of this great northern tributary of the Congo for a length of 750 miles (*Times*, December 26, 1890).

The Regions of the Upper Amazon.—An English resident on the Upper Amazon communicates to the Manchester Geographical Society (*Journal*, January–March 1890) his views on the capabilities of that little known region. Here Peru, whose western half slopes to the Pacific, has, on the eastern incline of the Andes, that portion of her territory known as the *montaña*, including the upper courses of the great rivers flowing to the Atlantic. Iquitos, the chief Peruvian port on the Amazon, is the sanatorium of that country, and is described as far healthier than most English watering-places, though with the high average temperature of 82° Fahr. Its population, numbered at 1000 some twenty years ago, is now 8000, five-sixths of whom are civilised half-caste Indians, the remainder South Americans and Europeans. An active trade is carried on, imported goods being exchanged for india-rubber, and most European commodities are to be had at moderate prices; but, owing to the scarcity of fresh meat, tinned provisions are the principal food, and any one capable of rearing live stock would have an opening in supplying the town. Cattle, goats, pigs, sheep, and poultry are easily reared, the latter including a great variety of the wild Gallinacea, which abound in the Amazonian forests. Llamas and four-horned sheep are reared in some places, turtle are abundant, and the woods are overrun with the porcine tribe. Peccary ham, cooked Indian fashion in a roll of clay, is, according to the writer, a delicacy which justifies Humboldt's longing recollection as the only thing in the New World he regretted leaving behind him.

In addition to india-rubber, at present the principal article of export, the forests abound in valuable timber, aguana or mahogany, tortoiseshell wood, the cocobolo, much prized for cabinet work, and the huacapa, equal to lignum vitæ. Sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee, Indian corn, mandioca, and kidney beans are cultivated by the natives for their own use; tobacco is also grown, and cotton and rice might easily be cultivated.

Vanilla, vegetable ivory, indigo, pistachio root, mango, pine-apple, cocoa-nut, and a variety of other tropical products abound, including the marañon, or cachon, from which a delicious wine, with the addi-

tional recommendation of being a blood purifier, is manufactured. The writer believes that gold exists in large quantities, and has himself handled surface nuggets as large as hedge-sparrows' eggs. All the rivers descending from the Andes bring down large quantities of gold, but at present the gold washings on the Marañon cannot be made to pay, owing to absence of machinery and cost of transport. The Upper Amazon is accessible by two lines of steamers plying between Liverpool and Para or Manoas, whence the great river is navigated to Iquitos by the boats of the Amazon Steam Navigation Company.

German African Expedition.—News has been received of the result of a German exploring party of 250 men, sent under the command of Lieutenant Morgan two years ago, to investigate the districts of the Niger tributaries. They suffered from scarcity of food as they penetrated into the interior, and the men could scarcely be restrained from bartering their ammunition for provisions. After severe privations and much suffering from illness, they reached the Binue, where they were met by an agent of the Niger Company, who conducted them down that stream and the Niger to Akassa, which they reached diminished in number by 100 men. The expedition was composed principally of British subjects from the colonies of Lagos and Accra, as well as from the Kroo coast. It is believed that Lieutenant Morgan, in addition to his commission for geographical research, was authorised to make arrangements on behalf of the German Government with the kings and chiefs at the back of the great Oil Rivers, and that treaties may have been concluded with some. It would not seem that they have made any geographical discovery of importance.

Notes on Novels.

Mademoiselle Ixe. By Lanoe Falconer. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

THIS fascinating little volume merits the success of a third edition by the brilliancy of the dialogue, in which the secondary personages are made to reveal themselves, as well as by the subdued tragic interest attaching to the central character. The contrast between the placid peace of English rural life and the stormy career of the foreigner temporarily introduced into it, is artistically suggested by her conversation with the young girl who complains of the dulness of a life, so rich, to the other's sorrow-seared eyes, in all

elements of happiness. The character of Mademoiselle Ixe, a Russian Nihilist, temporarily acting, for her political purposes, as governess in an English family, is redeemed by its lofty enthusiasm from the category of ignoble criminals, and the author is skilful enough to render her an object of pity rather than of horror, even after the fulfilment of her mission of crime. The strange influence of her personality on those around her, despite the absence of all external attractions, is also subtly realised. The tale, up to its culmination in tragedy, is written in the vein of light comedy, and an underlying sense of humour raises its sketches of commonplace life far above the level of the common. The scene in which Mrs. Cosmo Fox, the fashionable beauty, bustles in, voluble and vehement, disorganising in a moment the humdrum circle she breaks in on, is inimitable, as is also the dialogue in which the Russian dexterously turns aside cross-examination as to her creed by flinging the apple of discord of the Apostolic Succession between two clergymen in opposite camps of the Church of England. Every line throughout is artistically calculated to heighten effect by insensible touches, and every incident leads up to the single psychological instant in which passion culminates in action. The absence of all attempt at melodramatic effect heightens the impression which the reader's imagination works out for itself.

Lady Merton. By J. C. Heywood. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS "Tale of the Eternal City," as it is called on the title-page, does not stop at the mere external aspects of life in modern Rome, but follows out its deeper meaning in the working of its associations and traditions on the minds of casual visitors. In one sense, this is more striking in the case of Protestants than in that of Catholics, for the evidences that are new and startling to the former are to the latter but the visible manifestation of already familiar truths. The mental experience of the leading characters in the tale is consequently that of many in actual life, whose reading, previously narrowed by sectarian bias, has not prepared them for the mass of testimony to Catholic truth now presented to them. The arguments which eventually overthrow the dearly cherished convictions of Sir Henry and Lady Merton are put before them, not by a member of the priesthood, against whom they would have been on their guard, but by an American traveller, himself an unbeliever, who uses Catholic truth merely as a lever to uproot the crazy foundation of logic on which Anglicanism rests. Of the only priest with whom they come in contact it is very happily said that he did not talk religion, but simply lived it. But although the purpose of the book is primarily a controversial one, it would be misrepresenting it to describe it as wanting in other forms of interest. On the contrary, it has a sensational plot, in which the heroine is undermined in her husband's affections by the machinations of a vicious

and intriguing step-daughter, while the brother of the latter, a selfish, pleasure-loving young Englishman, becomes involved in a series of tragical complications through his desertion of the beautiful Italian girl, his marriage to whom by the priest without the intervention of the civil functionary is invalid, according to the law of that country.

A Born Coquette. By Mrs. HUNGERFORD. London: Spencer Blackett. 1890.

THE author of "Molly Bawn" can always furnish her readers with a story compounded of airy nothings, and as free from the ponderous ingredients of the romancer's receipt-book as a trifle or an *omelette soufflée*. Flirtation in all its forms and phases, unadulterated by introspection, psychology, or any of the moral problems so laboriously toiled over by the conscientious disciple of the modern school of fiction, is her invariable theme, and her heroines as a rule belong to the class whom a strait-laced society would probably stigmatise as fast. But since the scene is generally laid in the more genial sphere of the sister isle, we may perhaps put down relaxation of social discipline among the privileges of a country whence conventionality is doubtless banished with political economy, to find a home in the remoter luminaries of the solar system. Having released ourselves from its thraldom, we may perhaps sympathise with the woes of the heroine, who, having insisted on accompanying a young gentleman in a *tête-à-tête* sail in his yacht, finds her cruise prolonged by a conspiracy of the elements to one of several days' duration. Under these circumstances, the tyranny of the *convenances* reasserts itself, and compels her to marry the partner of her escapade. As he is young, rich, devotedly attached, and sufficiently attractive to have enjoyed a considerable show of favour from her beforehand, we scarcely think she need have waited for the end of the third volume to become reconciled to her fate. A very happy hit is made in the character of Murphy, an Irish butler, whose peculiarities of mind and manner are racy of the soil, while his fidelity to the fallen fortunes of the family he is attached to are equally characteristic.

Kirsteen. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

IT is long since this versatile authoress has written a work so full of freshness and spontaneity as this tale of family life in the Western Highlands during the early years of the century. The household of the Laird of Drumcarro, ex-planter and slaveholder, furnishes a group of studies, each of which stands out with perfect individuality, from the grim paterfamilias down to Margaret Brown, the devoted and capable serving-woman, perhaps the most admirable

both in conception and delineation. The heroine, with her deep fidelity of heart, is a true type of Scotch nature, all the more strongly realised for the minor imperfections which form the inseparable shadow of strongly marked moral features. The unspoken romance of her life, the patient hope frustrated by death when near fruition, is all the more pathetic for the power of self-repression with which it is lived down. The tragic interest of this part of the plot culminates in her interview with the bereaved mother, from whom she claims, with an imperiousness that cannot be gainsaid, the last sad memorial of her dead soldier. Apart from this under-current of sentiment, Kirsteen's life is an eventful one, as she has to fly alone and almost penniless from the violence of her father in pressing a distasteful marriage on her. Her adventures on the journey to London, in those days a long and difficult one, are full of interest, and her career in the metropolis, where she finds an unexpected vocation in the development of a genius for mantua-making, is an anticipation of the latest fashion in feminine professions. The minor characters are true to nature in their varieties of commonplace selfishness, as is Drumcarro himself to the stronger type of character which carries self-willed egotism to brutality.

The Prince of the Glades. By HANNAH LYNCH. London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

ALTHOUGH the dedication of these volumes to Miss Anna Parnell implies nationalist proclivities on the part of their author, the course of the narrative does not seem appreciably coloured by political sympathy. The story of an abortive conspiracy, in which the peasantry, after careful drilling and discipline, desert their leaders on the first contact with the dreaded police, gives no exalted idea of Irish patriotism, and seems rather to point the moral of the hopelessness of such attempts. The story, apart from politics, is a romantic though somewhat depressing one, and is told with a certain grace of diction that lends colour to its details. The characters are, however, of an unattractive type; the heroine an icicle, who only thaws at the most inopportune moment; and the hero a semi-savage, with a nature warped by parental dislike. In his father, The O'Moore, we have introduced in the most unwarrantable fashion a well-known Irishman not long dead, whose identity is scarcely veiled under the title of the Prince of the Glades, while the fairy lake associated with his legendary family history is equally recognisable, though transported to the north of Ireland. As his fictitious alias is made a monster of vice, we must protest against such an abuse of the novelist's power of drawing from life. The writer, too, in introducing an Irish chieftain should have informed herself of the proper style of addressing him, which is by the patronymic alone, without prefix. Singularly as it may strike English ears to hail a gentleman on first acquaintance as "O'Moore," "O'Donovan," or "O'Grady," it

is a still greater solecism, according to their code of etiquette, to add the conventional Mr. to these names when distinguished by the definite article as the mark of their tribal pre-eminence.

A Life Sentence. By ADELINE SERGEANT. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1891.

IN the modern sensation novel, we are satisfied to concede a certain number of improbabilities and incongruities, in consideration of a fairly readable narrative of the startling events recorded. This Miss Sergeant has given us in her present work, and we are accordingly satisfied not to analyse too closely the details of the plot. We have here a variation on the usual ingredients of this class of fiction in a criminal but remorseful hero, who, having taken a man's life under circumstances which rendered the act to a certain extent justifiable, commits the far worse iniquity of allowing an innocent man to be condemned in his stead. The true evil genius of the book is, however, the *villainess*, if we may be allowed to coin such a word, who is in this case the hero's sister, Constance, endowed with the prescriptive properties of golden hair, velvet-brown eyes, and a feline disposition. There are, on the other hand, two heroines, the murdered man's daughter, Enid, who, in astonishing violation of the canons of taste, is allowed to become engaged for a time to her father's slayer; and Cynthia, the daughter of the supposed murderer, who marries the real murderer after he has made atonement by confessing his crime, and undergoing a term of imprisonment. Before this consummation is reached there is scope for a variety of complications and entanglements, including the attempted poisoning of Enid by Constance, the fraudulent substitution of another woman's child for her own by the latter, the development of Cynthia into a magnificent vocalist, and her success in nursing the hero through a brain fever in defiance of all his relations. There are elements in the story that suggest its capabilities for dramatisation, as it would afford scope for some striking situations.

The Wages of Sin. By LUCAS MALET. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

THE author of "Colonel Enderby's Wife" has chosen in this, her latest work, to handle a disagreeable subject in unusually disagreeable fashion. Heroic vice may be tragical even if disedifying, but commonplace vice treated with abhorrent realism of detail is simply repulsive. Whether good service is rendered to the cause of morality by rendering it so, may, we think, be questioned, as any good effects of its treatment in this direction are counterbalanced by the evil of familiarising the mind with its aspects, however deterrent. Neither is the book pleasant reading from any point of view: the style is laboured from an attempt at smartness, and none of the

characters are calculated to interest the reader. The heroine is, during the course of the three volumes, engaged to two men in succession, and the close of the book leaves her obviously on the high road to marriage with a third. Such caprices of the heart or of the fancy may admit of excuse, but can never attract sympathy. The fascination which James Colthurst, the hero, or quasi-hero, is represented as exercising, is totally unaccounted for by his presentment. A man who to hideousness of aspect—for such is the impression the description of him makes on the mind—adds a painful impediment in speech, would in real life be heavily handicapped in the race for the favour of ladies. The modern trick of individualising characters by constant reference to some habitual gesture or facial contortion is carried by the author to a length which produces a sense of irritation, we had almost said of nausea, in the reader. The brightest picture in the book is the incidental sketch of a fashionable young lady, veiling deep laid matrimonial designs under an assumption of gushing enthusiasm of manner. Both her conversation and character are cleverly reproduced with scarcely a touch of caricature.

Stand Fast Craig Royston! By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Sampson Low. 1890.

WE cannot think that Mr. Black has been successful in his attempt to concentrate his readers' attention throughout these volumes on the character of a more or less conscious impostor. True, old George Bethune's frauds are of a comparatively harmless character, but we doubt if in real life they would have long continued so, and whether the solvent action of a predatory way of existence on the whole moral fibre would not have carried him over the boundary of actual crime long before his attainment of the venerable age at which he appears on the author's pages. The interesting granddaughter, too, who accompanies him on his travels, would hardly have remained so unconscious of the use to which her appealing beauty and opportune blushes were turned, as a lure to intended victims, or a buffer between her guardian and the unkindness of a ready-money-loving world. This young lady, Maisrie by name, is fortunate enough to inspire Vincent Harris, a wealthy and charming young man, with a devoted passion at first sight, and the romantic interest of the tale turns on his courtship of her, despite the obstacles interposed by hard-hearted relatives to the course of true love when tending towards such a very undesirable connection. The billing and cooing of the lovers is, however, subsidiary to the doings of the old gentleman, whose conversation takes the form of prolix dissertations on Scotch ballad poetry, illustrated with copious extracts. This peculiarity, combined with the slight moral obliquities alluded to, renders him a most objectionable personage, concerning whom the reader's sole feeling is one of thankfulness that he is included only in his list of fictitious and not actual acquaintances. As the leading character of three volumes of romance he suffers above all from *le plus grand défaut, le défaut d'être ennuyeux.*

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik.*

IN the January number of the *Katholik* I gave a full review of Father Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop's work, "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer," which for critical ability, learning, and extensive familiarity with German literature, both Catholic and Protestant, of the Reformation period, is really unsurpassed. Besides the fresh light it sheds on the origin and present shape of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, the information which it gives us about the influence exercised by German Protestant divines at the very beginning of the ecclesiastical revolution is not to be underrated. A striking illustration of the quite Protestant character of the English liturgy as contained in the Prayer Book, has been afforded by the recent judgment of Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln case, about which I also gave a review. Father Baumer, a Benedictine monk of Maredsous, is continuing his learned articles on the history of the Roman Breviary. In the present one he discusses the changes introduced in the Breviary by Innocent III. and other Popes, and sketches the exertions of the Franciscans in propagating this modified liturgical book. The article is largely based on an examination of manuscript sources, and for several notices the writer acknowledges himself to be indebted to Mr. Edmund Bishop. Another article in the *Katholik* is concerned with the social congress held at Liège last year. Still another contains a review of the second edition of Professor Gutberlet's "Textbook of Philosophy." He is favourably known as the editor of the "Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Goerresgesellschaft." Professor Gutberlet's Textbook ranks with the best works in this department of Catholic science, and seems to deserve special praise for one particular quality, viz., the author's singular talent for examining into mathematical problems in their connection with philosophical questions. Of course the author is well versed in the schoolmen, but on the other hand he likes to propose the speculations of the ancient Fathers and the results of modern science. Whoever is conversant with recent theories of space, and the objections to the teleological proof of the existence of God, will be pleased to have here a Textbook which takes active cognisance of those and other momentous questions. Another suggestive article is "Leibnitz on the Study of Science in Convents."

By a decree Urbis et Orbis of August 15, 1890, the Holy Father has assigned March 28 as the Feast of St. John Capistran, that

eminent Franciscan by whose piety, eloquence, and miracles the efforts of the Turks against Hungary were gloriously overcome. An article in the February number of the *Katholik* presents a long array of notices gathered from mediæval sources illustrative of his wonderful success as a preacher throughout Germany. Indeed, this Franciscan friar may be favourably compared with the most famous preachers of any nation. Father Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, Widnes, writes on the position of English Catholics under James I. It is with the Oath of Allegiance as tendered to Catholic recusants that he is concerned in this article, and he shows himself a champion of Pope Paul V., who deservedly reproved that oath; and he shows that the action of Blackwell, who supported the oath, is quite unjustifiable.

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2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

The first number of this magazine for 1891 opens with a memoir of the late Baron von Franckenstein, who as a defender of the rights of the Church in the German Diet, and as a most pious Christian had won universal admiration; his somewhat sudden death excited deep sorrow. Father Granderath contributes an article on "Undogmatic Christianity," as the most recent form of Protestantism. Father Duhr sums up the result of recent historiography about Wallenstein. The Austrian general still has able defenders, but the number of those who are turning against him is daily on the increase, and the judgment passed upon him by such Catholic historians as Baron of Aretin and Frederick von Hurter, is becoming more and more the general opinion, adverse to Wallenstein, who was guilty of treason against the House of Hapsburg. Father Reissel's article on the Holy House of Loreto is interesting, both from the points of history and art. A brilliantly written article by Father Baumgarten dwells on the beauties of Catalonian poetry as represented by Jacinto Verdaguer and his "Atlandida."

A most successful enterprise was started some years ago in Berlin, viz., the publication of the "Monumenta Paedagogica" of Germany before the Reformation, and as the Society of Jesus was devoted from its commencement to the Christian education of youth, and exercised to the time of its suppression immense influence in German universities, colleges, and elementary schools, it was natural that German Jesuits should have a share in the Monumenta. To the late Father Pachtler we are indebted for having contributed three volumes, "Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Suisetatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes." They represent a good deal of German ecclesiastical history, and are also a contribution to theology, dogmatic and moral; for the various decrees of the Generals of the Society show that nothing was left undone to second solid studies, and that definite rules were enforced as to theological opinions to be avoided or to be sustained.

3. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

THE January number of the *Blätter* contains a general survey of the actual condition of Church and State in Germany. Next comes an article on the relations between Tilly and Wallenstein in 1625.

Then we have an article on Franz Grillparzer, the great Austrian poet, whose centenary is about to be celebrated. The position he occupies in German literature, and the influence he exercised in shaping the currents of opinion, are dwelt on at length. His genius was brilliant, his language noble; but the matter of his poems was sometimes in conflict with Christian ideas. In another article I write on the valuable "Mgr. de Salamon: Mémoires inédits de l'Internonce à Paris pendant la Révolution 1790–1801. Publiés par l'abbé Bridier, Paris, 1890." It was in the month of June 1890, when transcribing in the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne at Paris, the names of the Irish procurators of the German nation in the old University of Paris, since printed in vol. ii. pp. 735–742 of my "History of the Catholic Church in Ireland" (Mainz 1890), that I became acquainted with the memoirs of Mgr. de Salamon, so full of stirring interest. Dr. Braig, parish priest of Wildbad, Württemberg, one of our most thoughtful Catholic writers in Germany, contributes an extremely judicious article: "A Chapter of Apology. The Development of Thought (mind) according to French Monism." The acquaintance we make with a philosophy which degraded man and saps the foundations of society is exceedingly saddening and painful. A German Dominican Father, P. Scheer, some months ago delivered a course of lectures in Christiania, Norway, on the Catholic Church, which excited considerable public interest, and brought home to many Protestant truths of the first importance, kept out of sight by their own pastors. The result was that the learned Norwegian divine, Dr. Krogh-Tonning, came forward with a brilliant pamphlet on the Catholic Church, to whose sanctity, vitality, zeal, and beauty, he pays the most solemn tribute. Other articles in this magazine deal with the biography of Cardinal de Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, by Mgr. Besson, and the life of the late Cardinal Simor, Archbishop of Gran.

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4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (*Innsbruck*).

Father Stentrup has an article on "Atheism and the Social Question." Professor Schmid writes on the definition and nature of Quantity, and F. Emil Michael reviews Professor Sdralek's book, "Altmann von Passau und Gregor VII."

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 6 *Decembre*, 1890; 3 *Gennaio*, 7 *Febbraio*, 1891.

Cantù's Universal History.—These three articles are devoted to some observations on the tenth edition of Cesare Cantù's voluminous "Universal History," recently published at Turin, and now brought down to quite present times—viz., near to 1885. It has been entirely revised by its author, a marvellous achievement for a man past eighty, but executed with all the vigour of youth. It must therefore be regarded as the latest expression of the illustrious historian's views and opinions. The reviewer gives to this great work, which has won for itself a European reputation, all the credit it so richly deserves. It is imbued with a spirit truly religious and Catholic, for Cantù is a faithful son of the Church, as his own solemn protest of entire submission of all he has written to her judgment would alone sufficiently prove, were it not also abundantly manifested in so many of his admirable pages. This being the case, it is only the more to be regretted that any blemishes should detract from its merit in Catholic eyes, and it would be highly desirable that they should be corrected. It would be almost a miracle indeed if a work containing near upon 9000 pages was quite free from faults. Cantù, with that modesty which belongs to great minds, never presumed that it could be so, and has always shown himself willing in each successive edition to adopt corrections which might be addressed to him, and which he had himself solicited. The reviewer, therefore, desires to point out briefly some of the most conspicuous in this last edition, confining himself strictly to the religious and moral order. As this brief notice, however, is spread over the pages of three long articles, it would be clearly impossible for us to give any adequate idea of it. The matter for censure has been divided into two categories: (1) The Popes: to rectify erroneous statements concerning some of them; and (2) Catholic Doctrines: to point out, as needing correcting, faulty language, or inexact expressions in questions of theology.

It is truly surprising to find Cantù accepting certain calumnious assertions which were once current, but have long failed to satisfy a juster modern criticism, or stand before fuller historic research. We must be contented with giving a single instance from category (1) It shall be taken from that deplorable time in the tenth century, when Rome and the Papacy were suffering from the tyranny of the Alberici, Marozias, and Theodoras. Cantù adopts all the calumnious imputations of the historian, Luitprand, against the three Popes, Sergius III., John X., and John XI. It is true that Baronius was deceived by him, but at that date Luitprand was almost the only known source of information with regard to those most obscure times. Since Baronius's days, there has been much study and research directed to them, and many discoveries have been made which have placed things in a better point of view, and proved the worth-

lessness of the evidence adduced for blackening the memory of these Pontiffs. Muratori was the first to raise an indignant protest against Luitprand's *mala lingua*, as he calls it, and to unmask him, opposing the truly reliable authority of Flodoardo, Luitprand's contemporary, but unknown to Baronius, who was thus ignorantly betrayed into historical errors. Many other authentic documents have also come to light, which serve fully to vindicate the reputation of these Popes, and to demonstrate the mendacity of the man who collected all the infamous stories, fabricated by the enemies of the Holy See, and bequeathed them to posterity as history. It is, one may say, lamentable therefore to find Cantù giving credit to these vile and now exploded calumnies. In this last edition, at least, one might have hoped to see misstatements rectified which he had hitherto inadvertently admitted.

It is false that Sergius III. was ever Marozia's lover, or that by her aid he violently seized on the Pontifical throne, and caused vice and adultery to reign in the chair of Peter. It is also false that John X. was the lover of either of the Theodoras, whether the elder or the younger. It is false that John XI. was the offspring of an adulterous connection between Marozia and Sergius III. Marozia, indeed, was his mother, but he was the legitimate fruit of her marriage with Albericus I. It is false that, being elevated to the Papacy, he abandoned himself to the indulgence of youthful passions, leaving everything, whether sacred or profane, under the control of his mother and brother. On the contrary, authentic history asserts that all these three Popes were irreproachable in their lives, and the first two even merited the encomium of their contemporaries for their virtues and their deeds. If John XI. was in temporal affairs hampered by the unjust sway of Marozia and Albericus II., nevertheless he filled the part of Pontiff laudably in sacred matters. *Vi vacuus, splendore carens, modo sacra ministrans,* is Flodoardo's written testimony of him.

Space fails us to select even one of the instances in Category 2 of theological inaccuracy and misstatement. In some respects, these are still more to be lamented than the historical injustice done to different Popes. The reviewer wishes Cantù yet many years of life and strength, and, if God should grant them to him, we may hope to see the imperfections removed and important rectifications effected in a future edition, so as to make this splendid work redound yet more to the fame of the author, and provide a more thoroughly reliable textbook of history for the use of the Catholic laity of this and of future generations.

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6 *Decembre*, 1890; 17 *Gennaio*, 1891.

Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great.—In the last quarter we have the continuation of several series already commenced, amongst them one on the Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great,

viewing it in its connection with the progress of Christian civilisation. The relations between the Papacy and the Roman Emperor who, though virtually Byzantine, still retained the imposing claim and title of Roman, are admirably elucidated in these articles, which throw much light on the holy Pontiff's behaviour towards him, a behaviour at once most deferential and conciliating; his condescension, however, being clearly limited by obedience to God's law above all things. It was no adulation or exaggeration in Gregory to call the Emperor *serenissimus dominus rerum*, to whom God had committed *potestas super omnes homines*, for indeed the whole world, according to his belief and the ancient Christian tradition, was committed by the Most High Himself to the temporal ruler of the Eternal City, the Emperor of Rome. The imperial dignity, however, consisted in this, that it was ordained for the protection of the Universal Church, and by its action and the exercise of its power to promote its well-being. It was the same idea which filled the mind of Gregory as in later years animated Leo III. when he set the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, in order to renew and consecrate in his person the office and charge which had been forfeited by the degenerate Eastern Emperors. The interests of the Church of Christendom were considered to be intimately united with the prosperity of the Empire. In it was established a unity in the civil and temporal order, even as under the Successor of Peter unity was maintained in the superior spiritual order. The Emperor was the consecrated protector, defender, and champion of Holy Church, and, as such, was treated with exceptional honour. It was a grand idea, had it been faithfully carried out, and had not the ambition, rivalries, vices, and greed of Christian monarchs constantly defeated its glorious practical aim. The prayers to be found in all ancient Liturgies for the Roman Emperor bear testimony to the degree in which this idea clung to the mind of the Church; and so long as a shadow and semblance of the "Holy Roman Empire" existed, these were still in use. Our own missals bear witness thereto in their Good Friday petitions, but this peculiar prayer having lost its meaning, is of course now omitted.

The relations of the Church with the Empire are by no means the only subject of interest which the reader will find illustrated in these excellent papers.

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17 *Gennaio*, 7 *Febbraio*, 1891.

Opinions of an American on Italy. — The question of the present and future of Italy is very ably and graphically treated in these articles through the vehicle of a supposed dialogue between three travellers casually meeting in the coffee-room of an hotel. The trio consists of a Piedmontese Liberal, a "clerical," as the former would style him, that is, a good Catholic, and an American Protestant. The unprejudiced and common-sense views of this

foreigner are very telling. Nothing, perhaps, would lend itself better to the object in view, namely, the arriving at sound conclusions on the topic under consideration, than the conversational form, which imparts an animation and actuality lacking in dry statements. We must be content with making one quotation, which sums up the opinion of the New World Republican as to the freedom enjoyed by "emancipated Italy": "And your republican monarchies or monarchical republics, do not they, in point of fact, resolve themselves into a state of tyranny, differing little from the autocratic rule of the Cossack or the Mussulman? The democratic form with you always covers an oligarchy, which, either by cunning or by violence, imposes upon the people, in the name of liberalism, its *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and the people are subject to it no more and no less than the Muscovites are to the ukases of the Czar, or the Turks to the orders of the Sultan. If you except England, which is rather an aristocratic Republic, no country of Europe properly enjoys any small amount of popular liberty resembling our democratic liberty. Practically, your liberalism is but a net of laws, oppressive of all freedom, individual, domestic, civil, educational, and religious, enacted by the few to the detriment of all. Hence proceeds the deep corruption in which political art and the science of government are made to consist with you."

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21 *Febbraio*, 1891.

A Fall of Manna.—Amongst the many curious natural phenomena recorded during the late remarkable year was a fall of so-called *manna* in the neighbourhood of Diabeker in Asiatic Turkey. It was eatable, and, unlike the manna of Scripture, did not dissolve in the sun or corrupt, so much so that it was possible for the pharmacy of Bagdad to send a specimen to Paris. The botanists recognised in it a vegetable of the family of the lichens, called *Leucanona esculenta*. It is said to grow abundantly on the arid mountains in the deserts of Tartary. A similar fact is stated to have occurred in the year 1828 in Persia. The obvious explanation seems to be that, as this substance came along with a rainfall, a violent gust of wind sweeping over those mountainous heights had severed these plants from their roots, whirling them away, as we see in the case of dust or leaves, and then, with the cessation of the hurricane in a downfall of heavy rain, had deposited them in the spot where they were found. Some incredulous spirits are sure to seize on this fact as a possible natural explanation of an Old Testament miracle. The Hebrews in the desert, they will say, were thus nourished. There was no miracle at all in the circumstance. Such discoveries are hailed with triumph by a certain school. But, supposing we were to grant the fact, which, however, could hardly be granted in the face of the different substantial qualities of the two deposits, would there, we may ask, have been no miracle in the case? A

much greater one, we fancy, than the direct manufacture of the manna by angelic ministry would imply; for we must suppose a production of lichens so abundant as daily to feed three millions of persons for forty consecutive years—this multitude, moreover, being in a perpetual wandering state—and yet always finding a supply of lichens conveniently laid out every morning, wherever they might happen to be, and in a quantity precisely proportioned to their needs. We must confess, says the reviewer, that this *natural* explanation supposes too many miracles. Let us be contented with the one recorded in Scripture, which, it is true, is a miracle, but not an absurdity, or a group of absurdities.

Another extraordinary occurrence in the natural order is worthy of mention, namely, a rain of blood which fell in Italy at Missignadi, a village not far distant from Oppido Mamertina, on May 15, the Feast of the Ascension. What is remarkable in this fall is that minute chemical analysis has proved it to be *bonâ fide* blood, at least to exhibit its characteristics. The red colour of rain or snow has been found, on some former similar occasions, to have been seemingly imparted by certain cryptogaminous plants, or some mineral substances. And hence the general conclusion entertained that the showers of blood recorded by our forefathers, and "credulously" supposed by them to be so, were, in point of fact, all explicable in like manner. This recent analysis goes far to prove that in this respect we may do them wrong. In the present instance, however difficult it may be to explain the phenomenon, it is to all appearance a question of real blood, not of tinted water.

The Anglo-Benedictine Congregation.—The following paragraph announcing the Holy Father's Apostolical Letter for the reconstitution of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation shows also what is understood to be its practical object: "To the Benedictines England is indebted for her earliest Christian civilisation. From St. Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, down to our days these monks never ceased spreading the light of the Gospel in that island, founding also those magnificent institutions, which have even been preserved by Protestants, though diverted to other ends. Now these illustrious monks, to whom the whole of Western Christianity owed so much, being suppressed in England by the pretended reform of the sixteenth century, had to take the road of exile, and could no longer penetrate into their country save as missionaries. All this could not but turn to the prejudice of religious discipline. Leo XIII., by his Apostolic Letter of November 12, 1890, *Religiosus Ordo*, has undertaken the work of restoring the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation to its ancient regularity (*decoro*)."

Notices of Books.

Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and Martyr. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.SS.R. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1891.

IN completeness, in painstaking exactness, and in clearness, this Life of the Blessed Thomas More is equal to that which the eminent author has already given us of Blessed John Fisher. In general and popular interest it excels that biography. There are many to whom the figure of Fisher is one of the most striking and pathetic in English history. But to the general reader he will never be as popular as the wonderfully cultured, the large-minded, the witty and genial Londoner and lawyer, whom a strange dispensation of Providence led on to the crown of martyrdom and has raised to the honours of the saints.

In this very acceptable volume, which consists of some 450 pages with an Appendix and Chronological Tables, Father Bridgett mainly follows the order of time. We have chapters entitled "Childhood," "Youth," "Choice of a State of Life," "Early Manhood," "Secretary and Privy Councillor," "Chancellor," "First Troubles," and so on to the "Trial," and the "Martyrdom." But the author occasionally interrupts himself to dwell somewhat more at length on certain aspects of More's life; and thus, not far from the beginning of the volume, there are such headings as "Personal," "Professional," "Literary," and "Domestic," under which the innumerable anecdotes which are connected with Sir Thomas More's name are classified and reproduced. Besides this, the literary side of the holy martyr's career is very fully and carefully considered, his writings are analysed, cited extensively, and to some extent "apologised" for—that is, justified and explained.

This is the first Life of More which has embodied in its narrative the recent discovery made by Mr. W. Aldis Wright, which has added two years to the age formerly ascribed to him. He was born in 1478, not in 1480, as commonly set down; and he was, therefore, fifty-seven years old at the time of his execution. It is one of the great excellences of Father Bridgett's volume that he thoroughly investigates every question of name, place, and date.

Nothing can exceed the beauty and charm of the character of this great Englishman as we follow its development in this biography. In childhood he lived in the household of Cardinal Morton, and as a boy his brightness, good-temper, and versatile power made the cardinal prophesy that he would be "a marvellous man." At Oxford he had the hard life of a poor scholar; but he learned everything there was to be learnt, became one of the most brilliant Latinists of his age

(the age of Erasmus), knew Greek as well as he knew English, and made himself no mean versifier and musician. At New Inn, when studying for the law, he applied his whole mind to exercises of piety, watching, fasting, and praying, and thinking deeply and anxiously whether he was called to the priesthood. For four years he lived amongst the Carthusians, dwelling near the Charterhouse, frequenting the company of the heroes who were in later years to suffer so gloriously. He was one of the handsomest men of his time and country. His face—familiar to us in his well-known portraits—was of that healthy pallor, faintly suffused with the flush of life, which so well suits a refined and intellectual character. With dark hair and pale blue eyes, he had a countenance formed for mirth and humour. As to food, he was utterly indifferent. "He seems born and framed for friendships," says Erasmus, "and is a most faithful and enduring friend." In society his sweet and polished manners cheered the saddest hearts. As he grew older, the buoyant humour of his youth became more quiet and reserved; but his gentle, genial jests ceased not, even on the scaffold itself.

Although every slightest record and story connected with such a man is interesting, yet it is his noble fight for conscience, and the laying down of his life in defence of the supremacy of the Holy See, which naturally must always be read with the greatest attention and reverential enthusiasm. Father Bridgett has given us an authentic and striking narrative of all that happened from the year 1534, when his troubles began in connection with the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn, to the fatal but hallowed 6th of July in the following year, when he laid down his head on the block on Tower Hill.

An admirable account of the sources of the history of the holy martyr is given in the Preface. Father Bridgett tells us that his first anxiety in writing More's Life has been to state nothing he did not believe, and to accept nothing for which he had not historical evidence. With this view he has collated all the biographies already in existence, of the principal of which he gives a list and description. Of these, Stapleton's Latin Life, published at Douai in 1588, is considered by him to be by far the best. Stapleton, in fact, was intimate with Dr. John Clements, More's favourite scholar, with Margaret Gigs his wife (an adopted daughter of More's), with John Harris, More's secretary, and with others who well knew Margaret Roper and William Rastell. It is to the care with which men like Stapleton, Rastell, and Roper collected every tittle of information about him that we know More so intimately. The portrait of his mind and character which can be put together from the numerous passages in which his friend Erasmus speaks of him is most valuable and striking. Father Bridgett makes full use of all these materials. The book concludes with an account of the martyr's relics. It seems, from Father Bridgett's account, impossible to decide where his headless body was buried—whether in the Tower or in Chelsea parish church. Neither has it been discovered where his head lies. At Stonyhurst there are preserved his hat, his crucifix, his seal, &c. The Augustinian canonesses of Abbots-

possess the hair shirt which he sent to his daughter Margaret ay before his execution.

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of English Martyrs. Hitherto Unpublished. By JOHN H. POLLEN, S.J. With a Preface by JOHN MORRIS, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

E memorials of Christian martyrs must always be precious to those of the Faith. The record of any struggle unto death onscience sake awakens, even in the least courageous heart, gs of admiration for such valour, and a desire to imitate in some measure the uncompromising service of such a noble soul. Those here in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were l upon to combat for their religion, seem so near to us in point ne and race that any addition to our knowledge of these blessed yrs for the faith must ever be most welcome. It is for this n that we cordially congratulate Father Pollen on the volume e us. To write history is one thing, to collect materials another. are equally necessary; but many will attempt the former who not the patience and perseverance necessary for the latter . It is comparatively easy and pleasant work to sit at a table supplied with materials for book-making, to sort and arrange and e together the whole into a story. To find the materials implies s and months of weary dust-hunting amongst records, which has well compared to cinder-sifting. Hours, and even days, may go efore some precious fact well worth the labour turns up to en- ge the searcher to proceed. Thus the labourer among original ds must possess a fund of patience and a degree of self-sacrifice h in these days is rare enough. Father Pollen evidently has of these characteristic qualifications to make him a good worker he rich storehouses of our national archives. He has also is, perhaps, a rarer gift, the self-sacrifice which has enabled to publish the precious material he has gathered just as he found it, without endeavouring to work it up into a conse- e narrative suitable to modern taste. This is quite what we , but it is no less generous on the part of Father Pollen. As er Morris tells us, in his preface to this little volume, the day st when Bishop Challoner's delightful "Memoirs of Missionary sts" are much read; and however much we may regret the that a book so prized by our Catholic parents and in our younger days should lie forgotten in the dust of our book- es, we must now make preparations for a book that will take its . After all, there is much that can now be added to what Bishop loner could tells us of the martyrs under Elizabeth and her suc- rs. Many sources of information are now open to us of which he nothing, or to which he could have had no access. The first to the composition of the work which is to take the place of the moirs of Missionary Priests" have already been taken in Father

Morris's works on the Martyrs, Brother Foley's "Records," the publication of the "Douay Diaries," and other works of the same kind. To these must now be added Father Pollen's "Acts of the English Martyrs." The material here printed is practically new, and has never been previously published, and it has been gathered together from various sources by the industry of the compiler. The Public Record Office, the Privy Council Registers, the Westminster and Stonyhurst archives, and other repositories of public or quasi-public documents, have been ransacked with a view to giving to the public what new material for the history of our English martyrs could be discovered.

The method followed by Father Pollen in his book is to arrange his material as far as possible in chronological order. This is the case with the acts of some fifteen martyred priests which are related in the first ten chapters of the book. The eleventh chapter is occupied with the new records of the martyrdom of ten laymen. The twelfth chapter gives a translation of Father Warford's account of various martyrs from the Stonyhurst archives. The concluding three chapters contain selections from unpublished papers from Westminster, Stonyhurst, and the convent of Englischen Fraülein at Nymphenberg in Bavaria. Of the two former collections Father Morris in the preface says: "Our volume pretty nearly exhausts the documents contained in them, supplementary to Challoner's work" (p. 13).

Each chapter is prefaced by a short list of the documents printed in it, and a note of the collection from which they are derived. If we should quarrel with Father Pollen at all it would be that he has not done as much as he might for that important person the "general reader." A little more editing, in its truest sense, would have cost Father Pollen very little trouble, and would have been a great help to most people. Throughout the book we constantly come upon little matters which a few words would have cleared up, and we should have much liked to see a biographical account of each martyr, however short, attached to each of their "acts." But this, perhaps, is unreasonable, and we are so grateful for what is given us in this little volume that we have no wish even to seem to disparage the work Father Pollen has done. One little point we may, perhaps, be allowed to name. At page 295, the date given by Challoner for the martyrdom of the venerable George Gervase, namely April 11, 1860, is called in question. The account, here first printed, gives the day of the week upon which he was executed as Monday. There is no doubt whatever that this is correct, as it agrees with a contemporary account in Italian sent at the time to the monastery of St. Pietro in Perugia, a copy of which is in the Record Office, and which we would gladly have seen printed also in this valuable volume of collections. But if Father Pollen will look we fancy that he will find he has taken the *new style* to reckon by. In that the 11th of April was a Friday, but according to the *old style* it was on Monday, and Bishop Challoner was not wrong in his date.

In conclusion we have to say, if, indeed, it is not already clear from

what has gone before, that for the history of our English martyrs this is a most valuable book, and we, as Catholics, owe Father Pollen our best thanks for the painstaking labours and self-sacrifice by which alone its materials could have been selected.

Ireland under the Tudors. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. Vol. III. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

THE history of Ireland is a rope of many strands, and it is only at a later period that the disconnected fibres are woven into a single cord of national continuity. The O'Neills made history on their own account in Ulster, while the Burkes in Connaught, and the Desmonds in Munster, and the English of the Pale had each their own sphere of influence, and a comparatively distinct life and movement.

The historian has to pass through his fingers these several threads of narrative at a time, and Mr. Bagwell's readers will close his last volume with the impression that he has handled the skein with no little tact and dexterity.

In these days of analysis, a work is estimated by the materials which have furnished the elements of its composition. Mr. Bagwell has built mainly from the State Papers and the Hatfield MSS., with sufficient recourse to Fynes Moryson's "History" and Hogan's "Hibernia Ignatiana" and other contemporary sources, to lend colour and relief to the structure. As to the historical treatment, the burthen of research can hardly have sat lightly on the author; but it will be felt that he has not allowed its results to press unduly on the mind of the reader, whom he has rightly gauged not so much as a historical student as a listener, and one who is not above the need of having his interest sustained by the plainness and succinctness of narration.

Then, Ireland is not a subject which can be easily handled in a non-partisan spirit, and probably Mr. Bagwell has gone as near to success in that direction as any who are likely to follow him. Readers who prefer history to fact-painting, and who feel that the study of their country's annals is, after all, something really more important to them than the knowledge of the personal predilections and tastes of Mr. Froude, will find it a refreshing change to pass from the drama and declamation of "The English in Ireland" to the sober and lucid pages of "Ireland under the Tudors." Not that the author has never betrayed his personal leanings, or allowed the reader to guess upon what side of the political fence the book has been written. It will be remembered that in issuing his first volume he vowed to act up to the modern standard of history writing, and to write "from the Bench, and not from the Bar." We took that to mean a promise of judicial treatment free from special or party pleading, and, upon the whole, the promise has been fairly fulfilled. But on reaching page 15 of this third volume one is haunted with an uneasy suspicion that it was possibly the Irish Bench that Mr. Bagwell had in his mind when he saw his way to give

the pledges referred to. Otherwise we should look upon the following passage as a clear breach of his articles :

> The whole document [Desmond's declaration] is a good example of the sanguine rhetoric in which exiles have always indulged, and of the way in which leaders of Irish sedition have been accustomed to talk. The part assigned to Continental Powers and English Catholics in the sixteenth century was transferred to the French monarchy in the seventeenth, and to the revolutionary Republic in the eighteenth, and now to the nineteenth it is given to the United States of America and to the British working man.

The allusion, of course, is obvious: and it is a pity that Mr. Bagwell should have allowed this blotch of coloured ink to fall upon the otherwise clean, clear pages of his history.

It is, of course, possible that a work may be studiously uncontroversial in its style, and yet so constructed that consciously or unconsciously its ultimate weight and drift may be plainly controversial. It would be perhaps unfair to attribute to Mr. Bagwell's work any such motive or leaning; but if his presentment of facts could at all be said to point in one direction more than in another, it would be in that to which he himself has drawn attention in his Preface—namely, the apology for the Elizabethan persecution to be found in the fact that the Tudor Queen was the aggrieved as well as the aggressor, and that Jesuit missionaries and Jesuit political agents were not always so clearly distinguishable that a princess in peril of her crown could afford to discriminate, even if her wily counsellors and her rough-and-ready soldiers had been willing to do so. It might be not unreasonably pleaded that this drift of evidence is not the work of the author, nor due to any mere desire to play the game of set-off in imitation of a recent authoress, who found a companion picture to the Cromwellian massacres of 1649 in the Protestant massacres of 1641. Facts themselves have their natural direction—when those who handle them permit them to have it—and so taken they fairly fall in with the main idea of Mr. Bagwell's contention. Both the descent upon Ireland, and the Armada which followed it, were avowedly regarded by those engaged in it as a "Holy War." Such a war may have its martyrology, but it is not the one which to Catholic minds is the highest or the dearest. Time and light will bring to both Catholics and Protestants a calmer and truer view of such saddening chapters of our history. We, upon our side, ought not to be the last to hail such an eirenicon, and we owe it to its advancement, not to leave out of sight the provocation from without the realm, which went to embitter the persecution from within. In deploring the anti-Catholic fury of those who oppressed us, we can at least afford to bear in mind how far the element of self-defence may have entered into their oppression. We may also from our nineteenth century standpoint be sufficiently fair and frank to regret the unhappy conditions of mediævalism which warped the Apostolic See in the political movements of Europe, and in a manner forced the Vicar of Christ into the odious position of an ostensible enemy, and an abettor of the invasion of these kingdoms. History has its lessons, and posterity will learn them more fully than we do,

and realise more clearly the irreparable evils which arise to religion by such artificial complications. In doing so, it will be more indulgent to those who have created them than to those who by a traditional policy seek to perpetuate them even in the light of the age they live in. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Elizabeth's title was certainly not above question, even in her own country; and that her following even there could hardly be said to be the unanimous voice of the nation. In Ireland the greater part of the island lay outside of the Pale, and the dependence of the clan chiefs was often notoriously of a very nominal kind. That a Catholic people in such a position should resent an attempt made to deprive them of their faith; that they should consider Elizabeth's claim to their allegiance, urged in the same breath with Reformation statutes, in the light of a usurpation; and that they should eagerly welcome any prospect of help from outside to free them from what was both religiously and politically an alien *régime*, is not a state of mind which any one can affect to regard with wonderment or censure, and certainly, least of all, those who are ready to condone or applaud the analogous tactics of the Protestants of the same century at La Rochelle. To nickname such chiefs in Ireland as "traitors," "rebels," as Hooker does with fanatical shrieks in every sentence, or even to characterise them, as Mr. Bagwell does, as "leaders of sedition," is a mere misuse of language, which goes to obscure the actual historical relation and position of the two peoples at the period in which they are described. The worst that we can say of them is that they were acting according to their lights, and doing—*minus* the success—what religious leaders like John Knox, or popular leaders like George Washington, were able and willing to do, and have been popularly canonised for doing.

The first part of the third volume deals with the risings under Fitzmaurice and Desmond. War in Ireland is generally a drama made up, not of large armies or great battles, but of a rapid succession of short scenes of barbarous cruelty and bloodshed, preceded by conspirations, and followed by executions. A number of causes combined to stamp upon the struggles under the Tudors a more than usually distinct impress of this tragic character. The campaigns were long and tedious, and slowly fought out, and the three chief Powers concerned in them seemed to have joined in making them so. The Pope and Philip of Spain allowed an absurdly inadequate expedition to start under Sanders and Fitzmaurice, and then apparently waited for the timber of the Armada to grow before sending the half which was to follow to support them. Elizabeth, on her side, was very little better. Although the Spaniards were already in the land, and all Munster was slipping from her grasp, her parsimony was such that she would grant neither men, nor money, nor supplies. The letters of the hapless men who fought her battles are filled with pitiful descriptions of their desperate condition and their utter destitution and distress. And, last of all, the Irish chiefs themselves contributed not a little to the same result. They fought in sections, and seldom united in a joint or confederate movement. All these causes combined to produce that slow, simmering,

desultory guerilla warfare, which is fatally fruitful above all others in numberless episodes of merciless ferocity and wholesale slaughter.

What the ethics of war became under such influences may be gathered from the dispatches of Elizabeth's own officers. Zouch, who served under Pelham at the siege of Carrigafoyle Castle, says that of the garrison "there escaped not one, neither man, woman, nor child." Mr. Bagwell adds: "Those who swam were shot in the water, others were put to the sword, and a few who surrendered, including one woman, were hanged in the camp. Captain Julian (the commandant) was kept prisoner for one or two days and then hanged."

Maltby, another Elizabethan general, writes to Walsingham, and thus describes how he dealt with the garrison of a castle in Connaught: "I put the band, both men, women, and children, to the sword. . . . ." The garrison at Smerwick surrendered at discretion. Arthegal, an officer in command, tells us what followed: "And then put I in certain bands, who straight fell to execution. There were 600 slain." Hooker adds that the famous Walter Raleigh was a captain on duty, and superintended the butchery. No doubt atrocities of this kind were often interwoven with acts of provocation or reprisal, but one can hardly wonder if such scenes have invested Elizabeth in the traditions of the Irish people with the unsavoury epithet which English Protestants applied to her Catholic sister.

The succeeding part of the work describes the fate of the Armada, and carries the reader through the eventful administrations of Perrot, Fitzwilliam, Russell, Lord Burgh, Essex and Mountjoy, to the close of the Tudor period. Not the least interesting chapter is that which deals with the Church, and with an account of which Mr. Bagwell closes his history.

The Reformation in Ireland was from the first a failure, and the Tudor establishment never was much more than a legal fiction utterly without hold upon the people. Elizabeth nominated Protestant Bishops to the Sees, but they appear to have been but mere shadows of the law, while the Catholic succession was, for the most part, comparatively undisturbed, and nowhere interrupted. The Protestant Archbishop Long, complaining to Lord Deputy Perrot of the condition of Protestantism in Ireland, asks himself, "But why should I name it a Church? Whereas there is scant a show of the congregation of the godly!" Another Reformation Bishop, Lyon of Cork, complains that in his diocese he has only three communicants. (To mend matters, the O'Donovans burned down his house.) Mr. Bagwell adds: "The 'devil's service' was the best of the many names popularly applied to the Anglican ritual, and the natives crossed themselves when Protestants passed, as if they were indeed devils." The popular estimate of the Queen's bishops was not a flattering one. Thus one "Barnaby O'Neill," who had probably a taste for portraiture in black and white, informed Captain Sidee that the Catholic Bishop "was noble, chaste, virtuous and learned, while the heretic bishops of England were shoemakers, scavengers, and pudding-makers."

Although the Reformation in Ireland left untouched the masses of the people, it made its appeal to the unstable and the unworthy, and naturally not without some modicum of response. Mr. Bagwell allows us to see that the Irish Church had its defections, but its Cranmers were thoroughly characteristic ones. Miles MacGrath was Catholic Bishop of Down. He was deposed by the Pope for "heresy and other crimes." The Crown made him Bishop of Clogher, promoted him to the Archbishopric of Cashel, added Waterford and Lismore, and later on gave him Killala and Achronry. He held the Archbishopric of Cashel for thirty-six years, and died at the patriarchal age of a hundred. His case can hardly be said to have been one of promotion by merit. He was married at least twice. "He indulged immoderately in whisky." "He jobbed without compunction." "His diocese was found to be in a terrible state." "About twenty-six livings were held by his sons or other near relations." "More than twenty livings or dignities were in his own possession." (Sir John Davies writing to Cecil says that Miles MacGrath held seventy-seven livings, besides four bishoprics.) "The Archbishop's daughter or daughter-in-law enjoyed the income of two livings, in which the churches were ruined, and the cures not served!" "The capitular seal of Cashel he kept in his own hands, and used as he pleased."

When we remember that the personage thus described by his own friends held offices which would represent about a fourth of Elizabeth's Irish hierarchy, and for the space of nearly half a century, one can hardly wonder at the Celtic inborn contempt for the Establishment. The unfortunate prelate is said to have returned to the Church upon his death-bed, although the fact is as vehemently denied by others. At all events, in losing his faith and his virtue, he seems to have retained enough of his native wit to have left in his epitaph some sentences which, read in the light of his life, forms a terrible satire upon his patrons: "For fifty years, O England, have I *served* thee, in the midst of wars, and have been *pleasing* to thy princes." He appends the significant words which seem to fall in with the theory of his repentance: "The Lord is my judge. Ye who stand take heed lest you fall."

I may add that the volume is furnished with two very good maps, and that its utility is further enhanced by the excellence of its index. It is, I suppose, too much to hope that the superstition of issuing a book with the pages uncut will pass away in our own day, but it is some relief to find that the unpardonable stupidity of issuing one without an index is becoming daily of less frequent commission. In the work under notice, the error has been more than avoided, and the index, by its fulness and responsiveness, will make it a welcome instrument of reference in the hands of students of Irish history.

Under Mr. Bagwell's pen, the story of the land, in one of its most tragic and critical periods, has been well and fairly and clearly told. When his three volumes are put side by side on the shelves with Mr. Lecky's eight volumes on Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,

readers of the present day—especially those whose minds are turned to the solution of the great political problems which the events narrated have in no little measure gone to create—will be utterly without excuse if theirs is a zeal without knowledge in thinking of, speaking of, dealing with Ireland.

J. Moyes.

The Christ the Son of God. A Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Translated from the Fifth Edition, with the Author's sanction, by George F. X. Griffith. With an Introduction by Cardinal Manning. Two vols. London: Longmans & Co. 1891.

"THE history of Abbé Fouard," writes Cardinal Manning, "unites the sacred narrative of the three-and-thirty years of our Saviour's earthly life with the living consciousness of faith." It is, with the exception of Father Coleridge's volumes, the only Life of Christ as yet published in English in which the attainments of historical science in our own day are pervaded by the spirit of the Christian faith. Anglican biographies, disfigured as they are by many heresies, are at their best almost invariably tainted throughout by the unconscious Nestorianism of their authors. Abbé Fouard's first sentence is, "The life of Jesus is an act of Faith."

The author, in his Preface, remarks that only in the Middle Ages did the Life of Christ begin to be written. The earlier heroic ages confessed the Lord Jesus by dying for Him, and the literature of the age of the Fathers busied itself mainly about His sacred words. The mediæval biographies are brimful of piety but lack erudition. The attacks of heresy and unbelief have called forth a deep study and wealth of learning to illustrate the life of our Redeemer, and in this immense strides have been made since the days of Tillemont and Calmet. Christian tradition is of course our chiefest guide: "no research, no science, however profound it may be, can supply us with what the early Fathers possessed—the actual world as Jesus found it, the self-same aspect of localities and affairs, and further still, their opportunities for daily intercourse with those of the faithful, who, having lived in the society of the Apostles, could relate their instructions." The resistless weight, then, of Christian tradition is the interpreter's surest guide, but that tradition has left much unexplained.

Of late years the East has been explored as it never had been; the Jewish writers have been accurately studied, tedious as the work has been; Egypt and Assyria have given up their long-concealed secrets. Abbé Fouard has put all these sources under requisition, and by following step by step the footsteps of the Saviour "from Dan to Beersheba," from Gaza to Libanus, has still further qualified himself to describe His life. In his own felicitous language:

> We have seen the same world which met the eyes of Jesus—the cities, whose gates still close as soon as ever the first torchlight flares up in the

deepening twilight to dispel the darkness from their dwellings; the troops of dogs overrunning the deserted streets, still venturing to lick the beggar's body as he lies yonder by the rich man's threshold; the pomp and ceremony of the marriage feasts, the banqueting-hall, with the wedding guests reclining in purple and fine linen; the wail of the mourners, the clamour of their lamentations mingling with the shrill notes of their flutes; and as we enter each town we still hear the plaintive monotone of the blind man's appeal, while the leper still attracts attention to his malady by piercing moans; thence to the Desert of Jerico, the lonely track winding over wild and gloomy heights, where the Bedouin, gaunt and hollow-eyed with hunger, now as then lies in wait for the traveller who may fall within his reach. In the Gospels all these pictures are indicated in a line by a single stroke: it is only when viewed under the Eastern sky that they regain their fresh colours, in their clear native atmosphere.

These last words give us the reason of Abbé Fouard's marvellous success—a success that is the result of adding truthful picturesqueness to revealed dogma, the uniting of modern research with theological accuracy. We do not think he has by any means said the last word on controverted points, but in erudition we do think him to the full up to the level of any writers, Catholic or Protestant, who have as yet attempted the same task, while his reliableness in matters of dogma gives him an enormous scientific advantage over non-Catholics. Controversy, indeed, he has wisely relegated to foot-notes, and the flow of the narrative is unbroken by tedious discussions.

Still, the writer's decision on disputed points is briefly and clearly expressed. In his Appendix he pronounces in favour of the opinion that Christ anticipated by a day the Paschal Supper. In this, though he has against him such weighty writers as À Lapide, Benedict XIV., and Patrizi, yet he is in agreement with the oldest Fathers of the Eastern Church. Many of our readers will no doubt remember that Sister Emmerich, in her revelation, holds the view advocated by Abbé Fouard. We cannot better close our notice than by an example of the author's reverent and lucid weaving together of the text of the several Evangelists, and shall take it from the narrative of the Crucifixion.

The darkness disappearing, and with it the mists of fear, forthwith the Jews found courage to re-echo the words of Jesus, feigning to mistake the divine name of Eli for that of the prophet. "He is calling upon Elias," they said. Yet even by this gibe they confessed to the throes of terror they had just felt; for all Israel knew that the awful Seer was to reappear upon a day of terror and blazing fire, beneath cloud-hung skies and a moon like blood, when all the heavenly powers would tremble in their spheres. All at once another cry was heard. "I thirst," Jesus said, giving tongue to the most excruciating pain of crucifixion. One of the bystanders hurriedly dipped a sponge into the soldier's bitter drink and offered it to the Saviour; and as his arm could not reach so high as the head of the sufferer, he took a reed, set the sponge upon the end of its stem, and put it to the lips of the Christ. This deed of mercy drew forth a shriek of hatred from the mob: "Let be! let be! and see if Elias will come to save him!" "Let me alone!" said the man; "we shall see all the same whether Elias will save him."

The Countess de Choiseul d'Aillecourt. By Mgr. BAUNARD. Translated by Lady MARTIN. London: Burns & Oates.

A BRIEF but edifying Memoir of a lady whose tomb is in Orleans Cathedral. Adèle d'Astorg, Countess de Choiseul d'Aillecourt, was one of those heroic Frenchwomen whose childhood was overshadowed by the horrors of the Revolution, while the Christian tradition of their families made them pass unscathed through that epoch of Satanic impiety. She died in 1818.

Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood. From St. Gregory the Great to St. Leo III. By THOMAS W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS forms the seventh volume of Mr. Allies's "Formation of Christendom." Whoever has not yet read these profoundly scholarly volumes has yet to make acquaintance with one of the most considerable and excellent productions of modern Catholic literature. Mr. Allies is a profound thinker and an elegant writer, and has given thirty years to the study of his subject—the divine organisation and the action of the Church in history—in its original records and in the writings of the Fathers, and the result is a work of the highest value to English readers of to-day, as an Apologia of the Petrine claims of the Roman Pontiffs. This, as Father Luke Rivington has made known to us (DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1890), was the very high estimate in which the late Cardinal Newman held Mr. Allies's volumes, and the estimate in which he himself holds them, as is apparent from his series of articles on them, one of which appears in this number, and still another is to follow, we trust, in our next. Under the circumstances it will be enough here—the special period with which the present volume deals being sufficiently indicated in its title—to make known by the following extract the scope of the whole work, Mr. Allies's *magnum opus:*

> This work being from the beginning one in idea, I place here together the titles of the fifty-six chapters composing it. For each of these was intended to be complete in itself, so far as its special subject reached, but each was likewise to form a distinct link in a chain. The Church of God comes before the thoughtful mind as the vast mass of a kingdom. Its greatest deeds are but parts of something immeasurably greater. The most striking evidence of its doctrines and of its works is cumulative. Those who do not wish to let it so come before them, often confine their interest in very narrow bounds of time and space. Thus I have known one who thought himself a bishop accept Wycliffe as the answer of a child to his question, Who first preached the Gospel in England? And not only this. They also seize upon a particular incident or person, and so invest with extraordinary importance facts which they suppose, and which, so conceived, are convenient for their purpose, but in historical truth are anything but undisputed. In this tone of mind, or shortness of vision, that which is gigantic becomes puny, that which is unending becomes transient. The sequel and coherence of nations, the

mighty roll of the ages spoken of by St. Augustine, are lost sight of. Again, in English-speaking countries alone, more than two hundred sects call themselves Christian. Their enjoyment of perfect civil freedom and equality veils to them the horror of doctrinal anarchy, in virtue of which alone they exist. By this anarchy the very conception of unity as the corollary of truth is lost to the popular mind. But through the eight centuries of which I have treated, the loss of unity was the one conclusive test of falsehood, and the Christian faith stood out to its possessors with the fixed solidity of a mountain range whose summit pierced the heavens.

It has been my purpose to exhibit the profound unity of the Christian Faith, together with the infinite variety of its effects on individual character, on human society, on the action of nations towards each other, on universal as well as national legislation. Like the figure of the great Mother of God bearing her Divine Son in her arms, and so including the Incarnation and all its works, the Faith stands before us in history, *veste deaurata, circumdata varietate*. And as the personal unity appears in the symbol of the Divine Love to man expressed in her maternity, so it appears also in the figure of the Church through the ages in which that Divine Love executes His work. A divided creed means a marred Gospel and an incredulous world. I offer this work as a single stone, though costing the labour of thirty years, if perchance it may be accepted in the structure of that cathedral of human thought and action wherein our crucified God is the central figure, around which all has grown (Prologue v.–vii.).

Manual of Church History. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin. Vol. I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

We very warmly welcome this manual from the pen of the Professor of Church History at Maynooth. The first volume, which covers a good half of the Christian centuries, we have carefully examined, and consider it a most excellent text-book. Its appearance is also welcome, since, excellent as may be such translated manuals as those of Alzoz, Darras, and Brück, an original work has advantages by the fact of its origin—the relative amount of space devoted to one class of subjects over another is determined by the actual interest in the writer's own country. Here we have an author of high ability who feels the same interest as do his English readers, and in whose work, too, due importance is given to points that belong to the story of the Church in these countries. Another excellence of Father Gilmartin's history is its practicable length. The present volume comprises 522 pages; another volume is to complete the work. It will therefore be a history long enough for ordinary classes; and not too short for a fair course. The author's treatment is clear and orderly, his style simple, forcible, and interesting. He shows thorough acquaintance with all the details of his subject, and manages to say a great deal in few words. Take, as an example, the famous case of Pope Liberius. Father Gilmartin gives, in less than a page, the whole pith of the question. Or, take such chapters as those on the history of "Confession," or the "Holy Eucharist," and the student will be surprised at the amount of information condensed in these pages.

We find very little to criticise in Father Gilmartin's first volume.

At page 504, however, there is a statement which will not find acceptance in many quarters—viz., that one of the chief causes of the decay of religious life in monasteries was "exemption from the jurisdiction of bishops." How comes it, then, that reforming Popes have never taken away the privilege?

Having said what limited space allows in cordial recommendation of this excellent "Manual of Church History," we add the hope that the author will be encouraged, by the success of the first, to hasten the publication of the second and completing volume.

Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during his Life in the English Church. Edited by ANNE MOZLEY. Two vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

"IT has ever been a hobby of mine, though, perhaps, it is a truism, not a hobby, that the true life of a man is in his letters. . . . . Not only for the interest of a biography, but for the arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method. Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's nods; but contemporary letters are facts."

Thus commences a work which, concerned entirely as it is with one of the most fascinating personalities of this many-sided century, it is superfluous to call deeply interesting. Much has been already written of Cardinal Newman's life, acts, and feelings, yet to few readers has the subject become wearisome. If, then, as the only criticism of these volumes which it occurs to us to make, we suggest that a certain number of these letters might with advantage have been suppressed, the remark refers only to such as either were not written by himself, or which touch on the mere passing events in Oxford. These letters, which tell us absolutely nothing of Newman himself, we resent, seeing that they distract our attention from the main object of our interest.

On the whole, the editor has successfully accomplished her aim—namely, "to place John Henry Newman before the reader as he was to his family, to his friends, to his correspondents; as he was in early youth and in manhood, in public and in private, and in his action in and for the English Church while he remained in her communion"; and on closing the book we feel that, much as we already know of Cardinal Newman, we know him now far more intimately, and that of the Protestant half of his life little remains to be told. When, however, we say we know the Cardinal far better now than before, it is not that our view or estimate of him has been in any way modified or changed. Not at all; it is only enlarged and made clearer and more distinct. No former impression is in any way contradicted, nor is any unexpected characteristic for the first time made manifest. The author of Newman's "Sermons" and of the "Apologia" speaks again, and speaks plainly, in these letters, and if, as is but natural, we miss in the days of his youth the rare beauty of style and the full richness and

versatility of thought of his later years, yet even the perfection of literary skill and the depth of religious feeling to which Newman eventually attained are more the development of early promise than the sudden acquisition of unexpected gifts. Throughout these volumes Newman's personality and special characteristics remain unchanged and are clearly discernible. We fail to discover any discordant note in his life, a perfect oneness and unity with himself reigns harmoniously throughout the whole. Under all circumstances he is found acting, speaking, and thinking as from our previous knowledge we might have anticipated. Genius is said to be eccentric, but from every shade of eccentricity Newman was completely free; and whether as a young man at college, or as a Fellow and tutor at Oxford, or as a preacher, and as a leader of a great religious movement—the same complete unworldliness and detachment of aim, the same hot zeal, tempered by tender consideration, the same surrender of his own self-will to those to whom his allegiance was due—show him ever as himself, and acting as we knew he would act.

Of the broad outline of Newman's life there is little fresh to tell; and of his inner history few men have left a more luminous and authentic memoir than the "Apologia," which has now been in our hands for nearly a quarter of a century. Perhaps the only positively new feature we discover in our study of this great man is the warm family affection which he entertained and expressed; a feeling which is beautifully portrayed in his correspondence with his father, his mother, and his sisters. The sorrow, too, in the family bereavements which three different times befell him, notably the loss of his bright young sister Mary, is very touchingly told, and further exhibits his affectionate nature.

A short autobiographical sketch, written in the third person, carries the story from his birth to his return from abroad, and to the commencement of the Tractarian movement; to the date, in fact, when he ceased to be a simple tutor and Fellow of Oriel, and became the John Henry Newman around whose words and acts interest centres. He had suffered from a severe and dangerous illness during his travels in Sicily, an illness which all around him seem to have felt assured must end fatally, but from which he, with almost prophetic foresight, persisted he should recover, as "God still has work for me to do." On this illness he has always looked back as upon a turning-point in his life. He has left a minute and vivid account of his fever, and all its dreams and weakness and suffering; and through the whole runs the conviction that in this illness he had received a call from God, on the direction of which he would hereafter be enlightened. Nowhere more than in this account do we discern how deep a subject of interest to himself was Newman. With keen introspection, he details some years afterwards all his experiences, his thirst and faintness, and the half-conscious, half-delirious thoughts that crowded his brain during his Sicilian fever, with the like power of self-analysis, and of viewing himself as if from without which he exhibits in a later letter in describing his outward behaviour when first introduced, in the common room at

Oriel, to Dr. Arnold. From his illness he slowly recovers, and a few months later he is back in Oxford, and the issue of the celebrated "Tracts for the Times" begins.

Of their oft-told history there is not much that is new to tell. It is a tale of high aims and lofty purpose, of disinterested zeal and devoted courage, all brought to bear on the sadly futile task of seeking to achieve the impossible, by squaring a circle—in other words, Catholicizing the Protestant Establishment of England. It is melancholy reading, and to us perhaps the most melancholy are the letters, the tone of which is both joyous and triumphant, and in which Newman wonders at and is gladdend by the wide spread of "Apostolic principles," as they were then styled. We feel so assured that his keen intellect will some day awake to the reality, we feel so certain that God will not fail to enlighten one so earnestly in search of truth, that we can hardly brook any delay; and it is almost with impatience that we read of Newman's satisfaction at the evidence that his new views are gaining ground, and that his teaching is leavening England, he being all the while unconscious that his labour is vain, and that he is but weaving ropes out of sand. The letter in which misgivings first appear, followed by distrust of his position, and ultimately by the complete collapse of his hopes of Catholicizing his Church, although very touching as delineating disappointment and despair, are not so saddening as the early letters, which are full of hope. The end, we know, must come, an end issuing in joy; and we can welcome the first sign of a change, although it is conceived in agony and distress of mind.

The history of Cardinal Newman's converson to the true faith, which to our readers is naturally the most important fact in these two volumes, is but the likeness in kind, if not in degree, of the conversion of so many others, that to these it will come only as the record of their own experiences, at once both sweet and bitter, which are detailed with exquisite tenderness of feeling and felicity of language. Indeed, as long as English religious thought runs in its present groove, the second of these volumes will remain of abiding interest. Circumstances and characters differ, both in importance and influence, but, looked at broadly, the main incidents in Cardinal Newman's conversion are repeated day after day in the submission to the Church of many a humble soul, who is enboldened, perhaps, to follow in his steps because he had first trod them. As with Newman, there will probably be an awakening to dissatisfaction with early teaching and with the cold and formal Protestantism imbibed in youth. Then will follow, first, the vain hope that even near at hand, in the Anglican Communion, there are better things, and then an eager acceptance of a system promising the full grace of the Catholic Church, without the uprooting of past associations, the tearing asunder of domestic ties, the wounding of loving hearts; and for a while all goes well. Such peace, however, will be but short-lived. *Something* will surely happen, for each decade brings with it its own disturbing influence, either from lawyer, bishop, or

Parliament. In Newman's case, though historical study had sown the first seeds of mistrust, they might have lain long unfruitful, had not the opposition of the Oxford authorities been so persistent, had not the charges of the bishops been so unsympathetic and even aggressive, and had not the English State been so true to its Protestant instincts, and, at a critical moment in Newman's life, appointed an Anglican bishop to violate its own principles of the unity of the episcopate, and to fraternise with various schismatical and heretical bodies in Jerusalem.

To escape from so critical a position is, however, seldom the first step; and no one more deprecates hasty or ill-considered action than does Newman himself. For a time all is in suspense, and to him, as to lesser men, comes the thought, so strange and foreign to a Catholic mind: "That a great and anxious experiment is going on, whether our Church be or be not Catholic." As if we could experimentize with God's revelation of truth, or decide for ourselves the acts which are to uncatholicize His Church. However, both in his and in other cases, the end comes on apace. Either the experiment fails, or, better still, the true meaning of faith in the Church dawns on the mind, and it is realised that to believe and to doubt are not contemporaneous and compatible states; that no one can have faith in the Church and also distrust her; that to judge instead of to accept her teaching, is evidence that those in question have never actually believed in her at all. Then follow the arguments with which good men will tempt poor doubting souls, used, too, by Newman himself, such as the proof of God's presence with individually holy Anglicans; the rashness and presumption of judging for themselves; or the weighing of motives and the danger of being misled by the very greatness of the sacrifice contemplated. Then, to distress them further, will follow the affectionate pleading of attached friends, and none ever pleaded more touchingly than Newman's loving sisters, to whom he had taught so much, but who resolutely refused to be taught all—and then the final step taken at the last, exactly why and when it may be hard to say, except that all is in God's hands, and is done as seemeth to Him good.

And so end these volumes; which space forbids our dwelling on at greater length. The curtain has fallen, and to Anglicans the drama has ended in tragedy. We, of course, have only witnessed the first act, and shall anxiously await the sequel. For over forty years Newman's pen was used in helping others to cross the gulf which he had himself crossed, and in encouraging others to run a risk which he had run for a great gain; and we shall hope to obtain as full a knowledge of his Catholic letters as we have been allowed to enjoy of those written while he was still an Anglican.

La Faculté de Droit dans l'Ancienne Université de Paris, 1160-1793. Par l'Abbé G. PÉRIES, Docteur en Droit Canonique de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris. Paris: Larose et Forcel. 1890.

HERE is another instance of the dismal facts which meet us in the history of France: the fatal term of 1793. Then the old glories of the country fall into the abyss, and there is no recovery, except under new conditions, and no recovery is ever complete. The University of Paris was a great school, into which the youth of all nations flocked, and in which learned men of all nations communicated their learning to the youths who sat at their feet. In 1793 the cloud that had been gathering for a considerable time burst, and the deluge drowned the old Sorbonne and all that belonged to it, as well as the University of which it was so distinguished a part.

M. l'Abbé Péries has written the history of the legal studies in Paris, and has to confess that 1793 is the fatal term. That which the reformation of Calvin and Beza failed to bring about was successfully accomplished by the pupils of Rousseau and Voltaire, with the connivance of men who, by their position and profession, should have not only held aloof, but resolutely withstood the madness of the people. It may be true that abuses perished in that deluge, but it is quite certain that grand traditions of honour and nobleness were lost, together with the observance of healthy discipline and Christian sense, till then generally prevailing in France; for the theory was that the country was Christian, governed by the most Christian king.

The interesting work before us cannot lessen the regret for the old ways and the solid studies which the University of Paris, like others, fostered and even compelled. The history of the Faculty of Law by the learned Abbé is singularly interesting, and is well told, the fruit clearly of long and laborious research and of extensive reading. It seems that in Paris, as probably elsewhere, the Canon Law was taught by theologians as a part of the instruction expected from them. Undoubtedly it was their right, for law and morals must go together. But by degrees the principle of the division of labour showed itself, and the Canonists asserted and proclaimed their independence. They committed themselves to a rebellion, and formed a faculty, co-ordinate, if not obedient to the Faculty of Theology, and, like the theologians, were called "Masters." Innocent III. saluted the professors of the Canon Law of Bologna as "Doctors," and, according to our author, this led to another innovation, honourable and praiseworthy.

Until this time the professors of Roman or Civil Law alone were called doctors, and the title was apparently as much respected, and perhaps coveted, as a peerage is in our own day. The doctors certainly maintained that they were the equal of noble knights, and carried their pretensions with great fervour as far as they could. The act of Innocent III. caused a change; the Canonists called themselves

doctors, too—the Pope had so addressed them; but it does not appear that they claimed to be the equals of knights; and there was no reason why they should, for their career was not secular, and ecclesiastical dignities were their distinctions and their rewards. The professors of the Canon Law, having renounced the title of masters for that of doctors, suggested a like innovation to the theologians, who were generally called masters; the masters in theology became also doctors, and have continued in possession of their title to this day without a protest from any one. The Faculty of Medicine was not unobservant of this change, and so the professors of medicine became doctors; but the Faculty of Arts, which is the foundation of learning, made no change, and the highest distinction in that faculty is to this day master, not even professor.

The Universities throughout Europe seem to have one tradition, never abandoned, even in modern times, after manifold reformations—occasional fits of turbulence. Lately in Brussels the students were so strong that they virtually deposed the rector. We hear in our own peaceful and law-abiding land of town and gown riots, and of very tumultuous commemorations. Our author is obliged to confess that in Paris also the youth who gave their days and nights to the study of Gratian and the Decretals, were not remarkable for the observance of academic discipline and a well-ordered life (p. 15). There were tumults in the schools, disorder in the streets; for learned men sometimes descend to the level of those whose disputes are settled by broken heads and maimed limbs.

Paris was a famous school; but our author is very candid, and admits that Bologna had a higher reputation. Possibly, some schools in France were considered more advantageous for the student than those of Paris, for we know that St. Thomas of Canterbury went to Bologna and Auxerre for instruction in law. The University of Oxford, in the twelfth century, set its face resolutely against the study of the Civil Law, expelled the professor, whom probably the Archbishop of Canterbury had brought over, and the books of law were consigned to the flames. However, the issue was not according to the desires of those who used fire as their instrument, for the study of the Civil Law continued and prevailed. It could not be otherwise, for the Canon Law could not be taught or learned without a knowledge of the Digest. It was even made necessary to attend the professor of the Civil Law before a man could be received into the schools where the Canonists lectured. It need not be said that the other branches of secular learning, such as grammar, logic, &c., were equally to be respected by the student who attended the prelections on Gratian and the Decretals.

Our author discusses at some length and with great moderation the supposed reasons of Honorius III. for suppressing in Paris the lectures on the Civil Law. It cannot be questioned that the Pandects exercised a surprising fascination at this time over ecclesiastical men, and had done so for some time, and that the Popes might be reasonably alarmed when they saw the clerics abandoning their proper studies for studies

not so necessary, at least for so many of them. M. l'Abbé thinks that the Pope was moved to issue his prohibition in order to bring men back to the study of theology, which was probably somewhat neglected in favour of that learning which was the direct road then to high ecclesiastical rank and dignity. But there was another reason, for, according to our author, the secular Governments of Europe encouraged the study of the Pandects because the civil lawyers were their most useful instruments in their perpetual rebellions against the Holy See.

It was not the wish of the Holy See to discourage generally the teaching of the Civil Law, but to check the abuse of it. That seems to be the reason why the Pope forbade it in Paris. "Currunt enim illuc quidam improbi cum traditionibus sæcularium principium," are the words of Honorius III., and they show us very clearly that the law was taught by evil-minded men, whom it was necessary to silence by withdrawing the youth from their lectures.

No doubt a like reason prevailed with Innocent IV., who was himself a great jurist, when he commanded—if it be true that he did so—the withholding of all ecclesiastical preferments from the professors of the Civil Law. These men did not respect the Canons of the Church, and were so infatuated with the Digest that they looked upon it as the sum of all knowledge and wisdom, even applying to themselves the term "Sacerdotes," and of the law they said it was "Sacratissima." Principles of this kind are dangerous, and they infected the teachers of the Canon Law, whereby came at last grievous disorders and irremediable troubles.

But it may be questioned whether the Pope even interdicted the study of the Civil Law. The Abbé Péries seems to hold that he did, saying (p. 95) that he extended his severe prohibition to England and Spain, where hitherto the study was lawful. Our author does not say on what authority he relies for the statement, probably satisfied with its uncontradicted reception. The story seems to rest on the credit of Matthew Paris, from whom Arthur Duck took it, and published it in his book on the "Authority of the Civil Law" (ii. viii. p. 2, 32). The Abbé does not appear to have trusted Duck, nor can his name be found in the index, which is an excellent one, and he must therefore have relied on Matthew Paris, or some one who put his confidence in him. It is difficult to believe that Innocent IV. should have forbidden the study of the Civil Law in France, England, Scotland, Spain, and Hungary, but on the condition that the civil power gave its assent.

This constitution attributed to Innocent IV. may be found in the great collection of Father Denifle, O.P., and the only authority for it that Father Denifle could find is Matthew Paris, whereupon the learned Dominican observes that he doubts its authenticity. Matthew Paris may have invented the story, or accepted it without scruple from an untrustworthy source, for he was a man of very liberal views, and certainly did not love Innocent IV. or any of the Popes.

Innocent IV. was distinguished for his knowledge of both laws, and

knew how much each contributed to the perfect understanding of the other; it is therefore not easily credible that he issued such a prohibition. Benedict XIV. says that in his day the study of the Civil Law was a necessity for the Canonist, though not altogether becoming a priest. His words are, "Optimé novimus, studium juris civilis videri posse non omnino decere ecclesiasticum, sacris præsertim ordinibus insignitum, et tamen sedulo hoc studio non præmisso, neminem posse re ipsa fieri et agere advocatum" ("De Synod. Diocesan." lib. xiii. cap. x. n. 12).

If this was desirable in the days of Benedict XIV. it was certainly not less desirable in the days of Innocent IV., against whom the Emperor Frederick II. marshalled all his forces, soldiers as well as lawyers.

We have not the time necessary for even the abridging of this excellent work, and we must come down to a later day, when the schools of Paris fell off from their original grandeur. The Parliament of Paris, which meddled in everything, somehow or other found a way to interfere in the faculty of law, and the Canonists suffered, were shorn of their power, and in the early part of the seventeenth century had become more or less the servile instruments of Gallicanism. Our author (p. 238) tells us that the civil lawyers were very powerful, and that their principles entered the school of the Canonists, so that the secular spirit reigned supreme, not only in the chair of the professor, but among the youth which sat on the benches to learn. The royal authority exerted itself more and more, came triumphant out of the civil wars, and set itself down in the chair of Peter so far as it could; and all this with the assent and consent of the learned doctors of all the faculties in the University of Paris. There were many causes, no doubt, that helped to ruin the study of the Canon Law, and our author is of opinion that the most substantial cause was the Gallican tendency, which led the teachers of the Canon Law into courses diametrically opposed to the ecclesiastical jurisprudence, robbing it of its character of Jus Pontificium (p. 228).

It might be fairly assumed, considering the nature of the matter, that men whose duty is to teach the law of the Church, that they at least would strenuously resist all temptation to disfigure and pervert the learning of which they are in a great degree the lawful guardians. But, in fact, it is very commonly otherwise. Somehow or other the doctors of the law teach it not, but misuse it, and by many means subvert it, in favour of worldliness and all that belongs to that unhappy temper. This mischief was known in England, for in 1283 Archbishop Peckham was compelled to take severe measures to check it. The ecclesiastical lawyers pleading in the Archbishop's courts in the supposed interests of their clients contrived to obtain from the Court of Chancery writs of prohibition to the ecclesiastical judge, thereby withdrawing the cognisance of an ecclesiastical cause from the proper ecclesiastical court, to the ruin of the liberty of the Church. The evil was never corrected, though it incurred excommunication, and the prohibitions survived the Reformation, and died only when

the Protestant members of Doctors Commons were suppressed. But with the suppression of Doctors Commons the old theory was not suppressed, for it is possible even now with a Protestant religion, a Protestant lawyer, and a Protestant bishop, to obtain, if desirable, the venerable writ of prohibition which in the Middle Ages brought so much evil in its train.

The Century Dictionary: An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language. Prepared under the superintendence of WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit in Yale University. In Six Volumes. Vol. III. G–L., Vol. IV. M–P. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: *The Century* Co.

IN July of last year we noticed the first and second volumes of this magnificent work; and already there are two more volumes before us, and we notice that the energetic publishers are confident of being able to complete the issue this year. This rapid printing and publication of an enormous lexicographical work, which has already run to page 4880 (its pages large quarto size and triple-columned), is really a feat that excites one's admiration, especially when we take into account the accuracy of the text, and the profusion and artistic perfection of the thousands of illustrative woodcuts. In the unstinted praise which we felt justified in extending to the "Century Dictionary" in July, we gave a special word to these delicate and attractive illustrations. When the work is completed there will be about 8000 of them; and they are not merely a gathering of such woodcuts as the printers could command from existing works, they are in the true sense illustrations, many of them, as the abundant pictures of American fauna, specially valuable, and most of them newly and expressly executed for the Dictionary; which thus, as becomes *The Century*, explains an almost incredible number of words (over 200,000), not only by the latest results of philology, but by a series of illustrative extracts from the best modern English literature, and by the best methods of modern pictorial art.

We noted before the general technical excellence of the work here accomplished, under the direction of Dr. Whitney, by himself, his managing editor, seven editorial assistants, thirty-two special contributors, and what not besides. The Dictionary thus takes a high place as a compendious encyclopedia, the terms of Law, Medicine, Botany, Zoology, the Fine Arts, and the Physical Sciences being fully and comprehensively treated. An inspection of the varied information, packed with utmost brevity under such headings—to take only the last issued volume—as Paper, Pearl, Police, Porcelain, Phonograph, Parotid Gland, &c., would show that modern and technical subjects are so fully treated that a reliable general idea of them, sufficient for countless, if not for most intelligent readers, is here to be found along with the more proper work of a first-rate dictionary. Our special

interest in the first volume was with the general accuracy and fairness of the theological, liturgical, and like terms of Catholic or religious interest, and we mentioned that definitions of special Catholic matters had been submitted to a Catholic divine, Mgr. Preston, of New York, of acknowledged competence. The fairness and fulness we then praised in the treatment of such words as Agnus Dei, Baptism, Chrism, Catholic, Cross, &c. &c., may be extended to the treatment of similar words falling within the limits of the third and fourth volumes, Pax, Pilgrim, Pope, and not a few others. It will be understood that we have not examined each page of the 2500 comprised in these two volumes; but from repeated and careful reference to a large variety of words, we have found much to admire, and do not hesitate to write eulogistically about this scholarly and elegant Dictionary.

The Vikings in Western Christendom, A.D. 789 and A.D. 888. By C. F. KEARY, M.A., F.S.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

MR. Keary tells us that his work was begun nearly ten years ago. Every page gives evidence of patient labour, and one feels that one has to deal with no second-hand compilation, but the work of a man who has gone to the original sources for both information and inspiration. The contrast with Mr. du Chaillu's sketchy work published some three or four years ago, under a similar name, is very striking. Mr. du Chaillu gave us a wrong-headed essay. Mr. Keary's book is a solid contribution to the history of a most difficult period. He gives facts as well as views. We may disagree with him at times, but even when we do so we feel that he is a helpful guide through the labyrinth of confused records which make up the materials of Viking history.

The period he has selected for treatment is that in which the Scandinavian peoples "were growing, but had not yet fully grown, into nationalities." With most other peoples this is a time when legend and history are so mingled together that it is impossible to wholly disentangle them, but the historian of the Viking age has the advantage of being able to use the contemporary chronicles of Christian Europe as a guide to his researches. It is true that, as Mr. Keary points out, historians often extend the term "Viking Age" to include the later period, when the Northmen had grouped themselves into nations, but he suggests that it would be well to limit it, as he has done, to the earlier time when the world knew the Northman only as the Viking raider from beyond the North Sea.

> I think it would be an advantage [he says] if the use of the term could be confined to just this epoch in the life of the Northern people and to no other; to their age of Storm and Stress, the age of their formation. It would be an advantage, too, if it were more generally borne in mind that the history of the North begins *now* and at no earlier time. The Vikings of this period are for us the whole Scandinavian people; we know no other—if, at any rate, we except a notice here and there of the kings of Southern Denmark. But the pre-eminence of the antiquaries of the North, overshadowing the study of

Scandinavian history, has rather tended to obscure the fact. All histories (almost) of Scandinavian lands begin with prehistoric antiquities, which are not history. Or it may be that the historians of these countries have not liked to realise how far down in time their history begins; so that prehistoric discoveries or unauthenticated traditions preserved in the sagas of a later age have been brought in to fill up what is for history, in the proper sense of the word, a mere blank.

The history of the Vikings shows us, therefore, nation-making in actual progress. But it has a further interest as a picture of the struggle between Christianity and heathendom in Northern Europe. The wild sea warriors who at one moment seemed to be on the point of setting up Paganism again in the Christian lands of North-western Europe, were destined to found nations which a few centuries later became the tried champions of the Cross against new dangers from the East and South. Mr. Keary's work stops short of the time when the Norseman became the Norman, but it is to be hoped that he will be able to carry on his story to this later stage. The work he has so far done is eminently helpful to the students of history. Some day we hope to see the same story told by a Catholic historian. What defects there are in Mr. Keary's work arise from his looking at Catholicity from the outside. He has not the key which would enable him to understand much that he finds puzzling in the history of the early Middle Ages. It is true that he distinguishes between popular superstitions and what he calls the "official belief" of the Church, but he does not always know where to place the boundary, and his theory of the sacramental system as a kind of "Christian magic" shows how his standpoint has distorted his view. But it is not for his theories as to the Christianity of the eighth and ninth centuries that his book is valuable, but for his clear marshalling of the historic facts as to the way in which the storm of the Viking invasions broke over Northern and Western Europe. Here he has made much that was hitherto obscure not only intelligible, but vividly real, and the close connection of the story with that of our own islands gives it a special interest, when we are shown the so-called Danish invasions from the point of view of the invaders, and in their relation to the general movement of the Viking conquests.

Henri VIII. et les Martyrs de la Chartreuse de Londres. Avec cartes, plans, heliogravures, fac-simile, &c. Par Dom Victor Marie Doreau, Prieur de la Chartreuse de Saint Hugues, Parkminster, Sussex. Paris: Retaux-Bray. 1890.

"A HISTORY of the Carthusians in England" would have been a more fitting title to this noble volume than the too modest one chosen by the Prior of the Parkminster Charterhouse. True it is that the thrilling account of the struggle between Henry VIII. and the London Carthusians forms the centre of interest in the volume, but a historical sketch of the Order in England introduces the narrative, and we are subsequently made to follow the fortunes of the exiled

monks down to the death of Prior Williams in 1797. There is an indescribable charm about the white-robed children of St. Bruno lending its fragrance to every page. Dom Doreau has added to the value and attractiveness of his work by never for a moment disguising instances of human frailty in the annals of his Order, and we remain after reading it from first line to last with the conviction that the author justly claims for it "le mérite d'une parfaite authenticité." With quiet irony he warns the curious in general to give no credence to the imaginative writers who assure you that each Carthusian digs his own grave in the cloister, and salutes his brethren when he meets them with a "memento mori."

Of real interest is the enumeration of the several Carthusian monasteries which formerly existed in these islands. Witham in Somerset was the earliest foundation, made by Henry II., and governed by St. Hugh of Avalon, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. It dates from 1174. It was followed by that of Hinton, in the same county, in 1227. For a brief period a Carthusian house existed in Ireland, we know not where, and was dissolved in 1321. Hull (1378) and Coventry (1381) follow next. William de la Zouche in 1383 established the Carthusians in the Cluniac priory of Totnes, which, however, was re-occupied by Benedictines three years later. The foundation of Axholme, in Lincolnshire (1397), which owes its origin to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, had for its title the Visitation of Our Blessed Lady. Mount Grace, near York (1397), Sheen (1414), a royal foundation, and Perth, founded by James I. of Scotland, have had their renown eclipsed by that of the London Charterhouse (1370), on which the history described in this volume mainly turns. From this list it will be seen that Parkminster is the twelfth Carthusian house, all told, that has existed in the British Isles.

Quite as much interest attaches to the history given to the world for the first time of the vicissitudes of the English Carthusians from the epoch of the Reformation to that of the Revolution. Maurice Chauncey returned to England under Queen Mary, and re-established his community at Sheen. At the accession of Elizabeth the English Carthusians retired to Bruges, their house there bearing the name of Sheen Anglorum. Compelled to take flight by the Calvinist armies, they next found shelter at Louvain. In 1581 Chauncey died, and was succeeded in his office of Prior by Roger Thompson. His successors at Louvain were Francis Barnard, John Arnold, and Walter Pitts, under whose government the community removed to Malines. Pitts was succeeded by Robert Darbyshire, who as a secular priest had been imprisoned for the Faith at Newgate. Robert Mallory and Thomas Hallows followed, and under Prior Hallows the English community made its last move, to Nieuport. John Duckett, John Hutton, George Transam, Peter Bitcliffe governed their monastery in peace and prosperity (1644–1693). In 1693 half the community were carried off by pestilence; the rest, dreading the thoughts of being governed by a foreigner, elected Dom Thomas Thorold, a young monk, whose election was confirmed by the General Chapter. But the General of the

Order, Dom Le Marson, who governed with energy and prudence from 1675 to 1703, closed the novitiate of Nieuport in consequence of the election, and deposed Dom Thorold. A Flemish monk, Van Herenbeck, governed Sheen Anglorum for a year, after which the community elected William Hall, formerly a secular priest and Court preacher to James II. Jerome Nyversele, a Fleming, succeeded Hall, then George Hunter, after whom Dom Hall again held office for three years. Doms Columban Tounley, Joseph Betts, who entered the cloister after the death of his wife, and had the happiness to see all his children religious; Charles Lee, Thomas Yates, James Long, the author of "Notitia Cartusianorum Anglorum," called by Dom Doreau "L'histoire complète des chartreux anglais sur le continent"; Dom Bruno Fleming, who died in 1761, continue the list. After Fleming's death a gap intervenes of three years, the name of the Prior from 1761 to 1764 being unknown. In the latter year William Mann was elected Prior, and in 1777 was succeeded by the last Prior of Sheen Anglorum, Dom Joseph Williams. Joseph Williams was born on September 5, 1729, being the thirteenth child of Thomas Williams and Elizabeth Monington. He made his profession on the 13th of October 1759. His monastery was suppressed by the royal Jansenist, Joseph II., in 1783, and on the last day of June in that year he left it for the convent of the English Augustinian Canonesses at Bruges. In 1789 we find him at Louvain with the community now settled at Abbotsleigh, in the diocese of Plymouth. The advance of the French armies compelled the nuns to fly to England. He started in their company, and for the rest of his days lived with his relations at Little Malvern Court, in the faithful observance of his rule. Dom Doreau consecrates a dozen pages to his biography, and gives his portrait, one of many excellent illustrations that adorn his noble work. The papers and other relics of the English community left by Prior Williams to his family have, by Mr. Berington's spontaneous kindness, been restored to the Carthusians of Parkminster. Dom Williams died in 1747, the last survivor, as far as we know, of the Carthusians of Sheen Anglorum.

Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers; with Appendices. By William Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. London: Longmans. 1890.

THIS volume is based on a series of lectures delivered in the Cathedral at Oxford, on the lives of SS. Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and Augustine. The addresses themselves have been enlarged, an introduction prefixed, and appendices given to illustrate some points in fuller detail. The preface is designed to lessen the force of Cardinal Newman's repeated statement, that "the study of the Fathers" brought him into the Catholic Church. Dr. Bright's main point is that the Cardinal's study of the Fathers was "insensibly affected by a Romeward bias." As the author assumes this to be

erroneous, we are confronted by an argument in a circle, whither it would not be profitable to follow him. We may content ourselves with pointing out that Dr. Bright has omitted to notice the Cardinal's own account of the Protestant prejudices which at first made his patristic reading barren. For the rest, we can appeal to a cloud of witnesses, who, since the "Essay on Development" was written, have arisen to testify to the truth of his statement. Renan in France, and the historical school of rationalists in Germany, have abundantly proved that "to read the Fathers, and to get further than the paper on which they are written, is to be either a Catholic or an infidel," though they have unhappily chosen the latter alternative.

Of the lives themselves, that of St. Athanasius seems to us most pleasing, that of St. John Chrysostom least so. The former in particular may be read with great interest for its vivid portrayal of the great moral qualities of the defender of the orthodox faith, though, of course, we miss the description of the interior and supernatural life which lay behind and above them. Catholic readers would probably complain most of the inadequate and confused, though learned, account given of the thorny subject of grace. Dr. Bright does not seem to have grasped the essential difference between Calvinism and Jansenism; and, with some reserves, follows Mozley in thinking St. Augustine was a predestinarian. On the other hand, we are indebted to him for a frank acknowledgment that the Church was right in condemning Jansenism; and some of the other appendices on St. Augustine cannot fail to give Anglicans a clearer idea of points of Catholic doctrine.

St. Thomas d'Aquin et la Philosophie Cartésienne: Etudes de Doctrines Comparées. Par le R. P. E.-V. Maumus, des Frères Prêcheurs. Two vols. Paris: Lecoffre. 1890.

THIS work, as its title implies, is in the main a comparison of the philosophy of St. Thomas with that of Descartes. The author goes, however, farther, and fortunately discusses many other questions. Thus, in the first volume we have a very full defence of syllogistic reasoning, and an account of the nature of life. In the second volume, too, the various sceptical systems (which the author does well to connect with Descartes) are criticised, under the head of Certainty; while under that of Ideas, we have a full refutation of Ontologism and Hegelianism. We think it is to be regretted that a good deal of space should be devoted to a defence, however brilliant and interesting, of "physical premotion," and its compatibility with free-will.

In a work of this kind no one would expect great originality, which would, indeed, not be a merit. It is, therefore, such praise as the author would most desire, when we say that the reader will here find the teaching of St. Thomas expounded in lucid and attractive French. We may remark, as a special feature of the work, the numerous

quotations from the Saint's Commentaries on Aristotle, which, being little read, will often be new to those who are familiar with his other works.

We shall look forward with interest to a work Father Maumus announces as nearly ready, on "Contemporary Philosophers"—Vacherot, Taine, Janet, and Caro. For—shall we say it?—human thought has moved so much beyond Descartes, and the pendulum has swung so far in the opposite direction, that a minute examination of Cartesianism has an air of unreality to our eyes.

Natural Theology and Modern Thought. The Donellan Lectures delivered before the University of Dublin in 1888–1889. By J. H. KENNEDY, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

THESE lectures appear to us to reach a higher level than the average. The objections raised by Kant and by Darwinians against the proofs of the existence of God are each dealt with in a manner that is rare in any single work. We may single out, as specially worthy of attention, the very full account, in the second lecture, of Du Bois Reymond's "Seven Riddles of the Universe." The fourth lecture is still more important, and—as far as we know—original. In it Dr. Kennedy shows that the beauty and sublimity of nature are inexplicable on the theory of natural selection alone, and need the further assumption of design. He points out that Darwin's explanation of the beauty of organic forms introduces a new element; it is not the survival of the fittest, but of the fittest to please, and so postulates consciousness and will; moreover, the Darwinian theory does not account for the beauty and sublimity of inorganic nature. So, too, Dr. Kennedy meets, as we think successfully, Kant's objections to his thesis, which, if less widely known than Darwin's, are more serious; the most formidable being that beauty and sublimity have no objective value, but are derived from our own emotions of pleasure and pain. The lecturer shows by analysis that sublimity is not mere size, nor beauty power, but that both connote order and harmony, and consequently point to a designer. Finally, in the last lecture, Kant's use of the moral argument is dealt with in a very powerful and searching manner. The volume may be confidently recommended to all students of the subjects with which it deals.

Les Mémoires de Saint-Simon et le Père Le Tellier, Confesseur de Louis XIV. Par le Père P. BLIARD, S.J. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

ON the death of Père Lachaise in 1709, Père le Tellier was chosen to succeed him in the onerous office of Confessor to the King, that king being Louis XIV. Saint-Simon, in his memoirs, gives a very repulsive picture of the new confessor's character and conduct. Père

Bliard tells us in his preface that when first he read these memoirs he felt that the picture of Le Tellier was so utterly unlike that of a priest that he doubted its historic accuracy, as well as that of the accompanying portrait of Cardinal Dubois, and he resolved, when he had the leisure, to test Saint-Simon's story by investigating the contemporary records of the period. In this volume we have the first-fruits of these studies. In its pages we find, not indeed a panegyric of Le Tellier, but a thorough vindication of his career, which shows that Saint-Simon's portrait was something more than a caricature. Incidentally Père Bliard's learned researches throw much light upon the inner history of a time which is often completely misunderstood, because the purely literary interest of some gossiping writer of memoirs makes ninety-nine in every hundred readers accept them as a substitute for the drier records of impartial history.

Alexander Heriot Mackonochie: A Memoir. By E. A. T. Edited by Edward Francis Russell, M.A., St. Alban's, Holborn. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

THIS memoir of the late Mr. Mackonochie presents a picture of a singularly amiable life brought prematurely to a pathetically tragic close. In every chapter one reads words that make one long that he had come a step further and entered into the full possession of Catholic truth. One can feel no reasonable doubt as to his perfect good faith. Involved as he was year after year in the battle for what is popularly known as the Ritualistic position in the Church of England, he seems never to have looked seriously at the further question of the position held by that Church itself in Christendom. One wonders how this should have been so, but it undoubtedly was the case, and he never himself grasped the fuller significance of facts whose bearing on the question of Ritual was clear enough to him. Thus, writing to Liddon, he notes as one of the ground facts of the situation

> that most of the bishops brought up in an opposite school of thought are utterly incapable of forming the slightest conception of what ceremonial is to us; that they cannot imagine the ceremonies of the Mass being anything but child's play, when to us they are the barest alphabet of reverence for so Divine a mystery.

Imagine a Catholic priest in any country or in any age of the Church writing thus of the bishops of his province! Yet Mackonochie seems never to have doubted that such a state of things could fit in with the working theory of the Anglican being a real portion of the Church Catholic.

But so far as he saw the truth he was fearlessly faithful to it, and of the good practical work he did the pages of this memoir give ample evidence. Not the least interesting is the letter from the Catholic Primate of all Ireland to one of the clergy of St. Alban's, expressing his sympathy with them in their loss, and adding: "I cannot forget how

nobly you and your brethren at St. Alban's, including the lamented deceased, came to my aid when my poor starving people in Donegal stood in such need of sympathy and assistance." The Archbishop of Armagh was not, we are sure, the only Catholic who heard with sorrow of the death of Mr. Mackonochie among the snows of a Highland pass. There is a view of the spot, and a good portrait.

Registration of Title v. *Registration on Assurances.* By H. Brougham Leech, LL.D. London: William Ridgway. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1891.

THIS book, which has been written at the request of the Executive Committee of the Irish Landowners' Convention, advocates the establishment of a Registry of Title in Ireland, in lieu of the existing system of a Registry of Deeds. As to the theoretical superiority of the former system there are no conflicting opinions. The difficulty lies in its practical adaptation to the requirements of a country where complicated limitations of land are permitted; where there exists a dual title, legal and equitable; and where the boundaries of land are irregular and very often unascertained. Mr. Leech quotes in an Appendix, in support of his conclusions, the opinions of seven Lords Chancellors, Mr. Parnell, and Gulliver's Travels.

Black is White; or, Continuity Continued. By the Author of "The Prigment," "Dulce Domum," "A Romance of the Recusants," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.

THE satirical humour of this recent production from "The Prig's" facile pen will be welcomed by a large circle of appreciative readers. There are in England both Catholics and Protestants who look with like contempt on the vagaries and views of the discordant doctors of Anglicanism, and who have never cared to follow the miserable meanderings of the apologists and defenders of "the absurd and impossible position." But to all who, with amused and pitying eye, have watched the wanderings of Anglican theory from "comprehensiveness" to "continuity," "Black is White" will prove highly entertaining. In it the author of "The Prigment" looks into futurity, and we have a popular Prime Minister, at a loss for a popular cry, bringing in a Bill for the "Re-establishment of the Established Church," with the Postmaster-General as its head upon earth. And here is how this legislation was brought about:

> The professors of the religion of Robert Elsmere, commonly called Elsmerians, had become a sect, immense both in numbers and in power; a mild form of Buddhism was on the increase, and Evangelical reaction was setting in in the very heart of the Established Church. Ritualism was going out of *fashion*, and where it existed it was in general diluted with faddism of some

kind; one Ritualistic clergyman mixed it with spiritualism, another with hypnotism, a third with Wesleyanism, a fourth with Socialism, a fifth with Pantheism, and so on. In short, while those outside the pale of the Established Church were trying to knock it down, these inside appeared to be trying to pull it to pieces. In determining to respond to the "Cry of the People," the famous legislator was very far from wishing to incur the odium of disestablishing his own Church; moreover, it would have been a clumsy blunder on the part of so brilliant a statesman to answer to any demand directly. Rather than walk straight to meet people half-way, he greatly preferred to travel double the distance slantwise. "Are you contemplating concurrent endowment?" asked a member of his Government to whom he had partially communicated his designs. "No; that is too hackneyed. Comprehension is to be the keynote of my scheme. I will bring the Methodists, the Baptists, the Elsmerians, the Salvationists, the Unitarians, and possibly even the Esoteric Buddhists, within the pale of a powerful, benevolent, and highly elastic Church." "But what about the Christadelphians, the Glassites, the Alethians, and the host of other sects named in the page of small print in 'Whitaker's Almanack,' headed 'Religious Denominations and Sects'? Do you propose to comprehend them also, or what is to become of them?" "Oh, they may all go to the devil," said the pious Prime Minister.

Readers of "The Prig" will see at a glance how pleasantly parodied are the relations between Anglicans and other Dissenters, and the relations of all of them with the Catholic Church. The best bits in the book, however, are too lengthy to quote; even if plentiful quotation were quite fair to a book of this character. Not only is this little volume full of fun, a rich flow of humour rippling through every page, but, seeing how ridicule can at times kill, perusal of these pages may convince some that the "solution of continuity" has been reached. We trust that, besides amusing, "Black is White" may prove to many a source of instruction as well.

Devia Cypria: Notes of an Archæological Journey in Cyprus in 1888. By D. G. Hogarth, M.A. London: H. Frowde. 1889.

MR. HOGARTH was a Craven Travelling Fellow of the University of Oxford in 1887, and was commissioned to conduct researches in Cyprus by excavation and travel. The results of the latter are given in this handsome volume, and extend over those parts of the island which have been less explored—viz., the Papho district and the Carpass. Nothing of first-rate importance seems to have come under his notice; but numerous fragmentary remains—chiefly inscriptions—of the civilisations which have succeeded one another in Cyprus, from the early Asiatic to the Venetian occupation in the Middle Ages. These remains are described in a scholarly, yet agreeable, manner; the result being a volume of much more interest than such records of travel usually are.

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1. *Cantiones Bohemicæ.* Leiche Lieder und Rufe des 13, 14, und 15 Jahrhunderts nach Handschriften. 2. *Hymnarius Moissiacencis.* Das Hymnar der Abtei Moissac im 10 Jahrhundert. 3. *Conradus Gemnicensis.* Konrads von Haimburg, Alberts von Prag und Ulrichs von Wessobrunn Reimgebete. 4. *Udalricus Wessofontanus.* Ulrich Stöcklins Abts von Wessobrunn 1438–1443. Reimgebete und Leselieder. 5. *Historiæ Rhythmicæ.* Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendrucken. 6. *Hymni inediti.* Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters aus handschriftlichen Breviarien, Antiphonarien und Processionalien. 7. *Prosarium Lemovicense.* Die Prosen der Abtein St. Martial in Limoges aus Troparien des 10, 11, und 12 Jahrhunderts. 8. *Sequentiæ Ineditæ.* Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendrucken. Two vols. All the above by G. M. Dreves, S.J. Leipzig: Beisland. 1886–90.

IT is a great pleasure to me to bring before the reader this collection of hymns, responsaries, religious "folk-songs," &c. Father Dreves's collection may be pronounced unsurpassed by anything in its line, both for its size and for the critical ability of its editor. This praise is given it without at all forgetting the important collections of Mone and Daniel. Mone collected some 1200, Daniel 1500 hymns. Father Dreves's above-cited nine volumes contain 2194 Latin pieces of the Middle Ages. A few of them had indeed already appeared in, now rare, "incunabulæ," but the vast majority are now first edited, and these nine volumes are to be followed by a tenth, now in the press, and that by nine others in due course. Father Dreves's work has already won for itself admiring recognition among German scholars, both Catholic and Protestant. A learned Protestant divine has remarked (in the *Blätter für Hymnologie*, 1888) *à propos* of it, on the immense treasures of sacred literature which were lost to knowledge with the invention of printing. The active minds of the Renaissance monopolised the new art for their own aims, and threw aside the religious songs of the Middle Ages. A superficial examination of Father Dreves's volumes is enough to show one how true this remark is. He displays treasures, the mere existence of which was unsuspected, the value of which it would be difficult to exaggerate—they throw light on mediæval theology, hymnography, on the liturgy and the popular share in it, and on the general character of the education and the poetry of the "dark ages."

The editor has done his work most ably. He gives a critical text, with the comparison of various MSS. in foot-notes, and each volume opens with a critical introduction on the authorship of the poems, their relation to the period, significance and poetical value. Now that Mone and Daniel are both scarce and expensive, we may hope that libraries will enrich themselves with this ampler and newer collection—an immense storehouse of mediæval poetry, gathered together with marvellous industry and edited with conspicuous ability.

Bellesheim.

Prælectiones Juris Canonici. Quas habet M. BARGILLIAT in Seminario Corisopitensi. Tomus I. Parisiis: Brèche & Tralin. 1890.

THIS manual of Canon Law seems admirably adapted for both class use and for private reference; it is written with wonderful clearness and directness of statement, and the orderly arrangement of matter adds considerably to the ease with which it can be consulted. Then also the author, mindful of Pius IX.'s wish that young ecclesiastics should study the teachings of Canon Law "taken from authors approved by the Holy See," draws his statements largely from the most approved teachers, not confining himself, however, to them, but embracing newly brought in laws and recent decrees. We shall be perhaps better able to say more of the qualities of the work when we receive vol. ii., which is not yet published. The present volume covers half the ground planned out for himself by the author; he divides it into ten treatises, and five are dealt with in this volume—viz. (1) Principles of Canon Law, (2) Jurisdiction, (3) The Pope and the Roman Curia, (4) Bishops and Synods, (5) Episcopal counsellors and helpers, and administration of dioceses *sede vacante*; there remain to be treated: (6) Parish priests and assistants, (7) Regulars, (8) Church goods, (9) Judgments, and (10) Pains and penalties. We confidently recommend this lucid guide-book, which bears the imprimatur of the Bishop of Quimper, in whose seminary the author professes Canon Law.

Histoire de la Philosophie. Par son Eminence le CARDINAL Z. GONZALES, des Frères Prêcheurs, &c. Traduite de l'Espagnol, &c., par le R. P. G. DE PASCAL. Four vols. Paris: P. Lethielleux. London: Burns & Oates.

THE great Dominican, the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, has written a history of philosophy which may be called without exaggeration a monumental work, and one which deserves to be translated into every modern language. The author is wonderfully widely read in the history and literature of philosophy, ancient and modern; his knowledge of St. Thomas and of scholasticism generally, as one would expect from a Dominican professor, is profound, yet he is very far from being a bigot. A high philosophical authority, M. Domet de Vorges, in a remarkable *rapport* presented to the "Congrès bibliographique international" in 1888, in which he estimates this History of Philosophy very highly, says, *à propos* of Cardinal Gonzales' scholastic bias: "Son amour pour cette grande Philosophie [scholastique] ne l'aveugle pas; jamais il ne dégénere en une admiration servile. Pour lui la Philosophie de Saint Thomas est tout simplement le plus haut point où l'esprit humain soit parvenu, en égard aux ressources dont disposait le moyen-âge." This moderation may be recognised in countless places; his criticism, for example, of San Severino is: "Son critérium est exagérément scholastique, pour ainsi dire, et n'offre pas

le sens large qui serait à désirer en certaines matières." He himself certainly possesses this *sens large*, and deals with modern philosophers and modern systems, for example, to an extent, and with an attention and frank appreciation, which is eminently satisfactory. Of course he also criticises keenly from his own standpoint of a Christian philosopher and a Thomist; but this is just the valuable element in his work for us; and his appreciations *are* philosophical, and not merely class prejudices. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in an article in our present number, is anxious that the claims of modern thought should not be considered as having been put beyond a Catholic's appreciation by the Pope's restoration of St. Thomas to the leadership of the Catholic schools; here is a Spanish Dominican Cardinal who gives two of the four volumes of his history to an analytical examination of the chief modern philosophers of every nation, whose interest in "le genie de Kant" leads him to give fifty pages to that philosopher alone, not more than sixty having been given to St. Thomas himself. Indeed, for those whom ability or duty may justify in attempting the arduous task of investigating modern philosophy for the purpose of measuring its value, adjusting its position, and ranging its sounder conclusions under the principles of Thomism, we should say that Cardinal Gonzales' History would prove, in their task, a veritable guide and friend. For the moment, limit of space and time must restrict us to this brief recommendation of Cardinal Gonzales' History. Père G. de Pascal has done a great service by rendering it into a language more universally known than its original Spanish; he has also, more particularly in the modern half, added to it some valuable notes.

Meditations on the Gospels for Every Day in the Year. By Père Médaille, S.J. Translated under the direction of the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

THE meditations of Père Médaille are excellently translated, and the volume is one we would cordially recommend. Meditation books abound, and tastes differ: we need only say that this one appeals to our predilections by its brevity—each meditation, of three points, extends little, if at all, beyond a page—they are full of what Father Eyre happily calls "germs of thought," which any ordinary mind may develop for itself (and should, to make meditation profitable), and last, but not least, they deal with those Gospels which the Church has selected for Sunday, and which contain substantial mental and spiritual food for the rest of the week, if only intelligently thought over. Here is a good help to doing this. There is a sufficient instruction prefixed on the method of meditating, and some valuable practical suggestions. Father Eyre has some excellent prefatory words; from which we take only, that although Père Médaille was a Frenchman, he "writes soberly and singularly free from far-fetched sentiment"—a commendatory estimate of him, which the book itself, as we think,

confirms. He was a zealous, hard-working priest of the Society, who died at an advanced age in 1709; and these meditations, now first published in English, have already been translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch, and have, in one language or another, seen nearly forty editions. We have only one little criticism to offer: this is a book which we should be glad to know becomes largely used by laymen; what could be better for their spiritual life in the midst of the world than this solid study of the Gospel truths in Gospel words? Why, therefore, when translating the French, have not the little texts from the Gospel been translated from the Latin? They are, of course, sometimes given in English in the course of the previous or subsequent sentence, but, so far as we can see, had better have been formally given in that Douay translation which is heard on Sundays from the altar or pulpit. As they stand they will, we venture to think, only perplex the reader, who will wonder whether some precious thought of Scripture or a Father is not being hidden from him in the mysterious Latin. That is the only fault we can find in an admirable edition, well printed, and carefully edited.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY.

1. *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (1851). By J. H. Newman, D.D. Lectures viii. and ix., 2*d.* each.

"Biographical Series," 1*d.* each:

2. *St. Vincent de Paul.* By Rev. J. Goldie, S.J.
3. *Ven. Oliver Plunket* (1629–1681).
4. *Blessed Juvenal Ancina.* By the Rev. J. Morris, S.J.
5. *The Venerable Curé of Ars.* By Lady Herbert.
6. *A Christmas Story-Book*, 1*d.*
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8. *A Book of Irish Poetry*, 1*d.*
9. *Our National Vice.* By His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 1*d.*
10. *The Temperance Movement.* By Very Rev. Canon Murnane, V.G., and *Thrift*, by Rev. Edmond Nolan. 1*d.*
11. Eight *Catholic Temperance Leaflets*, 1*d.*, or 6*d.* per 100.
12. *England's Conversion by the Power of Prayer.* By the Bishop of Salford. 1*d.*
13. *The Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism;* or, The Church of England tested by the Nicene Creed. By Very Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D. Second Edition. 6*d.*

London: Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, S.E.

THE style, general good quality, and the cheapness of the C.T.S.'s publications are now sufficiently well known, and the titles of the above so far explain themselves that we may dispense ourselves from any detailed reference to their contents. The last named on the list is a republication—with slight emendations—of a valuable series

of letters first published by Provost Northcote six months after his conversion: "partly in justification of the step I had taken, but chiefly with the hope of inducing others to follow my example." That they have already done good in the latter direction, we believe; that in their republished form they will do further good, we feel confident, and wish them heartily the success the ability and earnestness of their writer merit for them. Of course the fourfold difficulty is the want of that Unity, Holiness, Catholicity and Apostolicity in which those who say the Nicene Creed profess their belief. We need not enter into the subject here cogently argued; but some little personal details given in an introductory letter from the author are interesting, and deserve to be referred to. He tells us how, whilst yet an Anglican clergyman (though already an inquirer, started on the path by Dr. Newman's recent conversion), he had written a letter (among others) to his bishop (the Bishop of Exeter), in which he "specified the supremacy of St. Peter as a subject of which he found quite as much proof in Holy Scripture as of the necessity of Infant Baptism or the Divine Institution of Episcopacy." To which letter he received the following charmingly Anglo-episcopal reply:

BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 4, 1846.

1. The Church of England does not teach that it is "to be required of any man that either the fitness or blessedness of Infant Baptism or the Divine Institution of Episcopacy should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

2. Both these articles are capable of being proved by Scripture. Therefore your *argumentum ad hominem* does not apply. Farewell; I wish I might still subscribe myself your brother, as I still feel towards you,

Your faithful friend,

H. EXETER.

No wonder Provost Northcote adds "this letter was a revelation to me." We warmly recommend this able little book, which deals lucidly, and without controversial acrimony, with a subject of much difficulty to inquiring Anglicans.

Index to Schürer's History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ. Translated by the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

WE have already more than once during the course of its publication, expressed our high opinion of Messrs. Clark's English edition of Schürer's great work. We need do no more now than announce the appearance of this Index—or rather series of Indices—which completes the work. The volume also contains some additions and corrections which Professor Schürer wished to be made to Division II. of the work, which was brought out first in the English translation: his additions to Division I. appeared in the volume itself.

Naturphilosophie im Geiste des hl. Thomas von Aquin. Von Dr. Matthias Schneid. Dritte Auflage. Paderborn: Schœning. 1890. [Cosmology according to St. Thomas.]

THE publisher of this volume is bringing out a series of manuals of Catholic theology and philosophy. The philosophical section could scarcely have been started by a more competent scholar than Dr. Schneid, Professor of Philosophy and President of the Episcopal Lyceum in Eichstätt, Bavaria, favourably known by his solid exposition of the teaching of Duns Scotus on "matter" and "form," duly noticed in our pages in 1880. Dr. Schneid is one of those scholars who have set themselves to work out the movement deiderated in the Pontifical letter "Æterni Patris." The department in which he has most successfully laboured is the scholastic doctrine on Matter and Form. As early as 1873 he brought out his book on "Matter and Form in Harmony with the Facts of Natural Science," which now makes its appearance in a very enlarged form, and is a complete system of cosmology after the mind of St. Thomas. The critical power and wide learning which he brings to bear on the nature of the world and of bodies, &c., is remarkable. The noteworthy feature of the work is that it shows the harmony between St. Thomas's philosophy and the teachings of modern science. He also points out the unstable foundation on which many modern systems of philosophy that boasted to be final and absolute were built, so that they soon grew into discredit, and then disappeared, contrasting them with St. Thomas's philosophy, which has weathered the most formidable storms.

Bellesheim.

Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Dr. Franz Delitzsch. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

BY this translation of the fourth edition of Delitzsch's "Commentary on Isaiah," the translator and publishers give publicity to a work which will be heartily welcome to all interested in Biblical studies. Dr. Driver's introductory notice is also a mark of well-deserved honour to the memory of the late Leipzig professor. The material presentment of this English edition—superior to that of the original, we have no doubt—is excellent, as all of Messrs. T. & T. Clark's series are: neatly bound, paper good, printing excellent.

On the importance of the subject we hardly need to touch. Isaiah was gifted, above his fellow-prophets, with the prophetical χάρισμα, whilst in sympathy for his people and in the earnestness of his conviction as to his divine mission he was not inferior to Jeremias, and far surpassed him in elegance of language and elevation of thought. This is all a trite theme. We take the opportunity, therefore, of this new edition to draw attention to a point to which due notice has not always been given. In the writings of Isaiah we possess, besides all that has gained for them universal love and admiration, one of the greatest proofs for the divine origin of Israel's religion. The pure mono-

theistic conceptions, free from error, and cast into a form both clear and sublime, which are found throughout the two parts of the book, and which were penned at a time when the light of Greek civilisation had only commenced to dawn and the foundations of Rome were scarcely laid, cannot be accounted for in an obvious and satisfactory way unless we have recourse to a supernatural revelation. The various efforts of authors, such as Kuenen, to mark out the path of a *natural* progress along which the prophets of the eighth century, among whom Isaiah takes his place, derived their notions on the unity of God have failed, and their failure is another proof of the truth we assert. Renan must have felt this when he attributed the monotheism of Israel to a kind of instinct or natural tendency peculiar and common to all Semitic people. If this be so, it will be easily admitted that to study the prophets of the eighth century, and especially Isaiah, is very necessary for a just understanding of Israel's religion and history, and that Dr. Driver, by his translation, has done much to promote and facilitate it. It should also be borne in mind that the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah—except, perhaps, a few questioned passages—are by critics generally now admitted to be from his hand. The view which Delitzsch has taken on the question of a single or dual authorship of the book of Isaiah is favourable to the latter opinion. And his view, it may be well to say, is the result of an impartial and conscientious examination of all that has been said on either side, and is proposed with great moderation. Unlike many critics of our time, Delitzsch does not allow himself to be carried away by his opinion to the extent of considering it beyond all doubt, and disregarding all that has or can be said against it.

Many readers will be pleased to find that Delitzsch has not changed his opinion as to the famous passage, vii. 14, "Behold the Virgin is with child, and bears a son, and calls his name Immanuel." He has kept, as in his former editions, the word "Virgin," for, though he rightly considers that the Hebrew עַלְמָה has not the conclusive meaning of "Virgo," yet that such was the mind of Isaiah is manifest from the context, the solemnity of the occasion, and the elevation of tone in which the prophet speaks.

Lastly, there is an excellent introductory notice by Dr. Driver, giving us a short sketch of the works and life of Delitzsch; from which may be learned why Delitzsch enjoyed the universal esteem of Christians and Jews alike. He was an able defender of faith in the supernatural, as such taking his place next to Hengstenberg. His views, it is true, were broader; and with regard to Biblical criticism he took a step from which Hengstenberg shrunk back. Yet in this respect also his works have been productive of good. They show, as Dr. Driver points out, that the results of Biblical criticism, if only they are not abused, are compatible with a firm belief in supernatural revelation, and with orthodox Christian faith—which, we may add, is to be found in the Catholic Church alone. Delitzsch, however, was never one of the pioneers of Biblical criticism; he rather followed in the path they had marked out, not because his critical eye was less keen,

but because his character was of a positive kind, his tendency to build up, not to destroy. Not only the critic, but also the Christian, may find satisfaction in his works. And it is this characteristic which will make them live long after those of many of his contemporaries have passed into oblivion.

Of Joyous Gard. By AELIAN PRINCE. London: Allen & Co. 1890.

A COMPARISON with Tennyson's "Idylls" is inevitable in a poem which deals with the later history of the Knights of the Round Table, and has its scene in the Joyous Gard, the Northumbrian Keep of Sir Lancelot, identified by the author with the site of Bamborough Castle. The present volume, which seems to be a sequel to a previous one entitled "Palomide," by the same author, contains many poetic descriptive passages, but is wanting in definiteness of plot. It is brought out with all the attractiveness of white and gold binding, and hand-made paper.

The Immortals and other Poems. By WARWICK BOND. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

THE principal poem in this elegant volume describes a vision in which the great poets of all time are made to express their views on the present aspect of human affairs. The following stanzas may serve as an example of the versification and of the manner in which the idea is worked out:

> From where they lay
> Sloped down, in field on field of vaporous white,
> A vista to the earth, whence far away
> Came wandering up the height
> Voices; and by that gulf they might espy
> The world's great pageant pass of pomp and misery.
>
> There might they see,
> Each from his fragrant couch of deathless flowers,
> Man's spirit working out his destiny
> 'Mid crash of warring powers;
> And there with sacred joy might note the seed
> Themselves had sown break forth in bright heroic deed.

Hedda Gabler. By HENRIK IBSEN. Translated from the Norwegian by EDMUND GOSSE. London: Heinemann. 1891.

IT would seem as if in the present phase of public taste no literary work can be too dull or too dreary to command a large audience, provided it be sufficiently subversive of established forms of religion or morality. That there is no success like the success of scandal, is

a truth of which the late Pope evidenced his appreciation in his reply to the lady who asked him to recommend her book, that he would do still better for her by putting it on the Index. There is no other explanation of the momentary craze for Ibsen's dramas in this country than that they represent the views of certain advanced thinkers in their hostility to the permanence of domestic ties. Their teaching may be summed up as a crusade against marriage, as an intolerable wrong to a woman who happens to get tired of her husband in the inevitable friction of the fireside. So ardent are the votaries of these improved ethics that they have gone to the length of hiring a theatre in London for the performance, as a free representation, of a play too repulsive in subject to be licensed as a public spectacle. The mischievous intent of these dramas is, however, counteracted by their inanity, as it may be safely affirmed that no feebler or clumsier attempt has ever been made to develop a moral thesis in scenic action. The idea of the characters, such as it is, fails to make itself understood in the pointless and unsuggestive dialogue, nor is there even an attempt to explain their actions by the ordinary motives of humanity. Hedda Gabler, the heroine of the play before us, appears, as far as her character can be discerned at all, to be a woman whose guiding impulse is cold-blooded curiosity, impelling her to lure a reformed drunkard back to vice, and then arm him with a pistol to destroy himself. Her own suicide is inexplicable, unless we suppose her driven to it by *ennui*, as there is not sufficient passion in her composition to account for it otherwise.

Love's Victory. By JOHN ARTHUR BLAIKIE. London: Percival & Co. 1890.

SOME of these graceful lyrics have, as we learn from the Preface, been published in the *Academy* and other periodicals. The author's command of melody and language may be judged of by the subjoined stanzas, extracted from the first poem, "Sunrise upon Atlas":

Afar there riseth, islanded and golden,
  Amid a billowy maze of seething cloud,
  Like tongues of flame that cleave a smoky shroud,
A many-peakèd cluster sun-enfolden.

So vaporous thin yon peaks, they pale and quiver
  Within the intenser sun's resplendent glow;
  Piercing the sky, no debt to earth they owe,
Signs of accepted sacrifice for ever.

Flame after flame, and splendour beyond splendour,
  Beacons of sun-birth they on high are set,
  Diviner far than e'er from minaret,
The call to prayer, the prayer and praise they render.

The Shadows of the Lake and other Poems. By F. Leyton. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1890.

THE English monasteries have been so cleared by modern research of the obloquy cast on them by ignorant prejudice that their champions can afford to pass over with merely casual remark a poem, "The Bells beneath the Sea," whose subject is the submergence of one as a judgment on the crimes of which it was the scene. Catholics may take the graceful lines on Father Damien as a set-off against this aspersion on their institutions, and give the author the credit he deserves as the writer of a thoughtful and gracefully expressed collection of poems.

A Happy Year. By the Abbé Lasausse. Translated by Mrs. James O'Brien. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

THIS is a book of a type not uncommon, containing sayings of the Saints for every day of the year. Each month is dedicated to a special "virtue," and each day has rather less than a page of quotations and commentary.

Marriage. Conferences delivered at Notre Dame, Paris. By the Very Rev. Père Monsabré, O.P. Translated from the French by M. Hoppel. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

THE eminence of Père Monsabré as a pulpit orator necessarily attracts attention to any subject he adorns with his eloquence. But the scandals of divorce courts, both in Europe and America, and the baleful effects upon society in general, too surely resulting from their publication, add to the intrinsic interest of the learned Dominican's present theme, Marriage.

If, as we are bound to believe, Catholics may be better helped spiritually than other Christians merely baptised, it is chiefly because, directly or indirectly, they may enjoy, if they will, sacramental grace sevenfold. The indifference of many Catholics to marriage as a sacrament, resulting in "mixed" marriages so often full of deplorable consequences, makes it all-important that this truth should be earnestly insisted on. And this is what the famous preacher does, with an emphasis and zeal which should go far to counteract the evils of careless custom and of State legislation which are usually so shamefully and so completely opposed to the teaching of the Church.

The Conferences are six in number—viz., 1. "The Sanctity of Marriage;" 2. "The Conjugal Tie;" 3. "Divorce;" 4. "Legislation on Marriage;" 5. "Profanation of Marriage;" 6. "Celibacy and Virginity."

An Index of the Principal Errors contrary to the Dogmas set forth in this volume, forms an additional and useful chapter; while the

value of the book is enhanced by an unusually full Analytical Table of Contents. The volume deserves a large circulation; it is elegantly bound and well printed.

At Ober-Ammergau in 1890. By P. J. O'Reilly. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1890.

THIS prettily got-up volume is a reprint of papers published in *The Month*, with additions. The writer gives a detailed description of the Passion Play, its scenery and incidents, with a good deal of the dialogue. There are a number of illustrations, and those of the principal persons are good. Mr. O'Reilly makes a few comments, chiefly at the end. He says, "Nathaniel is as real to you as Caiaphas." It is not clear why Nathaniel should not be real; does Mr. O'Reilly take him for a creation of Father Daisenberger? By the way, our English Testament spells the word "Nathanael." Those who have seen the Play will be glad to have this well-written record, and the large majority who have not been able to witness it will read these pages with interest and edification.

Blind Rosa, and other Tales. 2*s*.
The Grey Lady of Hardcastle. 2*s*. 6*d*.
The Curse of the Village, and *The Happiness of being Rich*. By Hendrick Conscience. 3*s*.
What Might Have Been. From the French. By Mrs. Cashel Hoey. 3*s*.
London: Burns & Oates.

THE best recommendation of a popular tale-book is that it has taken the popular fancy. These four volumes have had such success as to lead the publishers to re-issue them in their Popular Library.

Conscience's tales are established favourites; the others, especially "The Grey Lady of Hardcastle," seem to well deserve their success. The volumes are tastefully bound, suitable for presents. Some of the covers bear a brilliant device, intended as a pun, we believe! The youthful buyer can try to decipher it—we will not divulge.

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1. *Elementary History of England*. By Cyril Ransome, M.A. London: Percival & Co. 1890.
2. *The Catholic Child's History of England*. By E. M. Dublin: Sullivan Brothers. 1890.

THESE two books, written on the same subject, and for readers of the same age, present a remarkable contrast: one is all that it ought to be, and the other is all that it ought not to be. Mr. Ransome's little work is accurate, interesting, and well printed. "The Catholic Child's History" is inaccurate, tedious, and badly got up. It is to be hoped that no Catholic teacher will be induced by the title to buy

it. The writer tells us that "sufficient historical facts have been noted to meet the requirements for the Intermediate Examinations of the Junior Grade." One pities the unhappy candidate who should send up the following "historical facts" taken from two pages of the book:

Battle of Lewis (*sic*), 1264.
Spanish Invasion, 1558.
Battle of Worcester, 1657.
Great Plague of London, 1655.
Great Fire of London, 1656.
Hæbeas (*sic*) Corpus Act, 1679.
Rising in Favour of the State (!) 1715.

This is without counting two mistakes in dates (on these same pages), which are notified in a very incomplete list of errata. Now, for a specimen of style:

"But the most wonderful of all inventions, and the most useful of all discoveries, was the contrivance of the electric telegraph, which sets distance at defiance, and successfully conveys messages with fabulous rapidity, not only to the remotest part of this continent, but even across the ocean to America, where telegraphic messages may be received and answered in a single day" (p. 304).

The Catholic child had far better read Mr. Ransome's history. There he will find Catholic matters fairly treated, and if he remembers what he reads, he will stand an excellent chance of passing his examinations.

T. B. S.

The Theological Influence of the Blessed Virgin on the Apostolic School. By CHRISTIANUS. London: Frederic Norgate.

THE subject of this little work is an interesting and by no means unimportant one, to wit, the part which Our Blessed Lady's verbal testimony played among the human means used by the inspired writers of the New Testament. The writer, in a spirit of sincere piety and praiseworthy zeal, traces this element in the Gospels of SS. Luke and John. Unhappily, his Protestant training has let him be betrayed into passages like the following:

Mary kept His birth from Him (Our Lord) from a natural desire to shield Him from pain and such mental troubles as she must herself have gone through. . . . .

Speaking of St. John's preaching our author writes:

Jesus, even if He had not intuitive knowledge of it before, knew now that He was the Son of God, &c.

Throughout the whole book we are constantly reminded by painfully jarring impressions of those low views of Jesus and Mary that are the atmosphere of Protestant tradition. At the same time we are sensible that nothing was farther removed from the author's intention.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

[Many of them too late for review in the present issue].

"The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years, 1833–1845." By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

"Mary in the Epistles; or, the Implicit Teaching of the Apostles concerning the Blessed Virgin." By Rev. Thomas Livius, C.SS.R., M.A. Oxon. London: Burns & Oates.

"La Passion." Essai Historique. Par le R. Père M. J. Ollivier, O.S.D. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1891.

"Studies in the Arthurian Legend." By John Rhŷs, M.A. Oxford. Clarendon Press: 1891.

"Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees. 1869–1887." By Ignaz von Döllinger. Authorised Translation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

"History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day." By Professor H. Graetz. Edited and in part translated by Bella Löwy. Two vols. London: David Nutt. 1891.

1. "Theophile Foisset. 1800–1873." Par Henri Boissard.

2. "Memoires du General Tercier. 1770–1816." Publiés avec Notes, &c. Par C. de la Chanonie.

3. "La France pendant la Revolution." Par le Vicomte de Broc. Two vols. These three published by Plon et Cie. Paris: 1891.

"Pre-organic Evolution, and the Biblical Idea of God: an Exposition and a Criticism." By Charles Chapman, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

"Kant's 'Principles of Politics,' including his 'Essay on Perpetual Peace.' A contribution to Political Science." Edited and translated by W. Hastie, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1891.

"Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West." By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

"The Visible and Invisible Worlds." By the Rev. J. W. Vahey. Milwaukee, Wis.: Hoffman Brothers. 1890.

"Order in the Physical World, and its First Cause according to Modern Science." From the French. By T. J. Selvin. London: John Hodges. 1891.

"Selected Sermons." By the Rev. Christopher Hughes. Introduction by the Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. New York, &c.: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1891.

"Commentarius in Danielem, Lamentations et Baruch." Auctore J. Knabenbauer, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

"The Interior of Jesus and Mary." From the French of Père Grou, S.J., and edited by Rev. S. H. Frisbee, S.J. Two vols. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.; London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

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INDEX.

Africa, British East, 173; German South-West, 427; South, Company, 429 German Expedition, 433.
Agostino da Montefeltro, Conferences of, *noticed*, 218.
Allegre, G., Impedimentorum Matrimonii Synopsis, *noticed*, 201.
Allies, Thomas W., The Throne of the Fisherman, 371; Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood, *noticed*, 458.
Amazon, Regions of the Upper, 432.
Amherst, W. J., S.J., Valentine Riant, *noticed*, 237.
Anglican Claim, The, to Historical Christianity, 371: to Episcopal Independence, 372.
Anglicans and the Lincoln Judgment, 127.
Antarctic Expedition, 172.
Aristotle, "Constitution of the Athenians," attributed to, 351; Arguments against authorship of, 352; How authorship imputed to, 357.
Arundell of Wardour, Lord, Two Englishmen who served with distinction abroad—Sir E. Wydville and Sir T. Arundell, 1.
——— Sir Thomas, 11.
Athenians, Constitution of, 351 *seq.*
Ausberger, L., Die Christliche Eschatologie, *noticed*, 207.
Australian Girl, An, *noticed*, 180.

Bagwell, R., Ireland under the Tudors, *noticed*, 451.
Baker, Ven. F. Augustin, Hail Jesus! *noticed*, 237; Holy Wisdom, *noticed*, 199.
Bargilliat, M., Jus Canonicum, *noticed*, 479.
Baunard, Mgr., Countess de Choiseul d'Aillecourt, *noticed*, 458.
Bechuanaland, British, 427.
Bellesheim, Canon A., notices by, 219, 232, 236, 478, 483.
Benedictine, Anglo-, Congregation, 402, 446.
Berlière, Dom U., Monasticon Belge, *noticed*, 219.
Bernard, St., against Abelard, 257; and Scholasticism, 261.
Bikelas, Demetrios, Christian Greece, *noticed*, 206.
Black, William, Stand Fast Craig Royston! *noticed*, 438.
——— is White, or Continuity Continued, *noticed*, 476.
Blackie, J. A., Love's Victory, *noticed*, 486.
Bliard, P., Saint Simon et le Père Le Tellier, *noticed*, 474.
Bond, W., The Immortals, *noticed*, 485.
Bougaud, Mgr., Revelations of the Sacred Heart, *noticed*, 238.
Breviarium Romanum, *noticed*, 216.
Bridgett, T. E., Life of B. John Fisher, *noticed*, 210; Life of Sir Thomas More, *noticed*, 447.
Bright, W., Three Great Fathers, *noticed*, 472.
Brownlow, W. R., Memoir of Sir James Marshall, *noticed*, 193.
Buckley, Arabella B., Through Magic Glasses, *noticed*, 224.

Clair, Charles, S.J., Vie de St. Ignace, *noticed*, 185.
Clement, St., and Papal Authority, 375.
Clerke, Miss E. M., The Teaching of Economic Geography, 35; The
rection in Chile, 308.
Commerce, Effect of climate on, 36; Effect of geological structure o
Systems of communication: water transit, 41; Cosmopolitan ch
of modern, 45; Fashions and caprices of "demand," 47; Gro
British, 425.
Compton, Herbert, The Dead Man's Gift, *noticed*, 182.
Concilii Vaticani Acta et Decreta, *noticed*, 232.
Congo, Free State, 431; Exploration of affluents of, *ibid.*
"Constitution of the Athenians" attributed to Aristotle, 351; Hi
value of, 358; Criticism of style of, 368.
"Continuity" recognised in Lincoln Judgment, 130.
Conway, Rev. J., Rights of Our Little Ones, *noticed*, 229.
Corinth in St. Paul's Day, 327; Church of and St. Clement, 374.
Corinthians, St. Paul's First Epistle to, Commentary on, 329 *seq.*
Cornely, R., S.J., Commentarius in Corinthios, *noticed*, 218; On 1 Cor.
329.
Coupe, Charles, The Homage of Christ the King, 327.
Crawford, F. M., A Cigarette Maker's Romance, *noticed*, 179.
Crown of Thorns, The, *noticed*, 237.

Dances, Indian Ghost, 175.
Daughter of King Solomon, *noticed*, 183.
Deland, Margaret, Sidney, *noticed*, 178.
Delitzsch, F., Commentary on Isaiah, *noticed*, 483.
Devas, C. S., English Catholics and the Social Question, 110.
Didon, P., Jésus-Christ, *noticed*, 211.
Doreau, Dom V., Henry VIII. et les Martyrs, *noticed*, 470.
Douls. M. Camille. 429.

Forgotten Heroines, *noticed*, 229.
Fouard, C., The Christ the Son of God, *noticed*, 456.
Ford, Isabella O., Miss Blake of Monkshalton, *noticed*, 179.
Francis, St., and Feudalism, 192.
French Revolution, and Ireland, 96; French Clergy before the, 190.
Frost, The Recent Great, Dry Period, 413.
Fyfe, James, The Hereafter, *noticed*, 234.

Gasquet, Dr. J. R., Hypnotism, 241.
Gems, Little, from Thomas à Kempis, &c., *noticed*, 238.
Geography, The Teaching of Economic, 35.
Gietmann, G., S.J., Commentarius in Ecclesiasten et Canticum Canticorum, *noticed*, 227.
Gilli, Don Gasper, Month of Mary, *noticed*, 238.
Gilmartin, T., Manual of Church History, *noticed*, 459.
Goldie, J., S.J., St. Vincent de Paul, *noticed*, 481.
Gonzales, Cardinal, Histoire de la Philosophie, *noticed*, 479.
"Granville Library," Tales, *noticed*, 488.
Grattan, 98.
Gregory the Great, Pontificate of, 443.

Hale, Susan, Mexico, *noticed*, 222.
Harte, Bret, A Waif of the Plains, *noticed*, 182.
Hayman, Henry, D.D., "The Constitution of the Athenians" attributed to Aristotle, 351.
Hefele's Conciliengeschichte, Hergenröther's Edition of, *noticed*, 236.
Herbert, Lady, The, Ven. Curé of Ars, *noticed*, 481.
Heser, G., S.J., Monotesseron Evangelicum, *noticed*, 201.
Heywood, J. C., Lady Merton, *noticed*, 434.
History of England, Catholic Child's, *noticed*, 488.
Hogarth, D. G., Devia Cypria, *noticed*, 477.
Homage, The, of Christ the King, 327.
Hornung, Ernest G., A Bride from the Bush, *noticed*, 181.
Houghton, Lord, 22.
Howatt, Rev. J. R., Agnostic Fallacies, *noticed*, 230.
Hugh, St., of Lincoln, *noticed*, 208.
Hughes, Rev. J., Principles of Anthropology and Biology, *noticed*, 235.
Hungerford, Mrs., A Born Coquette, *noticed*, 435.
Hypnotism, 241; Two schools of, 242; Susceptibility to, 243; Theory of, 247; Limits to, 250; Dangers of, 251.

Ibsen, H., Hedda Gabler, *noticed*, 485.
Influenza, The Meteorology of, 167.
Insurrection in Chile, 308.
"Irishmen, United," Object of, 97, 102.
Italy, American opinion on, 444.

Jacobin Movement, The, in Ireland, 95.
Jeanne d'Arc, New literature on, 54; "Mission" of, 56; The coronation at Reims not the end of her mission, 58; Taken prisoner, 60; The trial according to original documents, 61 *seq.*
Jenkins, Rev. T. J., Christian Schools, *noticed*, 229.

Kashmir, Progress of, 174.
Keary, C. F., The Vikings of Western Christendom, *noticed*, 469.
Kennedy, J. H., Natural Theology and Modern Thought, *noticed*, 474.

Kleutgen, Father, 265.
Koch, Dr., Remedy for Tubercular Disease, 161.

Labour Question, 112 *seq.*; and Congress of Liège, 117.
Lasausse, Abbé, A Happy Year, *noticed*, 487.
Lecky, Mr., on Irish Affairs since 1793, 96.
Leech, H. B., Registration of Title *v.* Registration on Assurances, *noticed*, 476.
Leo XIII., Letter of, to People of Italy, 147; Letter of, on Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, 402; Letter of, on slavery, 410.
Leyton, F., The Shadows of the Lake, *noticed*, 487.
Lifeboats, Steam, 414.
Lilly, W. S., The Jacobin Movement in Ireland, 95.
Lincoln Judgment, The, 121; Singular reception of, 122; Unhistorical character of, 124; Not thought compromising by Anglicans, 127; Protestantism of, 137.
Literature, Dangers of Modern, 276.
Lynch, Hannah, The Prince of the Glades, *noticed*, 436.

Mackonochie, A. H., *noticed*, 475.
Maher, M., S.J., on Psychology, 266.
Maid of Orleans, The, by the light of original documents, 54.
Malet, Lucas, The Wages of Sin, *noticed*, 437.
Manica, 427.
Manna, A Fall of, 445.
Manning, Cardinal, Reprints of Writings of, *noticed*, 237; Our National Vice, *noticed*, 481.
Manual, Little, of Third O.S.F., *noticed*, 238.
Margaret Mary, Blessed, One and Thirty Days with, *noticed*, 238.
Martin, Mrs. Charles, Life of St. Justin, *noticed*, 237.
Maumus, E. V., St. Thomas et la Philosophie Cartésienne, *noticed*, 473.
Mazzolini, S., Evangelium Sec. Lucam in Carmina Versum, *noticed*, 230.
Médaille, P., Meditations on the Gospels, *noticed*, 480.
Milky Way, The, 422.
Milnes, R. Monckton, Lord Houghton, 22; As a politician, 23; Ancestry of, 25; Love of Italy, 28; Sympathy with Catholicism, 29; Lines on Rome, 30; As a conversationalist, 31; *Bons mots* of, 32.
Monsabré, Père, Marriage, *noticed*, 487.
Moran, Archbishop, Occasional Papers, *noticed*, 203.
Morris, J., S.J., Blessed Juvenal Ancina, *noticed*, 481.
Motais, A., Origine du Monde, *noticed*, 215.
Mount Blanc, Scientific Ascent of, 158.
Murphy, T., The Life of Our Lord, *noticed*, 230.

National Churches, Independence of, 371.
Nebulæ, Motion of the, 157; Ring, in Lyra, 424.
Newman, J. H., Letters and Correspondence of, *noticed*, 460; Lectures, *noticed*, 481.
Nice, Council of, and Papal Authority, 392.
Nisard, Th., L'Archæologie Musicale, *noticed*, 220.
Northcote, V. Rev. J. Spencer, Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism, *noticed*, 481.
Notes on Novels, 178, 433.
—— of Travel and Exploration, 169, 425.

Notices, Science, 157, 413.
——— of Catholic Continental Periodicals: French, 190; German, 184, 439; Italian, 186, 442.

Oliphant, Mrs., Kirsteen, *noticed*, 434.
O'Reilly, P. J., Ober-Ammergau in 1890, *noticed*, 488.
Orelli, C. von, Prophecies of Isaiah, *noticed*, 230.

Pallain, G., Talleyrand, 290.
Parsons, Mrs., Thomas Rileton, *noticed*, 231.
Peacock, Edward, Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, 22.
Peard, Frances Mary, Mademoiselle, *noticed*, 178.
Péries, G., La Faculté de Droit à Paris, *noticed*, 464.
Philosophy, Modern Catholic, 255 *seq*; In England, The Pope and, 272; and English Social Dangers, 274 *seq*; Courses of, 285.
Photo-Electricity, Action of Light on Selenium, 418.
Pillett, A., Jus Canonicum Generale, *noticed*, 201.
Plunket, Ven. Oliver, *noticed*, 481.
Pollen, J. H., S.J., Acts of English Martyrs, *noticed*, 449.
Pope, The, and Catholic Philosophy in England, 272.
Praxis, Synodalis, *noticed*, 201.
Prince, A., Of Joyous Gard, *noticed*, 485.

Rae, Rev. C. McDermott, The Kingdom of God, *noticed*, 233.
Railway, The Trans-Sahara, 173; Siberian, 428.
Ransome, Cyril, Elementary History of England, *noticed*, 488.
Reid, T. Wemyss, Life and Letters of R. Monckton Milnes, 22.
Review, The Popular, Dangers of, 276.
Rivington, Rev. Luke, The Lincoln Judgment; or Continuity, 121; The Anglican Claim to Historical Christianity, 371.
Rome, Origin of Authority of, 379, 384; Nature of Intervention of, 386; St. Irenæus on, 387; Reception of judgments from, 391; Council of Nice on, 392.
Rousset, C., L'Algérie, *noticed*, 225.
Russell, W. Clark, My Shipmate Louise, *noticed*, 180.
Russo, N., S.J., Philosophia Moralis, *noticed*, 205.
Ryan, Rev. E. J., The Secular Office, *noticed*, 237.

Saintrain, Rev. H., The Sacred Heart in the Scriptures, *noticed*, 238.
Salvatore, P. de Philippis, Vade Mecum Confessariorum, *noticed*, 201.
Sargeant, Adeline, A Life Sentence, *noticed*, 437.
Scannell, Rev. T. B., Talleyrand's Diplomatic Letters, 290.
Schneid, M., Naturphilosophie, *noticed*, 483.
Scholastic Movement, The, and Catholic Philosophy, 255; Notes of, 256; and Catholic theology, 262; and modern needs, 265.
Scott's Journal, 72; Period of Sir Walter's life contained in, 74; Entries as to pecuniary difficulties, 76, 90; Sketch of daily life, 79; Literary success and doubts as to excellence of work, 81; Loss of wife, 82; Illness and travels for health, 83; Winters abroad, 91; Debt of gratitude due to Scott from Catholics, 94.
Schürer, E., Jewish People in Time of Jesus Christ, *noticed*, 220; Index to, *noticed*, 482.
Sebastian, Father, C.P., Thesaurus Sacerdotum, *noticed*, 201.
Sire, Life of F. Charles, *noticed*, 238.
Smith, S. B., Compendium Juris Canonici, *noticed*, 201.
Social Congresses, Catholic, 111; Efforts open to Catholics, 113.

Solar Disturbances, 420.
Stirling, J. H., Philosophy and Theology, *noticed*, 234.
Stolz, Rev. A., Mixed Marriage, *noticed*, 228.
Stonyhurst, The Pope and Catholic Philosophy at, 272.
Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica, vol. ii., *noticed*, 233.
Switzerland: "Story of the Nations," *noticed*, 222.

Talleyrand, Diplomatic Letters of, 290; Mission to London, 292; Return to Paris, 297; Apology for overthrow of monarchy, 298; Flies to America, 300; Return, 301.
Teaching, The, of Economic Geography, 35.
Theological Influence of the B. Virgin, The, *noticed*, 489.
Thomas Aquinas, St., and Catholic Philosophy, 258 *seq.*
Tickell, G., S.J., Life of B. Margaret Mary, *noticed*, 211.
Two Englishmen who served abroad with distinction, 1.

Union, The Legislative, with Ireland, 103.
Urban VI., The Election of, 191.
Ushaw College, The Pope and Philosophy at, 273.

Vaticani, Acta et Decreta Concilii, *noticed*, 232.
Vaughan, Archbishop, Life of St. Thomas of Aquin, Dom Jerome Vaughan's Abridgment, *noticed*, 237.
Venus, Rotation of, 159.
Vigouroux, F., Le N. Testament et les Découvertes modernes, *noticed*, 213.
Virgin, The Christian, *noticed*, 237.

Ward, Wilfrid, The Scholastic Movement and Catholic Philosophy, 255.
Water, Relation of Ground, to Disease, 416.
"Waverley," Acknowledgment of Authorship of, 88.
Wax Insect, The White, 170.
Way of the Cross, The Holy, *noticed*, 237.
Werner, O., Orbis Terrarum Catholicus, *noticed*, 229.
Wilson, J. Spottiswoode, Geological Mechanism, *noticed*, 235.
Wydville, Sir Edward, 1.
Wyndham, Rev. Francis M., The Maid of Orleans, by the Light of Original Documents, 54.

Yeats, John, Manuals of Commerce, 35.
Yucatan, Commerce of, 53.

Zambesi, First British War Ship in, 177.

END OF VOL. XXV.

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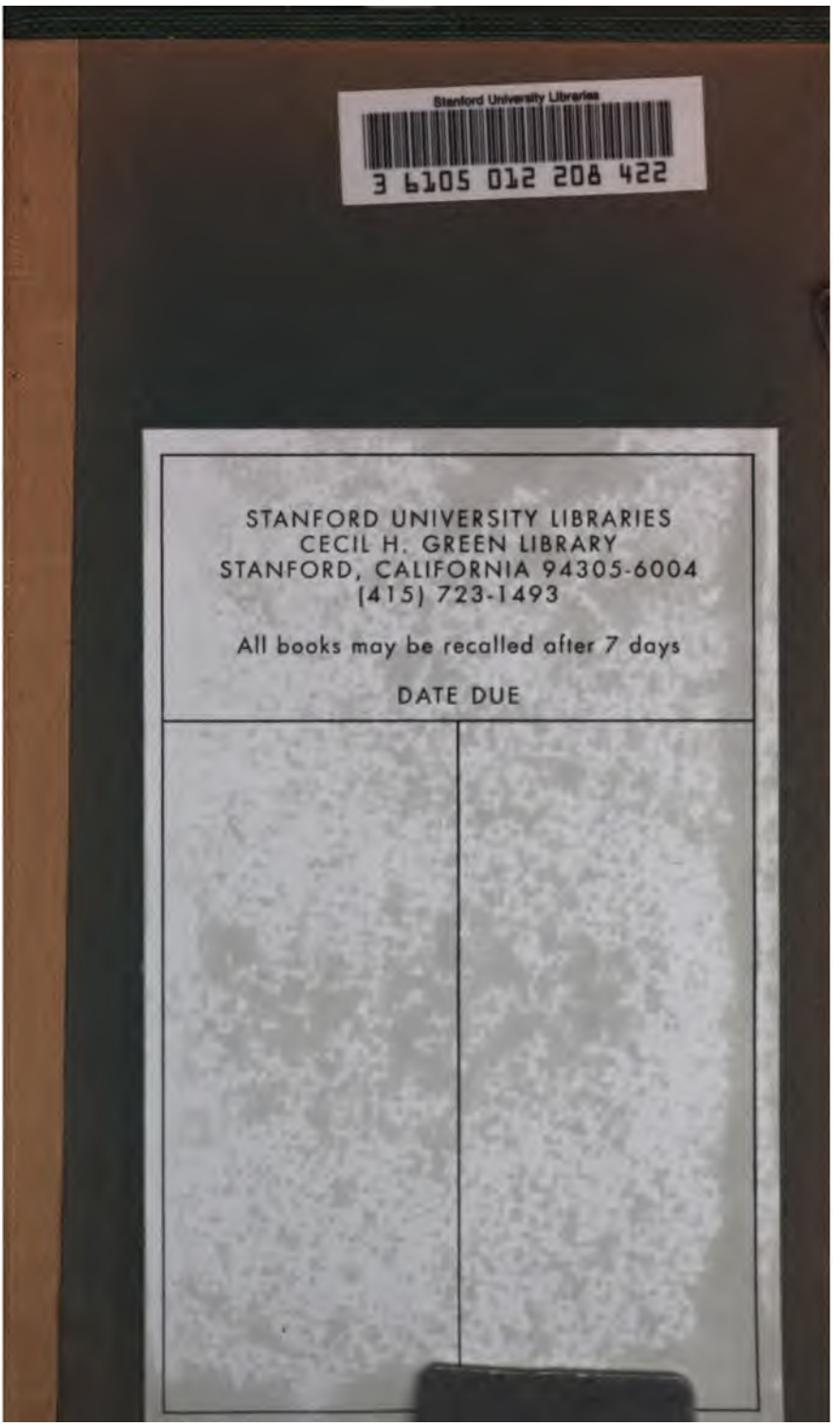
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